

Engraved by H. Robinson.

JOHN LOCKE.

OR. 1704.

FROM THE ORIGINAL PORTRAIT, IN THE HALL OF
CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD.

DEDICATED BY SPECIAL AUTHORITY
TO HER MOST GRACIOUS MAJESTY THE QUEEN.

THE

BRITISH COLONIES;

THEIR

History, Extent, Condition, and Resources:

BY R. MONTGOMERY MARTIN, ESQ.,

LATE TREASURER TO THE QUEEN AT HONG-KONG; AND MEMBER OF HER MAJESTY'S
LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL IN CHINA.

VOL. II.

AUSTRALIA.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY
THE LONDON PRINTING AND PUBLISHING COMPANY,
LONDON AND NEW YORK.

ISLANDS IN THE SOUTHERN PACIFIC.

BOOK I.—VAN DIEMEN'S ISLAND.

CHAPTER I.

LOCALITY, AREA, DISCOVERY, AND HISTORY.

VAN DIEMEN'S ISLAND, sometimes called *Tasmania*, is separated from the island-continent of Australia by an arm of the sea, about 100 miles broad, termed Bass Strait. In shape resembling a heart, it extends between the parallels of $40^{\circ}45'$ and $43^{\circ}40'$ S. lat., and the meridian $144^{\circ}50'$ and $148^{\circ}30'$ E. long. The length, from South Cape to Cape Grim, is about 230 miles; the breadth, from the Eddystone Point, on the east coast, to West Point, is nearly 200 miles, gradually diminishing to the south point or apex of the island. The area is nearly 24,000 square miles, or about 15,000,000 acres.

This fine island was discovered by the celebrated Dutch navigator Abel Jansz Tasman, who sailed from Batavia, in Java, on the 14th of August, 1642, as commodore of the yacht *Heemskerk*, and the fly-boat *Zeechaan*, with instructions to ascertain how far the "great south land" extended towards the Antarctic Circle.

Tasman touched at the Mauritius, then steered to the southward and eastward, and on the 4th of November, at four P.M., saw high land, distant about forty miles. On the ensuing evening the commodore closed in with the shore, in $42^{\circ}30'$ S. lat., and designated the country *Antony Van Diemen's Land*, in honour of the governor-general of the Dutch possessions in the East Indies. The islands around were named after the different members of the council of the Indies. The vessels skirted the coasts; and on the 29th of November, when preparing to enter a large inlet in the south-east shores, they were driven almost out of sight of land by a violent gale of wind. December 1st, the wind moderated, a council of officers from the two vessels was held, and it was resolved to attempt "to get a knowledge of the land, and some refreshments." The

vessels stood in with an easterly breeze, and came to an anchor, an hour after sunset, "in a good port, in twenty-two fathoms, whitish good holding sand." To the entry which records these facts is added, in the journal of these pious navigators, "*wherefore we ought to praise Almighty God.*"

This port is called *Frederik Hendrik's Bay*, in the chart of Tasman. The Dutchmen remained here until the 4th of December, erected a post with a compass cut thereon, and surmounted it with "the prince's flag, as a memorial to the posterity of the inhabitants of the country;" then proceeding in a north-east course along the coast, on the 5th of December they steered "precisely eastward, to make farther discoveries," conformable to a resolution of the council held that morning. The next land seen by Tasman was New Zealand, to which reference will be made when describing that country. The result of this voyage was not made public by the Dutch East India Company; but Dirk Rembrantz, "moved by the excellency and accuracy of the work," published in Low Dutch an extract of the Journal of Tasman. This was translated into many languages, and republished in the *Complete Collection of Voyages and Travels*, by John Harris, D.D., in London, A.D. 1744.

More than a century elapsed without any European voyager having visited Van Diemen's Land. In 1769, Captain James Cook was sent, in H.M.S. *Endeavour*, to Otaheite, there to observe the transit of Venus over the disk of the sun. After performing this service, he rediscovered New Zealand; then following a westerly course, saw land, which he judged to lie in 38° S. lat., $148^{\circ}53'$ E. long.; but could not determine whether it joined or was distinct from the Van Diemen's Land of Tasman. Cook then pro-

ceeded to the northward to Botany Bay and Cape York, considering, as Tasman had done, Van Diemen's Land a portion of Australia, or New Holland.

In 1772, Captain Marion du Fresne, a French naval officer, was sent in command of two vessels from the Mauritius in search of the supposed southern continent. On the 3rd of March, M. Marion made the west side of Van Diemen's Land in $42^{\circ} 56'$ S. lat., half a degree south of the first land seen by Tasman, and on the 4th anchored in *Fr. derik Hendrik's* bay. Fires and smoke seen by night and day indicated that the country was well inhabited; and on anchoring about thirty men assembled near the beach. The boats went on shore next morning, the natives received their strange visitors without shewing any distrust, and having piled together some pieces of wood, presented a lighted stick, apparently to try if the new comers would set fire to the pile. The French, wondering what might be the meaning of the ceremony, complied with what they considered the wish of the natives, who thereupon expressed no surprise, and remained about them with their wives and children as before, but nevertheless disdainfully rejected the presents of iron, looking-glasses, handkerchiefs, cloth, &c., offered by the seamen. After the first boat had been about an hour on shore Captain Marion landed, when one of the aborigines stepped forward and tendered him a firebrand, at the same time pointing to a small heap of wood. M. Marion thinking, as the sailors had previously done, to conciliate them, set fire to the pile, when they instantly retired to a small hill, and commenced throwing stones, by which M. Marion and the commander of his companion ship were wounded. The French fired some shots, returned to their boats, and coasted along the beach; the natives having sent their women and children into the woods, followed them along the shore, and upon their attempting again to land, sent a shower of spears into the boats, by which one man was wounded. A volley of musketry compelled the natives to retreat with their wounded from this unequal warfare; fifteen men armed with muskets pursued them for some distance, found one of them dying, whom his companions had been unable to carry off, and returned, after traversing two leagues of country, without, with the above-named exception, meeting a native or finding any fresh water. I have mentioned the

peculiar circumstances connected with this first rencontre, because a degree of painful interest is attached to it, as the commencement of a series of distressing and disastrous conflicts between the aborigines and the English settlers, which has terminated in the removal of every native from Van Diemen's Land. My own impression is, that the ceremony of offering the firebrand was intended to convey an inquiry whether the new race were coming to light their fires, or, in other words, to make their hearths and homes in their land; it was answered in the affirmative, and to prevent this they instantly declared war, and waged it ever after "to the death." They appear to have never recognized any distinction between French and English, all white men were to them alike—a blood feud had commenced, which could only be terminated by the entire destruction of one party or the other. M. Marion, not being able to obtain fresh water or masts for his ships, sailed on the 10th of March, 1772, for New Zealand, where himself, four superior officers, and eleven seamen, were massacred and eaten by the savages. In 1773, Captain Tobias Furneaux, of H.M.S. *Adventure* (one of the vessels under the command of Captain Cook), made the southwest cape of Van Diemen's Land on the 10th of March, visited *Adventure Bay*, sailed along the coast to the northward, and after arriving in the parallel of $39^{\circ} 50'$ declared his opinion that there was no strait between New Holland and Van Diemen's Land, but a very deep bay. Furneaux discontinued his northerly course, and steered for New Zealand. In 1777, Captain James Cook, then on a voyage of exploration in H.M.S. *Resolution* and *Discovery* made the southwest cape on the 24th of January, and anchored on the 26th in *Adventure bay*. Cook also failed to discover the insularity of the land. In 1788, Captain Bligh, in H.M.S. *Bounty*, visited *Adventure bay*. In 1789, the brig *Mercury*, J. H. Cox, commander, visited *Oyster Bay* in $42^{\circ} 42'$ S. In 1792, Bruni d'Entrecasteaux, a French rear-admiral, who had been sent with two ships of war in search of La Perouse, entered, as he thought, the *Storm Bay* of Tasman, but which was really the fine channel since called by his name; and after sailing through it for ten leagues to the northward, he found it communicated with the true *Storm bay*, from which it was separated by the long and strangely-shaped island since termed *Bruni* (see topography). After making several

valuable surveys of this part of the coast, the French commander sailed to the eastward. In 1794, Captain John Hays, of the Honourable East India Company Bombay Marine, examined the coast before so frequently visited, sailed some distance up the river called by D'Entrecasteaux the *Rivière du Nord*, which appellation he changed for that of the *Derwent*, and affixed different designations to various other places, which they still retain.

In 1797, Mr. Bass, surgeon of H.M.S. *Reliance*, requested the governor of New South Wales to allow him a whale-boat, and permit him to man her with six volunteers from the ships of war at Sydney Cove, with a view to his exploring the coast to the southward. In this skiff, a little larger than a jolly-boat, and supplied with six weeks' provisions, he sailed as far as 40° S. lat., and after a hazardous voyage of twelve weeks' duration, was compelled by the leaky state of his boat to return to Sydney, which he reached in February, 1798. Colonel Collins states that Mr. Bass "visited every opening in the coast, but only in one place, to the southward and westward of Point Hicks, found a harbour (Western Port,) capable of admitting ships;" and reported that "there was every appearance of an extensive strait or rather open sea, between the latitudes of 39° and 40° S. lat., and that Van Diemen's Land consisted (as had been conjectured) of a group of islands lying off the southern coast of the country.* The point which Bass called *Furneaux Land*, was named by Governor Hunter, at the request of Captain Flinders, *Wilson's Promontory*, in compliment to Thomas Wilson, Esq., of London. Instead of finding the land to the westward of this promontory trending south, to join Van Diemen's Land, it took a directly opposite course to the northward. Mr. Bass regretted that he had not a better vessel, which would have enabled him to circumnavigate Van Diemen's Land.

On the 7th October, 1798, the *Norfolk*, a small decked boat, sloop-rigged, of twenty-five tons burthen, lately sent from Norfolk Island to Sydney, was sent with Lieutenant Flinders and Mr. Bass, of H.M.S. *Reliance*, and eight volunteer seamen, with twelve weeks' provisions, to ascertain whether a strait really divided Van Diemen's Land from Australia.† On the 11th the explorers

anchored in *Twofold Bay*, and quitted it on the 14th. On the 17th they reached *Kent Islands*, in 38° 16' S. lat.; the next morning *Furneaux Islands* were in sight; the ensuing day they anchored at *Preservation Island*; they next landed on the southern end of *Cape Barren Island*. On the 1st of November they were off Cape Portland, Van Diemen's Land, in 40° 43' S. lat., and then proceeded along the north coast of Van Diemen's Land. On the 4th November, the latitude was 40° 55' 25"; longitude, 147° 16' 30" E., when *Port Dalrymple* was discovered, and sixteen days spent in the examination of the harbour, river, and adjacent country, with whose fertility and luxuriant vegetation the explorers were agreeably astonished. So numerous were the black swans, that about 300 were seen swimming within the space of a quarter of a mile square. Wretchedly contrived huts were seen, but no inhabitants or canoes. On the 20th November, the *Norfolk* left Port Dalrymple, and proceeded to the westward, but the wind changing, the vessel was driven back to *Furneaux Islands*, and detained there until the 3rd of December, when the voyage through the straits was resumed. On the 6th of December at ten A.M., they passed *Circular Head*; on the 9th they rounded the north-east point of *Three Hummock Island*, pursued a western course along its north side, saw flights of gannets which they computed at not less than "one hundred million;" subsequently the coast was found to lie nearly due south, no land could be seen to the northward, and a long swell was perceived to come from the south-west, to which the voyagers had been for some time unaccustomed; it broke heavily on a small reef, and was hailed by Flinders and Bass with mutual joy and congratulation, as it announced to them the completion of the long wished for discovery of a passage into what was termed the Southern Indian Ocean. *Albatross Island* was next examined; then *Barren* and *Hunter Islands*, and the steep black head forming the north-west cape of Van Diemen's Land was seen on the 9th, and called by Flinders *Cape Grim*. The wind was then strong at east-north-east, the night dark and tempestuous, and they kept as close as possible under the land, but on the morning of the 10th of December found themselves far to the south-west. At eight A.M., the wind having moderated, the little sloop made sail south-east-half-east, and at

* Colonel Collins' *New South Wales*, published in 1804. P. 443.

† See previous volume on Australia, pp. 367-8.

noon was in $41^{\circ} 13' \text{ S. lat.}$, distant ten miles from the *West Point* of Van Diemen's Land. On the 11th the latitude was $41^{\circ} 13'$, longitude $148^{\circ} 58'$, with a fresh breeze at north-north-east, with which they bore away along the shore at a distance of three or four miles, but with much hazard, as the wind blew fresh at west-north-west. On the 12th of November the latitude at noon was $42^{\circ} 0' 2''$, longitude $145^{\circ} 16' \text{ E.}$, the coast trending to the south-south east, the land mountainous, and losing the uniform character it had hitherto preserved. They continued along the coast on the 13th; passed the *South-west Cape* of Van Diemen's Land, then *De Witt's* or *Maulsuyker's Islands*, subsequently *Tasman's Head*; and on the 15th anchored seven miles above *Betsey Island*, in the entrance to *Frederick Henry*, or *North Bay*. The interval between the 15th and 20th was spent in exploring *North Bay* and *Norfolk Bay*; from thence they proceeded round *Cape Direction*, to the entrance of the *Derwent River*; and on the 25th anchored in an inlet which they termed *Herdsmen's Cove*, where the explorers left the sloop and proceeded up the Derwent in their boat, as they did not suppose there would be sufficient water for the little vessel. On the 29th the sloop was taken up to *Risdon Cove* for refitment.

On the 1st of January, 1799, the *Norfolk* left the Derwent, examined D'Entrecasteaux channel, sailed down Storm bay, passed Cape Pillar on the 3rd, and proceeded to the northward. On the 4th *Maria Island* was sighted; on the 5th, *Schouten Island*; on the 6th, in $40^{\circ} 45' 30'' \text{ S. lat.}$, no land was in sight; on the 7th, in $40^{\circ} 24' 45'' \text{ S. lat.}$, *Cape Barren* was visible, bearing south 76, west five or six miles. On the morning of the 8th, these adventurous navigators were among the islands on the north-east point of Van Diemen's Land, where stock was collected, and, after a providential escape from shipwreck, the sloop then stood to the northward; passed *Cape Howe* with a gale of wind from the south-south-east, on the 9th, and reached Port Jackson at ten p.m., on the 11th of January, 1799. The insularity of Van Diemen's Land was now ascertained, and the governor, in honour of the brave explorer, to whom Flinders generously acknowledged the merit was due, named the newly-discovered channel *Bass Strait*. When the extent of this voyage, and the scanty means with which it was

successfully accomplished, are considered, it appears a feat in itself sufficient to entitle Bass and Flinders to rank among the foremost of the daring and skilful seamen who have won for their country an honourable place in the annals of maritime discovery.

The favourable accounts given by Mr. Bass of the soil, productions, and climate of Van Diemen's Island, and by Lieutenant Flinders, of the fine harbours situated at its northern and southern extremities, determined the governor of New South Wales, Colonel King, to form a settlement there, with a view of providing food for the convicts at Sydney Cove, which it was found Norfolk Island could not supply. Some fear was entertained that the French intended to pre-occupy the island.

In August, 1803, Lieutenant Bowen was despatched from Sydney to the River Derwent, with the *Lady Nelson* brig, in charge of some convicts and a guard of soldiers. *Risdon* or *Restdown Cove*, on the east side of the river, where Flinders and Bass had watered and refitted in the *Norfolk* sloop, was the position chosen; the party was disembarked, and commenced building houses and clearing the land, but on the 3rd of May, 1804, while Lieutenant Bowen was absent at Slopem island, a party of three or four hundred aborigines pulled down the most advanced hut, and assumed what appeared to be a threatening attitude. Lieutenant Moon, of the New South Wales corps, attacked them with the military and convicts, killed, some say twenty—others, fifty—and drove the remainder back into the woods.

Meanwhile, Lieutenant-colonel Collins, of the Royal Marines, had sailed from England in April 1803, on board H.M.S. *Calcutta*, fifty guns, accompanied by the transport-ship *Ocean*, with about 400 convicts, 50 marines, and several gentlemen holding official situations, to form a settlement at Port Phillip (see vol. on *Australia*, p. 574). On arriving, Colonel Collins considered it impracticable to form a colony there, and having addressed Governor King to that effect, was ordered to sail for the Derwent, and take upon himself the chief command. On reaching Risdon Cove, he found the settlers almost starving for want of supplies, and in daily expectation of an attack from the aborigines. Colonel Collins judiciously determined to remove the settlement from Risdon to Sullivan's Cove, near the foot of Mount Wellington, where *Hobart Town* was

established, and named in honour of Lord Hobart, then his Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies. Both the military and the convicts endured great privations; in the years 1806-7, being devoid of bread, flour, and biscuit, they subsisted solely on kangaroos, fish, and a kind of sea-weed called "Botany Bay greens."

In 1804, Colonel Paterson, of the 102nd regiment, was sent as commandant, from New South Wales, to form a new colony at Port Dalrymple, on the north coast of Van Diemen's Island. He named the river the *Tamar*, and established, at the head of the western arm, *York Town*; but it proved inconvenient as a seaport, and the settlement was removed to *George Town*, near the coast.

The first settlers on the banks of the *Tamar*, like those of the *Derwent*, suffered many hardships, though happily of a far milder character than those recorded in the history of New South Wales; for the government at Sydney Cove, with every detachment of convicts forwarded to Van Diemen's Land, sent some supplies of food: yet, even four or five years after the colony was formed, sheep sold for ten guineas each. The fertility of the soil, however, speedily became manifest; more and more land was cultivated; the trees were felled; live stock introduced from Norfolk Island and from India, thrived well, and increased with great rapidity; and things soon began to wear an improving aspect. Lieutenant-governor Collins died in 1810: Lieutenant Edward Lord, of the Royal Marines, Captain Murray, and Lieutenant-colonel Gills, of his Majesty's 73rd regiment, successively filled his place, until the arrival, in 1813, of Lieutenant-colonel Davey, as lieutenant-governor. At this period, merchant ships were first allowed to trade to the ports of the colony. The number of free settlers began to increase. On the abandonment of Norfolk Island as an agricultural establishment, the farmers and their families were conveyed to Van Diemen's Island, and located in the district now termed New Norfolk. There were also occasional arrivals from New South Wales: several officers belonging to the marines, and to the regiments stationed in the colony, remained in it, and became landed proprietors, as did also numerous crown prisoners, on becoming

free by servitude or by indulgence. In 1816, Van Diemen's Island commenced its first export of grain to the older colony; and in 1819, the settlement of free emigrants was sanctioned.

In 1817, Lieutenant-colonel Sorell succeeded Lieutenant-colonel Davey as lieutenant-governor, and found, on his arrival, that owing to the mistaken leniency and inefficient policy of his predecessor, "bush-ranging," or, in other words, the marauding of runaway convicts, was spreading ruin and desolation over the island. Proclamations were issued, offering rewards for the death or capture of the seven principal ringleaders, who, within a few weeks, were either made prisoners or destroyed. Of these, the most desperate and utterly depraved was a convict named Michael Howe, who had arrived in the colony in 1812, under sentence of seven years' transportation. He was assigned to the service of one of the settlers, but soon absconded to the woods, and became the leader of a set of desperadoes, who pursued a career of robbery and murder. Mutual distrust and jealousy springing up among these wretches, Howe left them, and wrote to Colonel Sorell, offering to give himself up on receiving an assurance of personal safety, and the promise of a favourable representation towards obtaining a pardon from the governor-in-chief at New South Wales. This was acceded to, and Howe quietly surrendered; but in three months he contrived to elude the vigilance of his keepers, and again took to the woods, where, shunned as a traitor by the majority of his old associates, and proscribed by the government, he pursued a fearful career of crime, taking a fiendish delight in murdering all who came within his grasp. His gang consisted of fourteen men, all armed, and two native women, also armed. This monster, having at one period separated from his party, for fear of betrayal, was accompanied by a native girl who had been his faithful companion; being hard pressed by the troops, he fired at the girl in order to facilitate his own escape. She, however, received little injury, fell into the hands of the soldiers, and afterwards became very useful as a guide to the military in tracing the footsteps of the bush-rangers among the woods, where Europeans could see no mark.* For fifteen months

* A circumstance illustrative of the keen sight and sense possessed by the Australian savages occurred while I was in New South Wales, and the accuracy

of the following narrative has been attested by Saxe Bannister, then his Majesty's attorney-general for the colony, and by other gentlemen. It was re-

the outlaw successfully defied all efforts for his capture; but at last, the reign of terror which he had maintained for nearly six years, was closed by his being beaten to death with the butt-ends of the muskets of two men, viz., Pugh, a private of the 48th, and Worral, a convict, who laid in wait at a hut on the Shannon river, which Howe was induced to enter by the representations of a person named Warburton, who being engaged in hunting the kangaroos for their skins, was occasionally brought in contact with him. Thus the robber and murderer who had disgraced humanity by a career of far worse than brutal cruelty—hunted and trapped—died the death of a wild beast, escaping (in some sense) the last penalties awaiting him from the offended laws of his country, only to appear before that awful tribunal, to which he had been the wretched instrument of hurrying so many immortal souls—there to answer for blood shed, and misery inflicted, in the very wantonness of vice.

To return to the affairs of the colony. In marked that a settler living in a comfortable station on a small farm, near the Great Western road to Bathurst, had not for some time been seen about his grounds, or at market. The convict overseer in his service circulated a report that his master had privately and suddenly left the country and proceeded to England, leaving the property in his charge. This was thought extraordinary, as the settler was known to be a steady, prudent, and thriving individual. The overseer, however, told the story so plausibly that it was pretty generally believed by the neighbours. Several weeks elapsed, and the subject was almost forgotten, when one Saturday night a neighbouring settler returning from market with his horse and cart, on arriving at the paling which separated the missing farmer's land from the high road, thought he saw the very man sitting on the rail or fence. Instantly stopping, he hailed his long absent neighbour, enquired where he had been, and when he had returned home; receiving no answer, he dismounted from the cart and went towards the fence; upon which his neighbour (as he plainly appeared to be) quitted the fence, and crossed the field towards a pond in the direction of the house, which he was supposed to have deserted. The farmer thought it strange, remounted his cart, and proceeded home. The next morning he went to the cottage, expecting to see his friend; but saw only the overseer, who laughed at the story, told the farmer that he had probably taken a drop too much at market, and said that his master was by that time near the shores of England. The impression made upon the mind of the farmer was nevertheless so vivid, that he proceeded immediately to the nearest justice of the peace (I think it was to the Penrith bench), related the preceding circumstances, and added that he feared there had been foul play. A native black, then attached to the station as a constable, was sent with some of the mounted police, and accompanied the farmer to the rail where the latter thought he had seen, on the previous evening,

February, 1820, Mr. Bigge arrived as commissioner of enquiry, after completing his investigations at New South Wales. The reports of the commissioner led to several important alterations in the internal affairs of the settlement; among others, the regulation by which *bona fide* growers of corn could, at all times, receive ten shillings per bushel for it from the commissariat, was abolished, and the wants of government for the support of the prisoners and the troops was, in future, laid open to competition by public tender.

The deservedly popular administration of Lieutenant-colonel Sorell closed in 1824. He found the island a wilderness in 1817, inhabited by a comparatively small and inferior class of free persons: "he left it," says a well-informed local historian, "possessed of commerce, buildings, roads, bridges, a number of wealthy emigrants, and the inhabitants wearing the appearance of prosperity."* The colonists subscribed £750 (no individual being allowed to contribute more than two dollars), for the purpose of

his missing friend. The spot was pointed out to the black, without showing him the direction which the lost person apparently took after quitting the fence. On close inspection, a part of the upper rail was observed to be discoloured; it was scraped with a knife by the black, who smelt and tasted it. Immediately after, he crossed the fence, and took a straight direction for the pond near the cottage; on its surface was a scum, which he took up with a leaf, and, after tasting and smelling it, declared it to be "*white man's fat*." Several times, somewhat after the manner of a blood-hound, he coursed round the lake; at last he darted into the neighbouring thicket, and halted at a place strewn over with loose and decayed brushwood. On removing this, he thrust down the ramrod of his musket into the earth, smelt at it, and then desired the spectators to dig there. Instantly spades were brought from the cottage; the remains of the settler were found, and recognized; the skull was fractured, and the body presented every indication of having been some time immersed in water. The overseer was committed to gaol, and tried for murder. The foregoing circumstantial evidence formed the main proofs. He was found guilty, sentenced to death, and proceeded to the scaffold protesting his innocence. Here, however, his hardihood forsook him: he acknowledged the murder of his late master; declared that he came behind him when he was crossing the identical rail on which the farmer fancied he saw the deceased, and, with one blow on the head, killed him—dragged the body to the pond, and threw it in; but, after some days, took it out again, and buried it where it was found. The sagacity evinced by the native black was remarkable; but the first indication to the farmer of the spot on which the murder was committed, is to me the most singular interposition of Providence that ever came within the limit of my own immediate observation.

* *Van Diemen's Land*, by Henry Melville, published at Hobart Town in 1833.

presenting to the governor a piece of plate, and addressed the crown, praying that he might be continued in office; but the usual period of six years allotted to a governor having expired, his Majesty's ministers deemed it advisable, at this important epoch in the colony, to send out an officer of tried firmness of character, under whom various administrative reforms could, it was considered, be more effectually carried into operation than by an old-established governor. The retiring governor received a pension of £500 per annum from the colonial revenues.

The new ruler arrived at Hobart Town in May, 1824, and soon found himself surrounded with difficulties: the colonists (to borrow a phrase more expressive than elegant, from the Americans), had been "going a-head too fast;" a reaction had commenced; mercantile depression, depreciation of property, and diminution of public confidence followed: distress brought discontent in its train; party spirit, so frequently the bane of a colonial community, occasioned much bitterness of feeling; and to add to the public distress, bush-ranging recommenced, and fearful atrocities were of frequent occurrence. The daring and ferocity of the bush-rangers are the theme of several popular narratives, and many of the wildest and most romantic scenes of Van Diemen's Island are associated in the minds of the people with some, now happily traditionary, exploit. The proceedings of one of the most celebrated of those lawless bands will convey some idea of the disturbed state of society which they occasioned. In 1824, fourteen desperate convicts, of whom the leaders were Crawford, Brady, Dunne, and Cody, made their escape from the penal settlement at Port Macquarie in a whale-boat. They coasted the south-west shores of the island, living on shell-fish, &c., and ultimately reached the shores of the Derwent river, where they landed, and were soon joined by numerous associates, provided with arms, and other necessities. Crawford, a clever Scotchman, said to have been formerly a lieutenant or mate in the royal navy, organized and disciplined this gang of freebooters, who soon filled the respectable colonists with alarm. One of their earliest attacks was directed against the mansion of Mr. G. Taylor, of Valley-field, on the Macquarie river, situated on a gentle eminence, commanding a view of the river and open plain. The banditti mustered thirteen; the

family consisted of the venerable old gentleman (in his seventy-fourth year), three sons, two daughters, besides a carpenter and another free servant. While the robbers were advancing, they made prisoner of the youngest son of Mr. Taylor, whom they placed in front, denouncing his family, and threatening his immediate destruction if they were opposed. The gallant veteran, despite the disparity of numbers, and the fearful position of his son, sallied forth, accompanied by his two sons and servant, to give battle: the carpenter, who was working at a distance, hearing the alarm, attempted to return to the house, but was bayoneted by one of the gang. When the firing commenced, young Taylor, who was close to Crawford, the leader, sprang upon him, and endeavoured to hurl the ruffian to the ground. Both being powerful men, the struggle lasted some time, when Mr. Robert Taylor, fearing for the result, fired his musket, loaded with slugs and buck-shot, taking aim, as well as he could, at Crawford, who received part of the contents in his body—the remainder took effect on the shoulder of young Taylor. The fearful contest was kept up for a considerable period, the ladies charging the fire-arms of their father and brothers, and the whole party fighting for life, and more than life, since the treatment defenceless females were likely to receive at the hands of these wretches, was more to be dreaded than death itself. At length the bush-rangers were compelled to retreat, leaving Crawford and two of his gang on the field dangerously wounded; they were handed over to justice, and perished on the scaffold. Young Taylor partially recovered, but was subsequently killed by the aborigines, and his brave-hearted father did not long survive him.

The command of this desperate gang devolved on Brady, whose name operated like a spell in giving confidence to the bush-rangers, and whose rapid and daring movements struck terror into every part of the island. For nearly two years this Tasmanian brigand, who made it his boast that he "never wantonly sacrificed human life, and never outraged female delicacy," set every effort for his capture at defiance, and his traits of generosity and reckless daring threw a *prestige* around even his worst actions, which among the less depraved convicts rendered his example really more injurious, because more alluring than the

hideous and unalloyed vice before manifested by Howe.

The reception which Mr. Taylor had given to the bush-rangers was not lost upon Brady; the maxim he adopted was never to fight except "upon compulsion," or at least what he considered such, and the superior knowledge of the bush possessed by the brigands, together with the information acquired by their scouts scattered all over the country, and that obtained from their numerous allies among the convict servants assigned in private houses, enabled them to outgeneral every military or police movement. The Shannon district, with the extensive uninhabited district of St. Patrick's, Arthur's Lake, Lake Echo, and Great Lake, had been ever the favourite resorts of the bush-rangers, who closely imitated the dress of the soldiers, which consisted when in the bush of a grey jacket and trowsers, trimmed with fur, kangaroo-skin knapsack, opossum-skin cap, and kangaroo cartouche box—hence mistakes arose on the part of the troops, which had, for them, too frequently a fatal termination. Several of Brady's feats savoured more of the highly-coloured adventures of the hero of a melodrama than of the dry hard life of an escaped felon, engaged in procuring by theft a precarious subsistence; that such a mode of existence, while rendering him utterly callous to its consequences, had not eradicated all trace of better feeling is much to be wondered at.

Among the many tales rife among the colonists at this period, the following is perhaps the best example of the strange mixture of personal daring, impudence, ready wit, and want of principle or sense of infamy, which marked the character of this "popular villain."

Brady with his gang had possessed himself of the premises of Mr. Robert Bethune, at Pitt-Water, on a day when that gentleman was expecting visitors from Hobart Town. In due time the unconscious guests arrived, being received with all respect by the robbers, who took their horses and ushered them to the dining-room, where they did the honours with perfect gravity, some time elapsing before the gentlemen became aware of their actual position. In the plunder which ensued Mr. Walter Bethune was deprived of a brooch containing some hair, which was restored by Brady with the remark of—"Some love-token, perhaps, which I should be sorry to deprive any gentleman of." Dinner over, the guests,

and other captives, to the number of eighteen, were tied together two and two, and then *marched to the gaol at Sorell*, which they reached just as Lieutenant Gunn's party of soldiers, who had been out the whole day in quest of the outlaws, were in the act of cleaning their firelocks. Their surprise consequently was complete, their arms were seized upon by the enemy, and they themselves thrust into durance. The gaoler having escaped, fled to the abode of the district surgeon, where he found Lieutenant Gunn, who had retired thither after his day's march; immediately resuming his arms, he was leaving the house, when he encountered several of the gang, at whom, while taking aim, he received the contents of a musket in his right arm. Several shots were fired, and Captain Glover, a retired officer, on approaching the scene of action, was disarmed and incarcerated with the rest of the prisoners. The main body of the bush-rangers then withdrew, leaving a sentry posted, to whom they gave most sanguinary injunctions in the event of the prisoners attempting to escape, but desired him to respect their captivity should it be borne patiently. Some hours after dawn the gentry and soldiers who were in the gaol suspecting that the sentry was asleep, rushed upon him, and found their redoubted antagonist to be only a bundle of sticks, invested with a military great coat, cross belts, arms "ordered," and bayonet fixed. The military at this period consisted only of two or three small detachments, and there was then no effective police. Large rewards were in vain offered for the capture, or for the heads of the robbers. The contributions levied upon the settlers enabled the leaders to purchase connivance, and the residents at outstations feared to become marked men, by aiding in the attempts at capturing the ringleaders; some of the small settlers, it is stated, not only supplied the gangs with provisions and ammunition, but kept them acquainted with every plan projected for their apprehension. This alarming disorganization went on increasing for two years, until life and property beyond the immediate vicinity of the towns became insecure. Being well mounted the bushmen traversed the island with wonderful rapidity, and when a detachment of soldiers had left some gentleman's residence, hearing of the robbers at a distance, the brigands, deriving their intelligence from the convict servants, pounced upon the defenceless mansion, and rifled its contents.

Pecuniary reward proving insufficient to procure the capture of the bush-rangers, who possessed secure retreats in the mountain fastnesses and secluded dells of the island, Colonel Arthur obtained permission to offer a boon, in which he could have no competitor; namely, free or conditional pardons, and tickets of leave, with, in certain cases, in addition to pardon and pecuniary reward—a *free passage to England*. The hope of liberty proved an all-powerful stimulus, in a few months the whole party being captured, destroyed, or dispersed. Lieutenant Williams, of his Majesty's 40th regiment, with a strong detachment, came suddenly on Brady and his gang; after a brief contest the latter were worsted; Brady being wounded, was soon taken prisoner, and with five other bush-rangers, executed at Hobart Town.

Dunne, Cody, the ferocious Williams, and the sanguinary Murphy, for a time kept the bush, plundering, and too frequently murdering all who came within their reach; but treachery and the hope of reward soon did their work; life-and-death struggles took place, many were slain in the field, some died of their wounds in the hospitals, others, to the number of six or eight at a time, perished on the scaffold, and the advice generally given to the bystanders was—"My lads, never take to the bush, it is a bad game, and now quite done up; but if any of you should be such fools, be sure you murder the assigned (convict) servants—they are a devilish deal worse than their masters."

Although bush-ranging has since been occasionally attempted, it has not lasted long; villains know by experience they cannot trust each other, and to their many crimes treachery is almost invariably superadded; "honour among thieves" signifying simply, mutual connivance while it is convenient.

Between January 3rd, 1822, and May 16th, 1827, more than 120 prisoners absconded from the penal settlement at Macquarie Harbour; with two or three exceptions, the whole perished, being either hanged as bush-rangers, shot by the hands of the military, or famished in the woods, where some of them were reduced to such fearful extremities as led them to add to their previous offences against divine and human laws, that most outrageous to both—*cannibalism*. Of this, one fearful and only too well authenticated instance will suffice. Two convicts named Alexander Pierce and

Robert Greenhill absconded with six others, September 20th, 1822, with a view of endeavouring to reach the settled districts. After about ten days' travelling in the woods, Greenhill and Pierce agreed to murder one of their comrades named Dalton, and eat him. Greenhill slew the victim with an axe, and he was eaten by the party; after a few more days' travelling, Greenhill, with the concurrence of others, killed another comrade named Bodenham, and he was eaten. The next sufferer, John Mather, seeing that he was doomed, asked and obtained life for half-an-hour to pray, after which he was destroyed, and his body served for about six days for the remainder of the party, excepting two, named Brown and Kennelly, who, after seeing the murder of Mather, returned to Port Macquarie, where they died of exhaustion in a few days. Of the three remaining murderers, one named Matthew Travers was the weakest,—he was soon destroyed, part of him eaten, and the remainder dried and divided between Pierce and Greenhill, who by this time had crossed the third tier of Western Mountains, and arrived at a delightful part of the country covered with long grass, and abounding in kangaroos and emus, which they were unable to catch. The demoniac feelings of these two cannibals, each eyeing the other, and watching the opportunity to slaughter and devour him, offers a most horrible picture of the depths of degradation to which even civilized nature may descend. Pierce, in his deposition,* declared himself to have been haunted by the expression of one of his murdered comrades—"Greenhill would kill his father before he would fast one day;" and afraid to sleep or walk before him, he added that he thought for two days that Greenhill "eyed him more than usual;" he kept the axe, the instrument of such terrific deeds, under his head at night, and carried it constantly on his back in the day-time. After a few days passed in this manner, Greenhill fell, overcome with fatigue; Pierce instantly slew him, and travelled on, bearing with him the thigh and arm of his late associate. On reaching the settled districts, he caught a lamb and ate it raw, joined a gang of bush-rangers, and after a short time was taken prisoner and sent to Hobart Town, from whence he was again transferred to Port Macquarie. On the 16th of November,

* Report on Transportation, House of Commons, 3rd August, 1833. Appendix, p. 313.

1823, Pierce persuaded a prisoner named Thomas Cox to abscond, and proceed towards Hobart Town. When they had travelled three days' journey from the settlement, and while they had still some pork, bread, and fish remaining, Pierce murdered Cox, eat a considerable part of him, which, he said, was preferable to any other food, and then, as he declared in his confession, became "so horror-struck at his inhuman conduct," and so confounded, that scarcely knowing what he was doing he made a fire on the beach, which being perceived from the pilot station, and also from the settlement, led to his speedy seizure, which he made no effort to avoid, but voluntarily directed his capturers to the spot where he had left the mangled remains of his victim. When brought back to the settlement he had on the clothes of the murdered man, and a piece of his flesh in his pocket. Pierce was sent to Hobart Town on the 21st of November, 1823, tried for the murder of Cox, found guilty, confessed his crimes, and was executed.

I pass now to another subject, not entirely unconnected with the preceding, which, though less horrible in its details, must, to the mind of the philanthropist, be fraught with yet more painful interest. The fate of the aborigines of Van Diemen's Island, as of too many British Colonies, forms a distressing chapter in the history of the human race; and although it is true that entire nations have become extinct, in some instances, without any direct hostile proceedings on the part of their successors in the land, and like various species of animals and vegetables once abundant, have given place to a distinctly different class; in the present case the influence has been actively not passively injurious.

Van Diemen's Island, when visited by various early navigators, was comparatively thickly peopled by several thousands of a dark-coloured aboriginal race, differing in some respects from the aborigines of the adjacent island of Australia, being of a darker hue, with woolly instead of long hair, a more extreme facial angle, and with the features of the Papuan and the African negro; the limbs were attenuated, and the hands and feet small. The upper jaw, in children, projected considerably beyond the lower, but fell back with age; in the adult it was nearly in the same line. At Adventure Bay the males had their bodies tattooed, and their hair powdered with ochre. The front teeth were not drawn,

nor the first joint of the little finger cut off, as is the case with most of the Australian aborigines. Both sexes went entirely naked, except during the winter season, when kangaroo skins were occasionally worn. Their habitations consisted of three sticks stuck in the ground, and meeting in a point at the top, where they were fastened by a cord of bark, the sides interlaced with wicker-work, and the whole covered with bark or with long grass. Household utensils were unknown; the canoe consisted of a few pieces of wood lashed together like a catamaran.

The women of Van Diemen's Island were a better-looking race, with more agreeable features, and more cleanly persons than those of New South Wales. They frequently became attached to English sailors stationed in the islands in Bass Straits to collect seals, and proved affectionate, faithful, and useful, appearing happy to escape from the tyranny and hard labour imposed by their aboriginal husbands. The children by an European father and native mother are really handsome, of a light copper colour, with rosy cheeks, large black eyes (the whites tinged with blue), long dark eyelashes, fine teeth, well-proportioned ^{and} robust limbs. The male natives, though under other circumstances manifesting much natural affection and kindness to children generally, destroy all those of the half-caste, whenever they have the power; but the women evince the most passionate attachment to those children, and have been known to rush into the fire, and, at the hazard of their own lives, rescue the babe which the savages had committed to the flames. While the sealers were necessarily absent on their hunting expeditions on the islands for several days together, their native wives would continue for hours pouring forth a kind of hymn imploring the Deity whom they believe to be the giver of all good, that he would send back the wanderers with speed and safety. This invocation was accompanied with considerable gracefulness of action, and uttered in harmonious cadences.

The use of the bow and arrow was unknown; as also the throwing-stick and boomerang of the Australians. Their spears were composed of a piece of wood pointed by a sharp stone and hardened by fire, which was obtained by the rapid friction of touchwood. Their weapons, however, though in themselves not very dangerous,

were nevertheless kept in constant employment. Each tribe claimed exclusive possession of a hunting tract, whose limits being by no means clearly defined, occasioned murderous and almost incessant hostilities. Some tribes were more savage and mischievous than others, but the leading characteristics of them all would seem to have been, but too generally, untameable fierceness, treachery, and revenge; these evil passions, however, we must not forget, were fearfully developed by the circumstances of their position. The blood feuds commenced by the natives with the French navigator, Marion, and continued in 1803 with the first British settlers on the Derwent, were fearfully fomented by their being brought in contact with a class of men whose so-called civilization rendered them dangerous and unscrupulous as adversaries, and whose vices totally incapacitated them from pursuing towards the savages the course which—setting aside all better springs of action—common prudence would have dictated.

There can be, unfortunately, no doubt that the runaway convicts, the prisoners working on the roads in gangs, and in some instances, the "ticket-of-leave men," residing in the interior, carried on a constant and brutal warfare with the aborigines; invaded their hunting grounds, massacred whole tribes in order to carry off their women, and shot down a savage in much the same spirit in which they would have killed a tiger; this induced terrific reprisals—the infuriated natives, incapable of distinguishing between friend and foe, treated every white person as a deadly enemy; the traveller was waylaid and put to a cruel death—the settler was speared on his farm—the corn-stacks were fired—frequently, also the dwellings—desolation was spread over the country, and an exterminating warfare ensued, which could only terminate with the utter destruction of one race or of the other.

In 1817 Lieutenant-governor Sorell issued a proclamation declaring all the aborigines to be British subjects, and under the protection of his Majesty's government, with a view of stopping the practice of shooting at them. Their hostility is said to have been greatly increased by a native named *Mosquito*, who had been employed to track the bush-ranger, Michael Howe, and his associates. *Mosquito*, on being jeered and insulted by the convict population, for the

services thus rendered, returned to the woods, became chief of one of the most ferocious tribes, whom he instructed in every villany, and after committing many murders, was at length taken and executed. Women, children, and remote stock-keepers, fell under the unerring spears or waddies of the savages, who inflicted on the corpses of their victims enormities too revolting to be narrated. Sometimes the women were sent to a house to ask for bread or "bacca," and having ascertained the strength, or rather weakness, of the inmates, gave the preconcerted signal, and instantly the hills around were covered with the savages, who sped to the work of murder and rapine with the celerity of lightning; at other times, they would lie concealed among the charred fallen timber and blackened tree stumps, and when the unwary travellers were passing, suddenly start erect like demon ministers of death. In the more early stages of their hostility, a tribe would approach the Europeans seemingly unarmed, and assuming a pacific appearance and supplicating gesture, make their stealthy advances with the fatal spear drawn along the ground securely fixed between their toes.

The difference between a double and a single-barrelled gun was well understood, and if they succeeded in provoking an European to throw away his fire, they would speedily "*rush*" their antagonists, and with their waddies make death the certain issue of the conflict. They were also well aware of the edict made for their protection, and on one occasion, when they approached a hut where there was only one stock-keeper, upon being warned off with a threat of being fired at, if they came nearer, the reply of the leader is said to have been, "*You dam convict—you dam white—you shoot a me—gubberna hang you.*" Upon this, with a loud yell they fearlessly approached; the convict, however, judging the immediate danger to be the greater, fired a ball through the head of the chief, who was borne off by his companions, but not until another fell a victim to the unerring aim of the herdsman, who then reloaded, and pursued the flying foe; but while absent, some of the aborigines entered the hut, plundered it, and carried off a quantity of arsenic used for the destruction of vermin. The effects of the poison were not traced further, than that the blacks were seen drinking at the river in an extraordinary manner. Not unfrequently, the

defenceless stock-keepers were rescued from being murdered by the aborigines, by the timely arrival of bush-rangers armed to the teeth, who poured a deadly volley among the assailants.

There are so many accounts of their atrocious cruelties extant, that the following instance of compassion deserves to be placed on record. An elderly shepherd confined by illness to his hut, while being tended by the wife of one of his comrades, was suddenly alarmed by the fearful native yell of onslaught. The door and window were instantly closed; but a fiery spear directed at the thatched roof, set it instantly in a blaze. The old man desired his kind nurse not to stir, adding, "the blaze will be seen, and help may arrive." For a while she endured the heat and smoke; but when the showers of hot ashes had ignited her dress, she exclaimed, "Let me go, Clarke; better to perish at once by their spears, than consume piecemeal." On opening the door every spear was poised against her; uttering a piercing scream, she threw herself at the feet of the foremost of the savages; he looked at her for a moment, motioned to his companions to desist, tore the burning embers from her neck and hair, and rapidly uttering, "*Parawa—parawa*," pointed out to her the way of escape, which she, half wild with terror, instantly took. While this scene was occurring, a constable in charge of a female convict, chanced to be passing near the spot, and did not discover the vicinity of the savages, until he found himself close to them. He whispered to his companion to speed on in silence, but her fears mastered her prudence, and she uttered a loud and fatal shriek; the constable, unable to quiet the girl, fled—was hotly pursued, but saved his life—the girl fell instantly, pierced with wounds, and was buried with the remaining portion of the shepherd, who with his hut, was almost reduced to ashes. The number of Europeans who thus perished, must have been considerable; they were of all ranks and classes, and the daring of the aborigines became so formidable, that military detachments were obliged to be stationed on several properties, for the protection of the families of the proprietors.

In 1830 it became absolutely impossible to permit the desultory warfare between the isolated colonists and the wandering aborigines, so fatal to both, to continue; and a plan was formed and carried into execution,

of forming a line of troops, convicts, and colonists, across the island, and gradually moving, without breaking the chain, towards Tasman's peninsula, preceded by various skirmishing parties, who kept up an occasional firing and noise, as if they had been engaged on an elephant hunt. The march lasted two months—was borne well by all parties; but, from the rugged and broken nature of the country, the aborigines escaped to the rear of their pursuers, and when the extended line closed in at the entrance of Tasman's peninsula, the sole captive acquired by so much toil, and at an expense of £30,000, was a *little half-starved boy*!

When the united efforts of the government and of the colonists had failed in effecting the capture of the aborigines, an individual named Robinson, not gifted, apparently, with particular abilities or superior address, offered his services to Lieutenant-governor Arthur, declaring his belief that he and his colleagues could bring all the savages to terms, induce them to submit voluntarily to British authority. After some negotiations relative to the provision to be secured to his family, in the event of his perishing in the attempt, and the stipulation, if he succeeded, of a situation as protector of the aborigines, with a salary of about £200 a-year, his propositions were assented to. With Mr. Batman and a few other European associates, he penetrated the fastnesses into which the savages had retired; and having, through the medium of some partly domesticated aborigines, communicated to them his errand as a peace-maker, he so far conciliated them by persuasion and promises, aided by various small gifts, as to induce tribe after tribe to follow him to Hobart Town, where he placed them under the charge of the government. Every attention was paid to their necessities, and great pains taken to relieve them of the loathsome cutaneous disease under which many of them laboured; consequent, doubtless, upon their complete exposure to every vicissitude of weather, upon insufficient, and too often, most unwholesome food; but, more than all, upon their filthy habits. According to the statements of the aborigines themselves, the number still remaining in the woods was very small, yet the whole of those assembled in Hobart Town—men, women, and children—amounted to little more than 200; a melancholy proof of the exterminating warfare which must have been carried on by the

settlers, since the ordinary effects of the presence of the civilized man in the land of the savage—injurious as they have unhappily, too generally been—could not alone account for so rapid a decrease in a population which, according to the early discoverers of the island, had appeared very considerable.

It now became necessary to determine what to do with the natives, and after much deliberation, the plan deemed most conducive both to their welfare and that of the colonists, was, to convey them to Flinders' Island; this was accordingly done, the poor creatures seeming, to some extent, reconciled to their banishment—though, during the whole passage, they sat on the vessel's bulwark, shaking little bags of human bones, apparently as a charm against the danger to which they felt exposed.

A party of aborigines, supposed to be the last remnant of the ill-fated Tasmanian race, were taken, in 1842, by some sealers on the western coast; a reward of £50 having been offered for their apprehension, on account of some depredations that they were said from time to time to have committed. They were induced, by the representations of a countrywoman of their own—the wife of one of the sealers—to enter a boat under the pretence of being taken to some good hunting-ground; but when they were all afloat, and prostrated by seasickness, the sealers made sail for the station of the Van Diemen's Land Company at Point Woolnorth, from whence they were conveyed to Flinders' Island by Captain Stokes, to join their brethren, who then numbered only fifty-four individuals, three-fourths of the original number having perished, and the additions by birth having been but fourteen. In 1848 (31st December), there were stationed at *Oyster Cove*, on *Maria Island*, south-east coast, to which the remnant had been removed from Flinders' Island, twelve men, twenty-three women, and one male child, of pure aboriginal blood; they are fed, superintended, and educated by the colonial government, at an annual cost of £2,100, exclusive of the charge for seven children who are educated at the Queen's Orphan School. Of those at *Oyster cove*, five can read and write, ten can read only, and twenty-one are totally uneducated.

I have thus stated plainly and briefly, our dealings with the aborigines of Tasmania. It is worse than vain to deny, that as a Christian nation, the responsibility we voluntarily

incurred with regard to them was, in the first instance, either grievously misunderstood or wilfully disregarded; nor can we now, looking back upon the whole of our proceedings with them, contemplate without feelings of remorseful regret, the melancholy picture of these wild children of the woods pining rapidly away, in what to them must seem dreary captivity.

Of all the Australian natives that I ever met with, the Tasmanians appeared to me the least susceptible of intellectual cultivation, and the most obnoxious to civilization in any form; consequently, even while receiving as its effect, the abundance of food, warmth, and shelter, which in a state of freedom they must have so frequently been unable to procure, their roving instincts would naturally lead them to yearn with feverish restlessness after their old haunts, and the wandering habits of their early life. Whether by a different system having been pursued from the very commencement of European colonization in the island, they might not have been so far conciliated as to dwell peaceably in territory duly allotted to them, is a question which, so far as this island is concerned, it is useless to ask; but the lesson dependent upon it is a most important one to a nation whose peculiar mission would seem to be colonization. The answer is only too readily furnished by the ease with which the aborigines were brought to listen to the negotiations of Mr. Robinson; and in the case of the Port Phillip natives, by Mr. Batman (see div. iv. p. 575). I do not mean to deny that great difficulties are necessarily attendant on the intercourse of civilized and savage man—difficulties which, I verily believe, the wisdom of practical Christianity on the part of both the legislature and the colonists, can alone successfully combat; neither do I believe any line of policy likely to prove eventually successful in preserving these wild races, whose extinction—from some inscrutable law of their Creator and ours—seems inevitable; but if it be so, is it not the more incumbent on those who are, however regretfully, in some measure the instruments of their fate, to do all in their power to ameliorate it, to evince towards them all possible forbearance, and to make every attempt to dwell peaceably with them in the land from which they are passing rapidly away.

In the case before us, the demoralized state of the convict population must have

rendered the position of the local government, however desirous of securing the welfare of both races, a very arduous one; but it must, I think, be admitted, that if the attempt of coming to terms with the aborigines had been made at a much earlier period, the tranquillity of the colony might have been secured in a more satisfactory manner; and the guerilla warfare, with its fearful sacrifice of life and property, and disorganising influences, might have been to a great extent prevented.

I now resume chronologically the details of the principal occurrences.

In December, 1825, Van Diemen's Land was officially declared an independent colony, and formed into a distinct government. Hitherto its legislative proceedings had been superintended by the government of New South Wales; but for the future the settlement was to be subjected to the direct control of his Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies. The introduction of a supreme court of judicature was coeval with the commencement of the administration of Colonel Arthur. This able officer efficiently organized the different governmental departments, apportioned to each its proper duties, and established an excellent system, which might be taken as a model by other colonial governments. His Excellency, in 1827, divided the island into several police districts, and placed each under the charge of a stipendiary magistrate, who had under his control a certain number of "field police" and of mounted policemen.

The practice of allowing the unpaid magistrates various petty indulgences, in the shape of rations, clothing, &c., was abolished; and the savings were appropriated towards carrying out a more effective police system.

Among other useful measures, was that of putting aside a monetary system introduced during the administration of Governor Macquarie, which, though not without its advantages at that period, was becoming more and more inconvenient. In consequence of the scarcity of the circulating medium (then almost limited to dollars and copper coin), and to prevent its being conveyed out of the colony, the "holey dollar" and "dump" had been invented. A piece being struck out of the centre, and called a "dump," passed current at 1s. 3d., and the rim at 3s. 9d. Though the *sterling* value of the Spanish dollar was only 4s. 4d., it was in this manner made to represent 5s. *currency*. Again, an

English sovereign was worth 20s. *sterling*, or 23s. *currency*. This caused great confusion, until matters were set to rights by the introduction from England of the current British coin, the reinstatement of the dollar at its fixed value, and the formation of sound banks of issue, to supersede the circulation of private notes, which were previously given for all sums from sixpence upwards. The seat of government, about the ultimate position whereof doubts were entertained, was finally decreed to be at Hobart Town, great improvement in the style of whose buildings was soon perceptible; handsome stone and brick edifices rose one after another in rapid succession, and in all directions; large well-finished shops took the place of the cottages which had from time to time been run up without form or order; and wharfs, quays, and macadamized streets attested the public confidence and the energy of the people. With respect to the interior, great progress was made in fencing, clearing, and tillage; improved breeds of stock were introduced by some intelligent farmers from the south of England; good roads and bridges were made throughout the colony; markets and fairs were established; joint-stock companies were formed at Hobart Town and at Launceston; whale-fishing was carried on with activity; the exports were increased; the public revenue augmented, and exceeded the expenditure by £20,000 a-year; the activity of the governor encouraged the erection of churches and chapels in various parts; the clerical establishment of the colony was enlarged; lay lecturers, or catechists, were appointed; education promoted; and male and female orphan schools founded.

As might be expected, the colonists, in 1830, then numbering 13,000 free persons, and increasing annually in a rapid ratio, earnestly desired a legislature, composed of representatives elected by themselves. An address was therefore voted to the crown, on this and on other points, for which redress was sought. The following paragraph, conveying the opinion of Governor Arthur to his Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies on the subject, deserves a record, for it speaks volumes in favour of both the governor and the governed, and proves how little, even at that time, Van Diemen's Island deserved the indiscriminating abuse applied to it, as "a den of thieves":—

"Legislation by representation is a mode of government so interwoven with the habits of Eng-

lishmen, and so endeared to them by a thousand associations, that it is not at all surprising the petition for an assembly should have received so many highly respectable signatures; nor am I prepared to say that I do not respect the *passion for British institutions which so remarkably distinguishes the inhabitants*—more especially when I reflect that it is proved by the liberal contributions for the building of churches, made in almost every district, that the attainment of the elective franchise is not the only national object which interests them.”

His majesty's government did not accede to the wishes of the colonists; a legislative council, composed of fifteen persons, nominated by the crown, had been granted by act of Parliament in 1829, and the laws of England were said to be in force so far as the circumstances of the colony would permit. Some useful enactments were however made; courts of Quarter Sessions and of Requests were established, and trial by jury in civil and criminal cases was granted in 1830. It is not within the scope of my plan to comment on the individual rule of representatives of the crown in the colonies, but in this case I may be excused for the exception. The administration of Lieutenant-governor Arthur closed on 30th October, 1836, having lasted upwards of twelve years; and speaking from personal knowledge of him as governor of Van Diemen's Island, and subsequently as governor of Bombay, I have no hesitation in saying that a more efficient, conscientious, and Christian ruler never presided over a British dependency. On his departure he received several valedictory addresses, and £1,500 was raised to present him with a piece of plate as a tribute indicative of the esteem of the colonists; moreover during a long career of public service as chief of the government at Honduras, Van Diemen's Island, Upper or Western Canada, and Bombay, Sir George Arthur never received a rebuke from his superiors in England; the Horse Guards, the Colonial Office, and the E. I. Directors having all paid him the gratifying tribute of commendation.

Sir John Franklin (whose return from the North Polar seas the nation has well nigh ceased to hope) was the next governor of Van Diemen's Island. During his administration the act of parliament enjoining the sale of the crown lands in the Australian colonies by auction at a high minimum price was brought into operation. The

effect of this measure has proved as injurious to Van Diemen's Island as to New South Wales and the other colonies in Australia, by preventing the sale of the land, and consequently the immigration of the free yeoman class, so much needed for the welfare of this penal colony. Sir John Franklin, in reply to a despatch from Lord Stanley, in 1839, directing him to raise the minimum price from 5s. to 12s. per acre, clearly foretold the consequences, and stated, “there is every reason to believe that there does not remain any considerable portion of land in the territory of a higher value than 6s. or 7s. per acre. Your lordship will therefore perceive that this instruction is in effect an instruction virtually abolishing sales of land in Van Diemen's Island, and must accordingly put an end to the already declining land sales.” The opinion of the lieutenant-governor was disregarded, and not only has the sale of land ceased, but cultivation has been stationary, and the progress of the colony materially impeded by this ill-judged legislative enactment. Sir J. Franklin was succeeded by Sir J. E. E. Wilmot, in August, 1843, who was recalled in consequence of certain allegations impeaching his moral character, which however it is but just to state, that a large and respectable class of the colonists considered unfounded. He died in the colony in October, 1846, partly from disease, doubtless accelerated by distress of mind. The present lieutenant-governor is Sir William Denison, a captain in the Royal Engineers, and under this officer, (the boon so long solicited by the colonists being at length granted,) the first representative Legislative Assembly will be elected in conformity to the act passed by Imperial Parliament in 1850, “for the better government of her Majesty's Australian colonies,” in which Van Diemen's Island has been included. The provisions of this act have been detailed in the previous volume, pp. 561—563. It is due to the colonists to state that they have long sought this boon from the Imperial Legislature, and for several years very many of them have earnestly protested against the continuation of transportation to Van Diemen's Island, more especially since its abolition in New South Wales in 1840,* when this fine island became

* By an order of her Majesty in council, dated 2nd June, 1840, it was declared that, on and after the 1st August, 1840, “Van Diemen's Land, Norfolk Island, and the islands adjacent to, and comprised within the government of Van Diemen's Land, shall

be the places to which felons and other offenders in the United Kingdom then being, or thereafter to be, under sentence or order of transportation, shall be conveyed, under the provisions of the act, 5th of George the Fourth.

almost the sole receptacle for the criminals banished from the United Kingdom. Petitions have been sent to the Imperial Parliament in 1845, 1848, and 1849, praying for the cessation of convict transportation to Van Diemen's Island. That of 1845 comprised among its signatures that of Dr. Nixon, the bishop of Tasmania, those of six out of eight unofficial members of the Legislative Council, of thirty justices of the peace, a large number of landed proprietors, clergymen of different persuasions, professional men, tradesmen, and mechanics. I give the petition verbatim, because it deserves respect, conveys the feelings and opinions of a large and respectable class, and contains a brief enumeration of many facts highly creditable to the Tasmanian colonists; moreover it breathes throughout a loyal spirit—even the grievances, real or supposed, therein complained of, being put forth in mild and temperate language. The arguments on this subject have been since ably and temperately urged on the consideration of her Majesty's Secretary of State by Mr. J. A. Jackson, the London agent of the colonists who hold these opinions:—

"The humble Petition of the undersigned Free Colonists of Van Diemen's Land.

"**SHEWETH**,—That in approaching your Majesty to pray your gracious protection, we desire to express our sincere loyalty to your Majesty, and our firm attachment to the constitution of the British empire.

"That in making our present application, we treat your Majesty to believe that we are actuated by no factious feeling, by no unreasonable discontent, nor by any motive but such as ought to influence us as men and as Christians.

"That we appeal to Sir Eardley Wilmot, our lieutenant-governor, to testify that what we state as matter of fact in this petition is in no degree erroneous or exaggerated; and, as a considerable number of your petitioners are personally known to his excellency, and also to our late lieutenant-governor, Sir John Franklin (who is now in England), we further appeal to them both for their testimony as to the general position and character as colonists of many of those who now address your Majesty.

"That we remind your Majesty that from the year 1824, the British government promoted and encouraged the emigration of free settlers to Van Diemen's Land, by public notices issued, from the colonial office, the horse-guards, and the admiralty, and offered as inducements to such emigration, at first free grants of land, and latterly allowances to naval and military officers in the purchase of crown lands.

"That the obtaining of free grants of land was conditional upon the settlers investing a considerable capital in the colony, and being persons of character and respectability; and that all those who obtained such grants, and all military and naval officers obtaining the allowance in purchasing land, were required to become permanent residents in the colony.

"That under these inducements, and under these

conditions, a large body of your Majesty's free subjects became settlers in Van Diemen's Land as farmers and merchants.

"That up to the year 1831, a considerable number of your Majesty's free subjects had also emigrated to Van Diemen's Land as mechanics and farming men; and after that year, the number of these emigrants was increased under the system of bounties sanctioned both by the British and colonial governments.

"That by the industry and capital of these various colonists, an extensive commerce has been created, two considerable sea-port towns, besides several inland townships (or villages) and numerous houses and farm buildings have been erected, and a vast quantity of the waste land in the colony has been cleared from the forest and brought into cultivation.

"That from the year 1824, to the year 1840, the population of the colony increased from 12,700 to upwards of 40,000—the number of acres in cultivation from 25,000 to 124,000—the colonial shipping from one vessel of 42 tons to 141 vessels, comprising 12,491 tons—the imports (chiefly of English goods carried in English ships) from £62,000 to £988,356—the exports from £14,500 to £867,007 in which the wool alone amounted to £223,000—the colonial fixed revenue from £16,863 to £118,541—and that the sum of £218,790 was between the year 1828 and the year 1840 (inclusive) invested by the colonists in the purchase of crown lands.

"That during the same period, the number of places of worship increased from four to forty-four, and that there was a corresponding increase in the number of schools and other establishments for education.

"That from the year 1824 to 1840, the greater part of the convicts transported from England were sent to New South Wales, and only a small proportion to this island, who immediately upon their landing were dispersed over the colony as labourers and servants.

"That from the rapid increase of the free colonists, and the limited number of convicts sent to Van Diemen's Land, those among the latter who became free, or who by their good conduct were allowed to work on their own account, obtained full employment at high wages, thus having the strongest stimulus to good behaviour; and from this circumstance, but especially from each convict being at once separated from his associates, and accustomed to regular labour, and from the facility with which a moderate number could be kept in order, the majority of convicts in Van Diemen's Land were industrious and useful members of society, and the security of life and property was as complete in this island as in any county in England.

"That from 1824 Van Diemen's Land was, therefore, no longer merely a penal settlement, as in 1804 when it was first occupied, but a colony established under the sanction and encouragement of the English government, and supplied with a certain amount of convict labour which the settlers could readily employ, and for which they paid by defraying the whole expense of the convicts after their arrival.

"That during the sixteen years in which the prosperity of the colony was so remarkable, the proportion of convicts to that of free inhabitants constantly and regularly decreased, so that in 1840 the number of convicts as compared to the number of free inhabitants was little more than one-half the number in 1824.

"That in the year 1840 the home government dis-

continued sending convicts to New South Wales, and this small island was converted into the sole penal settlement of the British empire, the sole receptacle for all criminals transported from every part of your Majesty's vast dominions—from England, Ireland, and Scotland—from Canada, India, and Africa—and latterly also for all criminals transported from your Majesty's recent possessions in China.

"That in thus converting a flourishing British colony into an immense gaol, the free inhabitants had no voice—that their consent to an alteration so fatal to their interests was never obtained nor ever asked, and that they had not even the option given them, of selling their property to the government and leaving the island—a measure which your petitioners do not deny the British government had a right to subject us to, if the change had been for the general benefit of the empire.

"That in none of the notices issued by the government, either to free settlers or to free mechanics and labourers, is there a single intimation given that at any time, or under any circumstances, this colony would be placed under the present system; that we believe it was never thought of until 1840—that not a single colonist ever anticipated it—that, on the contrary, the increase of the population and the whole system of our government led us to look forward to the time when transportation to this colony would altogether cease—that many circumstances induced us to entertain this view, and we especially refer to the petition from this colony for a free representative assembly in the year 1838, to which your Majesty was pleased to return a very favourable answer, it being obvious that to a merely penal colony a free assembly could not be granted, or, if granted, that it would be useless.

"That your petitioners were in total ignorance of the details of the new transportation system until within the last few months, when part of the instructions sent by the right honourable the secretary of state for the colonies to the lieutenant-governor was published in the colonial newspapers.

"That from these instructions we learn that all male convicts sentenced to transportation for life, and a portion of those transported for fifteen years, are first to be sent to Norfolk Island, where they are to be kept not less than two years, and to be then transferred to Van Diemen's Land, that the number of criminals to be thus disposed of is estimated at 1,000 a year—that these convicts, and also all those transported in the first instance to Van Diemen's Land, are to be kept in probation gangs, each consisting of from 250 to 300 men, in which each convict was to remain not less than one year, or more than two years, (except in case of misconduct, when he may be detained several years)—that he is then to receive a pass which enables him to engage in private service for wages, and if he cannot obtain employment; he is to remain in the service of government, receiving merely food and clothing.

"That under the new system 13,764 male convicts and 2,492 females have been landed in this island between 1st January, 1841, and 31st October, 1844.

"That our only means of keeping these men under any kind of control are the few soldiers that are detached from head-quarters and the police of the colony.

"That the expense of this police, which is chiefly occupied in protecting us against criminals forced upon the colony against our strongest wishes, is borne by our colonial revenue,—that a further large

part of that revenue is sunk in various expenses connected with the new convict system; as one instance of which, we state that, from January, 1843, to June, 1844, the expense of witnesses at the supreme court (exclusive of the quarter sessions) was £2,447 10s. 6d., of which £2,208 was for witnesses on trials of convicts,—that the large sums which the local government cannot avoid thus applying without leaving us altogether unprotected, have already created considerable colonial debt, the whole of which has been incurred on account of the new convict system, and which, as far as we can see, must increase: thus, not only anticipating our revenues, but embarrassing the colonial government, and depriving it of the means of undertaking any works of public utility.

"That before the meeting of the legislative council in February last, the lieutenant-governor appointed a committee to report upon the colonial finance, that this committee appointed a stamp tax, further taxes on tea, and other imported commodities, a tax upon dogs, and taxes (in the form of licences) for carrying on various branches of trade; that an act for taxing tea and other imports was thereupon laid before the council, the members of which are all nominated by the crown, that petitions against this act, numerous signed by the colonists, and pointing out the injustice of taxing them for the coercion of British criminals, were presented to the lieutenant-governor in council,—that the act was notwithstanding passed, and is now law,—and that in addition to the previous colonial debt, arrangements were made during the same sitting of council for a loan of £25,000 from one of the colonial banks.

"That your petitioners have thus to pay taxes imposed by a council in which they have no representative, and levied, not for any colonial purpose, but to support the new convict system which is fast destroying the colony.

"That we are aware that the funds derived from the sale of crown lands were given up to the colonial revenue in Van Diemen's Land and also in New South Wales, in consideration of each colony paying its police; but we remind your Majesty that that arrangement was made in 1836, when the greater part of the convicts were sent to New South Wales, and when the crown lands were sold at five shillings an acre; whereas, since the transfer of the land fund the home government has raised the minimum price to twenty shillings an acre, at which (even if the colony were not in its present circumstances) these lands are almost quite unsaleable; and that, in fact, the land fund has fallen from £52,905 in 1840, to £8,913 for the first three quarters of the year 1844, and is estimated by his excellency to produce no more than £2,000 for the present year.

"That the police thus paid by the colony, although enormous in proportion to the population, is far too limited to give efficient protection to the colonists, the convicts being spread over the island in gangs of from 200 to 300 each.

"That already under the new system crime has increased to an alarming extent:—that in 1840 there were 507 prosecutions for crime in the supreme court and quarter sessions, of which 407 were against convicts; while in the first eleven months of the year 1844, there were (besides numberless offences tried before the magistrates) no less than 812 prosecutions in those courts, of which 713 were against convicts or those who had been convicts.

"That by keeping criminals in large gangs, as at

present, they cannot be benefited or improved, but on the contrary become deteriorated; that from the numbers already sent, their strongest stimulus to good conduct has been withdrawn, for the free settlers cannot employ them; that of those who have earned permission to work for themselves there are already 2,000 unemployed, and without the chance of employment: and that it is impossible that the good conduct of any man, whether a convict or not, can continue, who is compelled to associate exclusively with criminals, and who is without any prospect of bettering his condition.

"That this unbounded supply of convict labour, has of necessity thrown out of employment many of the free labourers who were induced by the government to emigrate hither, and must soon drive them out of Van Diemen's Land, thus further lessening the proportion of free inhabitants in the colony.

"That we are in a state of continual dread and anxiety for ourselves and our families owing to the number of convicts by whom we are surrounded; that we feel we have no security for life or property; that the moral condition of the colony is daily becoming worse and worse; that no regulations, however well intended, no government, however able, no improvement in detail, can counteract the evils of the enormous mass of criminals that are poured upon our shores; and that if the present system of transportation continues, we must, at whatever sacrifice, abandon a colony which will become unfit for any man to inhabit who regards the highest interests of himself or of his children.

"That in the violent commercial convulsions which have been felt during the last two years in all the Australian colonies, our colonial property has fallen more than one-half in value, and that much distress has been thus occasioned; but this distress is aggravated ten-fold by the state to which the transportation system has reduced us, and by the gloomy prospect of the future.

"That the large government expenditure under the present system is of some pecuniary benefit to us in the depressed condition of our affairs, but we cannot put it in competition with interests of a higher nature, or allow it for a moment to weigh against the moral evils which that system produces.

"That under the circumstances which we have thus detailed to your Majesty, the prosperity of this colony is at an end; that its commerce must decay, and its lands become almost valueless; that no new capital is now invested in it, and no new emigrants now come to it, and that we look for none, for we ourselves would never have emigrated to Van Diemen's Land had we foreseen its present state.

"That there is yet a more fearful evil produced by the present system of transportation; that it is reported and believed that the unhappy men sent to Norfolk Island have sunk into deeper pollution and depravity, and that if such men are added to the unbounded number of criminals already in Van Diemen's Land, this island and the neighbouring colonies, among which they must ultimately be diffused, will exhibit a spectacle of vice and infamy such as the history of the world cannot parallel.

"That the removal of the various evils which the transportation system causes to the free colonists, is within the scope of that power which the Almighty has placed in your hands; that we cannot doubt your Majesty's willingness to remedy them; and that, even in our present depressed situation, we shall

await your Majesty's decision with the confident hope that they will be removed.

"Your petitioners humbly pray your Majesty that the number of convicts in this island may as speedily as possible be reduced to that which existed in 1840; that transportation to the colony may cease until this object is effected; that meanwhile adequate protection may be afforded to the colonists, and better means adopted for the moral and social improvement of the convicts; that the colony may be relieved from every expense occasioned by convicts not in the employment of settlers, and that arrangements may be made for the gradual and total abolition of transportation to Van Diemen's Land.

"And your petitioners will ever pray."

On the 24th of December, 1849, a great public meeting was held at Launceston, in order to promote free institutions, and to urge the discontinuance of transportation. The requisition convening the meeting was signed by twenty-three of the oldest and most respected magistrates of the northern division of the island, and after several eloquent speeches, petitions to the Queen, and to both houses of parliament, were unanimously adopted.

The petitioners state that within a recent period of four years, upwards of 16,000 convicts have been introduced into Van Diemen's Island, and allege that this had been the reason why so many free persons have left the island; the number who have done so since 1841, being "estimated at not less than 12,000;" this emigration having been necessitated by the "overflowing supply of the labour of convicts not permitted to quit the colony, but allowed to work for themselves, and to compete with the free colonists, while they are able and willing to do so, but who are supported by the government in idleness when they are out of work, or not disposed to work."* The petitioners farther allege that there are now 26,268 male and 4,578 female convicts in the island, and that if this system be continued it must end in the moral degradation of the free population of the colony.

The number of convicts sent to Van Diemen's Island since its formation as a penal settlement, in 1803, would equal above two-thirds of the total population, free and bond, now in the colony. According to returns before me, shewing the name and date of arrival of the different ships which reached the colony, and the number of convicts on board each vessel, between 1817 and 1848, a period of thirty-one years, it appears that the males were in number 47,814, and the females 9,045—total, 56,819 Of the males,

* Petition to the House of Lords.

28,258 belonged to what has been termed the "*old class*," which arrived between August, 1817, and March, 1840; 1815 belonged to the "*probation class*," and arrived between June, 1840, and March, 1847; and 901 to the "*ticket-of-leave class*," between September, 1847, and July, 1848. The number during each year is shewn as follows:—

Year.	Males.	Females.	Year.	Males.	Females.
1817	268	—	1833	2,563	241
1818	581	—	1834	1,380	151
1819	649	—	1835	1,944	301
1820	1,398	161	1836	2,022	310
1821	1,017	61	1837	1,183	113
1822	806	45	1838	2,186	284
1823	913	117	1839	1,376	302
1824	705	50	1840	1,281	184
1825	684	129	1841	2,682	626
1826	510	100	1842	4,699	681
1827	854	214	1843	3,048	684
1828	1,028	172	1844	3,979	649
1829	929	181	1845	2,243	607
1830	1,900	235	1846	866	340
1831	1,899	340	1847	645	624
1832	1,051	149	1848	661	1,000

By an official return, signed "James Thompson, registrar," the number, of late years, is greater than the above: for during the sixteen years ending with 1846, the convicts who arrived were—males, 36,382; females, 6,195 = 42,577.

According to statements laid before the colonial minister by Mr. Jackson, on 12th March, 1849, the social status of 38,133 adult inhabitants is thus classified:—

Male convicts, under sentence	22,678
Men whose sentences have expired	8,832
Females under sentence	3,936
Females whose sentences have expired	2,687

The colonial agent, however, while faithfully fulfilling his duty in laying these and other representations before his Majesty's ministers, frankly bears high personal testimony in favour of the proceedings of Earl Grey, and admits the difficulties with which the subject is surrounded. Mr. Jackson, in the above-quoted letter to Mr. B. Hawes, M.P., under-secretary of state for the colonies, says—

"Lord Grey's anxious desire to consult the welfare of the colony, is conspicuous both in his professions and his acts. The colony is indebted to his lordship for the surrender of the land fund, his constant endeavours to cause improvements in the discipline of the convicts, his measures adopted for sending out the wives and families of deserving convicts, and, at least, his *reduction* of the number and the improved character of the convicts to be sent there in future. I hope the colonists will not be slow to acknowledge these acts. I am, however, better able than those distant colonists to appreciate the various difficulties which his Lordship has to encounter."

It is understood that the chief obstacle which prevents a compliance with the wishes of the colonists, arises from the very large expenditure which has been incurred by the British treasury in Van Diemen's Island, in making it a fitting receptacle for convicts, and in the well-organized and efficient superintendency and police establishment which are maintained on the island, not merely for the guarding of the prisoners, but with a view to their continuous employment, instruction, and reformation, as will be shown in a subsequent chapter.

I have, in the previous volume, expressed my own opinion concerning the transportation of convicts (in limited numbers) to distant settlements, where, as in Western Australia for instance, labour on public works is urgently required, and can now be procured only at an enormous expense; nor do I see a better mode of employing those, who, having forfeited their liberty by the commission of crime, have rendered themselves a disgrace and a danger to the state, than by thus preventing their being also a useless burthen to it. This, I hold, cannot be better done than by employing them in preparing new settlements for the reception of free settlers; in the construction of forts and harbours, and roads; in hewing down forests, and in the numerous toilsome and laborious tasks necessary to convert the wilderness into a fitting abode for civilized man. But it is one thing to use convict labour as a means of assisting the exertions of the free citizens, and quite another to employ it to such an extent as to overwhelm their exertions by its undue preponderance. That this has unfortunately been the case in Van Diemen's Island, appears to be very generally believed.

Earl Grey himself frankly admitted, in his able speech in the House of Lords, 14th March, 1850, on moving the second reading of the "*convicts prisons bill*," that—

"The whole colony was thrown into confusion and disorder, owing to the large number of convicts who had no employment. This led to a state of things which was absolutely frightful: the demoralization which took place among the probation gangs was shocking to contemplate."

At the close of 1840, the number of convicts in the island was no more than 7,942; between 1840 and 1847, inclusive, the number of convicts who arrived was—males, 20,532; females, 3,940 = 24,474. Captain Stokes, R.N., who was employed for five years in surveying Australia and Van Diemen's Island, visited the various settlements, and judged for himself of their actual state.

After speaking in high terms of the "full tide of prosperity that covered the island in 1840," he proceeds to observe—

"Everything wore a smiling prospect: the fields were heavy with harvests; the roads crowded with traffic; gay equipages filled the streets; the settler's cottage or villa was well supplied with comforts, and even with luxuries; crime, in a population of which the majority were convicts, or their descendants, was less in proportion than in England; the exports, for the first time, exceeded the imports; trade was brisk; agriculture increasing; new settlers were arriving; everything betokened progress; no one dreamed of retrogression or decay."

To this picture the observant officer adds—

"In four years all this was reversed; and though many other causes may have co-operated in producing this change, it seems acknowledged by most persons, that the result is chiefly traceable to the disproportionate increase in the amount of population, which first checked free immigration; and secondly, by glutting the labour market, the free population was necessarily displaced, and those who had actually established themselves on the island as their second home, were driven away from it."

The most recent measure adopted by her Majesty's government for the purpose of mitigating the evils arising from too rapid an influx of convicts, was the introduction of military pensioners. In December, 1849, Earl Grey announced to Sir William Denison, the governor of Van Diemen's Island, that parliament having granted £30,000 for promoting emigration to those colonies to which convicts are sent, her Majesty's government, with a view of introducing a body of loyal settlers, and also of adding to the internal security of the colony, and increasing its means of military defence, had resolved on gradually introducing military pensioners as guards in convict ships, such pensioners to be accompanied by their wives and children, and commanded by a commissioned officer. The local government was directed to make arrangements, and keep some accommodation vacant in Hobart Town, or its vicinity, for the reception of these men and their families on their first arrival. The act 6 and 7 Vict., c. 95, provides for the enrolment of pensioners for occasional duty in the United Kingdom; and 10 and 11 Vict., c. 54, extend the provisions of the previous act to the colonies. Under the royal sign manual, this description of force in Van Diemen's Island is fixed at 500 men. Earl Grey directed, on 13th December, 1849, that the pensioners should have some vacant accommodation provided for their lodging on their first arrival, and as soon as practicable, be placed on certain small plots, of two to five acres,

of land, which should become their own after seven years' service as enrolled pensioners in the colony, provided they should have fulfilled the conditions of their agreement. The governor was also authorized to employ the labour of convicts in preparing their allotments, and helping them to erect dwellings; the entire cost to be incurred for their houses not to exceed the rate of fifteen pounds a head on the whole number of pensioners. An *esprit de corps* was to be fostered by these retired soldiers being, as far as possible, settled in one neighbourhood, within reach of schools for their children, and of the means of receiving religious instruction, and of attending divine worship. With the exception of twelve days in the year, appointed for military exercise, and of the liability to be called out in support of the civil authority, or for the defence of the colony, the pensioners are to merge in the general working population, and live by their own industry. The bedding supplied by government during the voyage is given to the emigrant soldiers and their families; and the secretary of state directs, that if the pensioners be unable, immediately on landing, to obtain a good livelihood by private engagements, that employment be offered them on public works as labourers, such employment not to extend beyond the first six months after their arrival in the colony. Great credit is due to Earl Grey for this statesman-like and generous policy.

The statistics given in a subsequent chapter preclude the necessity of dwelling, in this place, on the existing social position of the colony, which, under all circumstances, is singularly creditable to the free settlers.

The following is a list of the lieutenant-governors of Van Diemen's Island, and of the officers temporarily administering the government since the formation of the colony:—

Lieutenant-governors.	From	To
Lieut.-col. D. Collins, R. Marines	Feb. 16, 1804	Mar. 24, 1810
Lieut. Edward Lord	May 24, 1810	Feb. 1812
Capt. Murray, H.M. 73rd Reg.		
Lieut.-col. Gills	Feb. 1812	Feb. 4, 1813
Lieut.-col. T. Davey, R. Marines	Feb. 4, 1813	April 9, 1817
Lieut.-col. W. Sorell	April 9, 1817	May 14, 1824
Lieut.-col. George Arthur	May 14, 1824	Oct. 30, 1836
Lieut.-col. K. Snodgrass (acting)	Oct. 31, 1836	Jan. 5, 1837
Captain Sir J. Franklin, R.N.	Jan. 6, 1837	Aug. 21, 1843
Sir J. E. E. Wilmot, Bart.	Aug. 22, 1843	Oct. 13, 1846
Charles Jos. Latrobe (acting)	Oct. 13, 1846	Jan. 26, 1847
Sir W. T. Denison, B.E.	Jan. 26, 1847	—

Note.—Lieutenant-colonel D. Collins died on the 24th March, 1810; Lieutenant-colonel T. Davey, on the 2nd May, 1823; and Sir J. E. E. Wilmot, Bart., on the 3rd February, 1847.

CHAPTER II.

PHYSICAL FEATURES—COAST LINE, AND ADJACENT ISLANDS, BAYS, AND HARBOURS—MOUNTAINS, RIVERS, AND LAKES—DIVISIONS—CHIEF TOWNS—AND GENERAL TOPOGRAPHY.

PHYSICAL FEATURES.—Van Diemen's Island is literally a land of hill and valley, mountain and stream, and it may be added, of forest, flood, and fell. It is true indeed that its loftiest ranges, when compared with the mighty Himalaya, the Andes, or the Alps, appear as insignificant as do its streams (including even the beautiful Derwent) to the traveller who has been borne on the broad bosom of the Ganges, Amazon, or Danube; but its immense forests of unfading, though somewhat sombre green, impart to its aspect a peculiar stamp of massive grandeur. Its general character is moreover decidedly mountainous, the whole surface having been apparently heaved up by some mighty convulsion, or series of convulsions, in masses of all shapes and sizes—sometimes of barren rock, though more frequently densely wooded; but in either case too often rugged and impracticable, abounding in abrupt acclivities and almost inaccessible gullies; in other places forming grassy and lightly timbered slopes, whose verdure, though of a browner hue than that of our English meadows, is yet enlivened by the yellow buttercup, that homely flower so dear to the immigrant; elsewhere it forms luxuriant flats, generally of eight to ten thousand acres, surrounded in irregular circles by densely-wooded hills, whose loftiest summits are from April to October capped with snow. This latter description of country is frequent in the interior, on which several extensive lakes are situated in a kind of elevated table-land. The northern portion of the island also possesses fertile and extensive plains; the southern is extremely hilly; but in the west and south-west a very unexpected proportion of available land has been recently discovered. On the banks of the numerous streams a line of rich soil is almost invariably found, subject however to occasional floods; for this serious inconvenience, the extremely undulating nature of the country, though to a great extent the cause, offers a remedy by presenting facilities for a sound system of drainage, which if carried out would likewise render the marshes and swamps, now both unprofitable

and unsightly, not merely available for cultivation, but extraordinarily productive.

The proportion of land adapted either for the plough or for pasture has been differently estimated, and the calculation at the best can be but imperfect and unsatisfactory, since the difficulty of forming a just opinion of the quality of land without practical experience of its capabilities, has been repeatedly proved by the opposite opinions expressed by explorers of the same tract. The general opinion is, I believe, that including the whole extent with which we are now acquainted, about two-fifths is the very utmost that can be considered available, and of this three-fourths is pasture-ground. The island is by all accounts so densely wooded that it would appear strange that there should be so much pasturage, but it must be remembered that the Tasmanian trees are chiefly eucalyptæ, and whether boldly erect and widely ramified, or stunted in their growth, they very rarely yield so dense a shade as to materially impede the vegetation of the grasses, which Strzelecki declares to be in many localities untrodden by flocks and herds, luxuriant beyond description, "and extending from the level of the sea to (almost) the highest altitudes of the colony." He instances the lower parts of Ben Lomond, Ben Nevis, Dry's Bluff, and Lake St. Clair, between an altitude of 3,000 and 4,200 feet.

Having thus stated the peculiarly rugged and unpromising nature of some parts of the island, it is only right to mention on the other hand, the testimony of Lieutenant Jeffreys, who quite in the early days of its settlement "crossed from Hobart Town to Port Dalrymple, a distance of 125 miles, in a barouche, with three and sometimes four horses in hand, and yet had not more than twenty miles of what could possibly be called a road, the whole being a beautiful level pasture, with but few trees to obstruct the view or the passage." The country, indeed, could sustain at least three million people.

COAST LINE AND ADJACENT ISLANDS.—The shores of Van Diemen's Island are in

general high and rocky, except on the north, where they form the southern limits of Bass Strait, and are chiefly characterized by low sandy beaches; to the south-east they are deeply indented and bordered by islands; to the south-west they are abrupt, and present the barren, rugged aspect which might be expected from their exposure to the storms and chilling winds that blow direct from the polar regions; but on all sides they form capes, headlands, and points, and afford safe anchorages.

In tracing the varied features which distinguish the Tasmanian coasts, the magnificent estuary of the chief river claims the first notice. The mouth of the *Derwent*, on whose western bank Hobart Town is built, has two entrances, the one named *Storm Bay* by Tasman, from the tempestuous weather he there encountered (see page 1); the other, *D'Entrecasteaux Channel*, in honour of Bruni D'Entrecasteaux, the celebrated French admiral, by whom it was discovered in 1792, while commanding an expedition in search of the unfortunate La Perouse.

Storm Bay (in a north-east by east direction from *Tasman's Head* to *Cape Pillar*) is about thirty-five miles wide, and completely open to winds from the south and south-east; the depth at half-a-mile from *Cape Raoul* is fifty fathoms; in the middle of the bay it is thirty-five fathoms, gradually decreasing towards *Bruni Island*, and in a direct line from thence about north by west to *Betsy's Island*, shoals to twenty-five, sixteen, and twelve fathoms. It opens into *North or Frederick Henry Bay*, which is sixteen miles long, and in some places six and-a-half miles broad, the greater part perfectly land-locked, and affording good anchorage in two to fifteen fathoms water. North bay to the southward opens into *Norfolk Bay*, which is nine miles long, by three miles broad, completely sheltered, and having in no part less than four fathoms. This fine haven is bounded to the eastward by *Forestier's Peninsula*, which is connected with the main land at its northern and southern extremity, by very narrow isthmuses, which at some future day may probably be cut through so as to afford more ready inlet or exit for vessels on the east coast.

Adventure Bay, on the south-west shore of Storm bay, has good shelter from west and south-west gales, but a heavy surf generally breaks on the beach. *Fluted Cape*, which forms its south-east extremity, is high, steep, and projecting, composed of

circular basaltic columns standing close together, in the form of the barrel of an organ, and covered with trees. *Penguin Island*, adjacent, is small, of moderate height, and also clothed with timber.

Bad Bay, at the southern extremity of Bruni island, deserves its name, being exposed to all the fury of the south-west winds. *Cape Bruni* and *Tasman's Head*, on either side of this bay, bear S. 79°, cast eight miles.

D'Entrecasteaux Channel, the south-west entrance to the Derwent, is a continuous line of land-locked harbours, being in length about thirty miles, and varying in breadth from two to eight miles, with a depth of from six to thirty fathoms, on a black muddy bottom. Throughout its whole extent, it offers a magnificent series of panoramic views. The ship in which I sailed entered the channel at midnight, leaving behind (at Bruni Head) a severe tempest. When the morning dawned, she lay at anchor with her bowsprit almost among the trees of Bruni island, amid scenery which, as a whole, is of surpassing beauty. I have visited the far-famed lakes of Killarney, Lomond, and Geneva, but to me D'Entrecasteaux channel excels them both in grandeur and beauty; the shore on either side is characterized by deep sinuosities and bold projecting headlands; here, a romantic-looking bay, with grassy knolls; there, a wooded eminence, down which a silvery cataract leaps noisily from rock to rock; occasionally a verdant isle breaks the path of the waters, and ever and anon a rustic cottage, thriving farm, or comfortable homestead, with its numerous adjuncts, animate and inanimate, breaks in upon the wild grace of nature, and attest the presence of civilized man. A much-needed lighthouse was erected by Sir John Franklin, when lieutenant-governor, in a favourable position on the south-western extremity of Bruni island, which a wide gap cut in the woodland behind renders easily perceptible from seaward; it serves both by day and by night to warn vessels entering the channel, of the shoals at the mouth, which had, previous to its erection, proved fatal to several vessels. Among these was the *Actæon*, on the reef which has since borne its name. Another very distressing instance was the wreck of the convict ship *George the Third*, in which 134 persons perished, of whom the majority, being convicts, had been kept below, to prevent a general rush to the

boats. The remainder (174 persons) were providentially saved by a small schooner then engaged in cruising in that vicinity. In July, 1835, the *Enchantress*, a merchant ship, beating up the channel, struck, as it was said, on a *weather shore*, and went down in deep water in fifteen minutes. Soon after the *Wallace*, barque, from Leith, shared the fate of the others. By the aid of the above-mentioned beacon, and of the efficient pilots now stationed on the look-out for vessels, the entrance to D'Entrecasteaux channel is easy at all hours; and once beyond *Partridge Island*, the navigation is, with the most ordinary precautions, safe throughout. There are several excellent havens on both sides; on the eastern or Bruni island shore, are *Taylor Bay* or *Great Cove*, *Little Cove*, *Isthmus Bay*, *Great Bay*, and *Barnes Bay*, capable of receiving the largest vessels. *Great Cove* is spacious, and ill sheltered from the north-west winds, but when these are violent, shelter may be readily obtained in the havens on the opposite coast, of which the first met with (from the southward) is, *Recherche Bay*, so called by the French admiral, after his ship. It is about three miles wide and two miles deep, with anchorage in six to twelve fathoms. Two arms extend, the one to the southward, termed *South Port*, the other to the northward, into which the D'Entrecasteaux and Catamaran rivers flow. *South Port* has a land-locked anchorage, three to five fathoms soundings of fine sand. The shores around are densely wooded, and rise to a considerable height. Fresh water is obtainable from several streamlets, and a projected township called *Ramsgate*, is marked at the bottom of this snug harbour. *North Port* is about a third of a mile wide, at the entrance, but increases to two-thirds immediately within, and extends in a northerly direction nearly two miles, with a depth of five, four, and three fathoms, in black mud, to three-quarters of a mile above the entrance, at a moderate distance from the shores, which are sloping, and covered with thick wood. The waters of this haven are unruffled, even during the violent winds.

Muscle Bay, about six miles north-east of Recherche bay, is some two and-a-quarter miles deep to the westward, with fourteen fathoms in the middle, and six fathoms near the shore. A lagoon runs some distance further west, into which a streamlet flows.

Esperance Bay, six miles and-a-half north-north-east from the preceding, is about one mile and-a-quarter wide, and five miles deep, in a north-west and south-west direction; there are seven fathoms and-a-half in the entrance, and secure anchorage in three to five fathoms. Like the other havens, a small stream disembogues at its head.

The next inlet in the coast is that formed by the really considerable

Huon River, so called from the companion of D'Entrecasteaux, Captain Huon Kermandee, of the *Esperance*. Its estuary extends seven miles north-west by west, and then takes a north by east direction to nearly the same distance. A beautiful islet (comprising about 300 acres), divides its entrance, there about three miles wide, and forms two passages, of which the western is the broadest, but has, in the centre, a small dangerous rock, conspicuous only at low water. Five miles up the Huon is a beautiful bay, named *Swan Port*, agreeably diversified with projecting points of land, clothed with fine timber. Captain Freycinet thus describes it:—

"Its extent in a north and south direction is upwards of four miles, upon a width considerably less: many deep bays present themselves on both sides, with all the necessary accommodation for the safety of vessels. Its coasts, although a little elevated, are, in general, steep: their declivity is gentle, and the remarkable fertility of the soil offers everywhere the most enchanting and varied appearance. In several places *natural quays are formed, easy of access for the largest vessels, or even for the purpose of careening*. The middle of the harbour has from three and-a-half to seven fathoms water, upon a mud and sandy bottom; and with the exception of the interior of some of the bays, a depth of less than three to four fathoms is seldom found at a musket shot's distance."

North-West Bay, or *Port*, opposite the northern extremity of Bruni island, is of an irregular quadrilateral form, two miles in width, and five miles deep, in a northerly direction. The two points at the entrance are high and rocky; but the other parts of its shores are much less elevated, and everywhere easy of access. Several small streamlets fall into it from the south.

Bruni Island, which separates Storm bay from D'Entrecasteaux channel, is of very irregular form and unequal elevation. In length, it extends north and south about twenty-five miles; its breadth varying from one to seven miles. At the centre, the island is nearly divided into two parts, being connected only by a very narrow isthmus, five miles long. The deeply-indented shores

of Bruni island, attest the power of the great Southern ocean in its unbroken roll, while the basaltic character of its contorted surface, evidences the mighty subterranean power by which it would appear to have been raised above the crust of the globe.

Fluted Cape, on the east coast, presents to the eye an abrupt cut; its immense basaltic columns have been before mentioned.

Tasman's Head, and the other promontories on the southern shore, are high and bold; the northern half of the island is less elevated; vegetation is vigorous; and cultivation is carried on to a limited extent.

The entrance of the *Derwent River*, (properly so called), after passing out of D'Entrecasteaux's channel, round the north point of Bruni island, is marked by *Mount Direction*, and lies between a narrow tongue of land on the east, termed *South Arm*, and a small peninsula, called *Mount Lewis*, which approaches to within three-quarters-of-a-mile of *Kelly's Point*, on Bruni island. A light-house on *Iron Pot Island*, off Cape Direction, guides the navigator. On passing this entrance, the noble river expands into a capacious basin, in whose calm, deep, cerulean waters, many a fine fleet might ride at anchor. The evidences of cultivation are perceptible on either shore, and increase as the voyager proceeds to the anchorage at *Sullivan's Cove*, Hobart Town. There is no danger all the way up; the breadth is from two to four miles: ships may "stand on" within half a cable's length on either side; the holding ground is good in every part—the depth of water nowhere exceeds eighteen fathoms.

Sullivan's Cove is formed by a bend of the land; a low, sloping point shelters the shipping from seaward. The anchorage is good anywhere off the town, in nine to twelve fathoms, on soft mud. Four miles higher up the Derwent is *Risdon, or Rest-down Cove*, where the first settlement was commenced in 1803 (see *history*, p. 4.) The river here contracts to a breadth of less than half-a-mile.

Ralph, or Double Bay, a singularly-formed and secure haven, lies off the eastern shore of the Derwent, and stretches so deeply into the land, as in two places nearly to isolate the tongue of land which separates the Derwent estuary from North bay. It extends six miles, north and south; has a breadth of two miles and-a-half; an entrance a mile and-a-half wide; and soundings from two to seven fathoms.

The smaller islands situated in *Storm* and the contiguous bays, are named *Iron Pot*, *Betsey*, *Sloping*, *Spectacle*, *Garden*, *Quoin*, &c. The first of these lies immediately off Cape Direction (the southern point of Ralph Bay peninsula), leaving only a boat passage between. *Betsey Island*, about two miles and-a-half to the eastward, is high, and only accessible towards its north end. It is about a mile in length, by half a mile in breadth, and was converted, some years ago, into a rabbit warren by the proprietor to whom it was granted: the speculation has proved successful; and the skins bring a good price in the Chinese markets. *Sloping Island* is situated in the channel between Storm and North bays.

It is here necessary to note, that the sand-banks near the entrance of the Derwent river are shifting in some places; and in others gradually accumulating. This is most manifest between the north end of Bruni island and the Iron Pot lighthouse. It should also be remarked, that the presence of sea-weed on these shores, does not always denote shoal water, but merely foul ground: in some places it is found 90 to 120 feet long, growing up to the surface. This is the case off Betsey island, between which, and two flat rocks on the main land, there are five to nine fathoms water, although the water is covered with this gigantic weed.

The tides in the Derwent and in D'Entrecasteaux channel are stated to be very irregular; according to the editor of the *Australian Directory*, or *Sailing Instructions*, published by the Admiralty, in 1833, they rise sometimes eight or ten feet, at others four or five, and occasionally there is no fall of tide for two or three days together. Towards the entrance of the Derwent the water at the surface sometimes runs upwards or downwards for twelve hours at a time, whilst the rise and fall near the shore are at the usual periods. These and other anomalies are probably occasioned by the winds and peculiar curvatures of the land; they do not appear to extend far below the surface, as a counter-current has been found at the bottom. At Macquarie harbour Captain King, during his stay of a fortnight, found the tides very irregular, high water occurring sometimes once, sometimes twice in the twenty-four hours, and in both cases the ebb running twice as long as the flood. Captain Kelly found a strong ebb or flood for nine days together without the water

rising or falling a foot; but during north-west gales the rise was found to be great, subjecting the adjoining low lands to repeated inundations. Quitting this extensive estuary I proceed to trace the coast in a north-easterly direction, commencing with the strange-shaped Dutch-named peninsula, whose south-western and south-eastern extremities are formed by two high column-like points, termed Cape Raoul and Cape Pillar. These capes are distant about nine miles; the intermediate coast falls back in a deep irregular curve, the lower part of which obtained from the French the name of *Mainjon Baie*; to the northward of this is *Port Arthur*, which runs inland for nearly five miles, having an entrance two-thirds of a mile in width, marked on either side by bold and bluff headlands. Its eastern shores are formed by a perpendicular wall of basaltic columns, and iron-stone rock, with a long line of lightly-timbered hills overtopping them and sloping backwards like an immense battery or embankment. Fresh-water streams flow through several rocky gullies, where a landing may be effected during an easterly wind. The western shore has for its seaward extremity a hill nearly 500 feet in height, with a clear round summit and perpendicular sides towards the ocean. Inwards the shore is broken by bays and sandy beaches, behind which extends an undulating tract covered with heath and small shrubs. Its chief havens are *Safety Cove* and *Opossum Bay*, which afford good anchorages for large vessels, the former being backed by an amphitheatre of lofty mountains which, commencing at Cape Raoul, extend to Fortesque bay, and form a complete barrier about three miles from the shore. The country in the vicinity is thickly timbered with valuable wood. Port Arthur has been for several years a penal station for convicts of the worst class; the prisoners' barracks at Safety cove, prettily situated on the sloping side of a point, are extensive, and strongly built. A guard of soldiers posted at *Eagle Hawk Neck* (the isthmus, only 120 yards across, which connects *Tasman's Peninsula* with the main land,) prevents all possibility of escape.

Between Cape Raoul and Port Arthur there are some remarkable chasms in the rocky coast, one of which is 127 feet deep, and very narrow; the sea rushes up it with great violence.

Cape Pillar, in $43^{\circ} 14' S.$, is so called from the strong resemblance which a portion of

it bears to the interior of a gothic cathedral. The basaltic rock is crowned with a thin stratum of soil, in which a few bushes and some grass have taken root; its sides are too steep for ascent. Although a good sea mark, it ought not to be approached too near, as a dangerous reef runs from its base to some distance seaward. Between Cape Pillar and *Tasman's island*—a black rugged islet, composed like most of the headlands on this coast, of a multitude of rocky columns—there is a passage of sufficient size for small vessels.

Fortesque or Dolomieu Bay, on the east side of the peninsula, is a small haven, with an entrance about a mile broad; a white, sandy beach, and good anchorage.

Monge or Pirate's Bay is large, much exposed, and separated at its head from Norfolk bay, by a very low and narrow isthmus.

Cape Surville and the east coast of *Forrestier's Peninsula* has a high and steep shore, on which the sea breaks with great violence.

Marion Bay is an extensive roadstead, with shelter only in the southern part, where *Port Frederick Henry* is situated, even for small vessels; landing is difficult, owing to numerous rocks and a powerful surf.

Cape Bernier, in $42^{\circ} 46' 5'' S.$, is conspicuous from its peculiar conical shape, rather than its height; the adjacent coast is indented with shallow sandy bights: to the northward it becomes steep, with six to seven fathoms close to it.

Maria Island (on which there is a probation station), is about twelve miles long, with an extreme width of seven miles. A low sandy isthmus, nearly overflowed at high tides, connects the mountain masses, which form its extremities. Of these, the northern is steep, 3,000 feet high, and remarkable for two immense rocks rising one above the other, called the Bishop and Clerk. The scenery of Maria island is romantic; the soil is described as generally good, and of great depth in the valleys. Several islets are situated in the channel which separates the island from the main land; the chief is the Lachlan or Middle islet, of an oval form, encircled by large rocks and shingle, without tree or shrub, but having its granitic base covered with fine long grass, said to afford excellent pasture for cattle. The soundings, on entering the channel from the southward, are twenty-five to thirty fathoms, decreasing very quickly to eight or nine, opposite to Oyster bay (the Oyster bay to the west of Maria island is

here intended, not that to the northward), where there is good and spacious anchorage.

Prosser Bay, opposite the north point of Maria Island, has deep water and shelter, but is unapproachable for large vessels, by reason of a great mud bank, with only six to nine feet water on it. Several streams, mostly of salt water, flow from adjacent marshes into this bay, which has no trees in its immediate neighbourhood: at a short distance in the interior, the usual prolific vegetation appears. A chain of mountains runs in a north-east, and also in a south-west direction, four or five miles from the coast.

Cape Bougainville, five miles to the north of the preceding, has a steep and almost inaccessible coast, with thirteen fathoms close to the shore: thence to *Cape Bailey*, the land is less elevated, but still steep and wooded, like that to the southward.

White Rock or Phogues (Seal) Island, opposite a small inlet named *Grindstone Bay*, was some years ago frequented by numbers of sea lions. A little to the north of Grindstone bay is *Little Swan Port*, a boat harbour, with a very shallow entrance, which receives a small river of the same name.

We have now arrived at *Oyster Bay*, a spacious opening fifteen miles long by ten broad, formed on the eastward by *Freycinet's Peninsula* and *Schouten island*, whose inner shores are low and wooded, though towards the ocean they present a steep, high, and forbidding aspect. The northern shore of the bay is sandy, and opens into *Great Swan Port*, at the head of which is an extensive lagoon, called *Moulting Bay*, the resort of numerous black swans.

Hazard or Refuge Island, on the west shore of Freycinet's peninsula, is of moderate height, well wooded, and contributes to the formation of a good harbour.

Cape Tourville is high;—from thence to beyond *Cape Lodi*, the coast is rocky and barren; towards St. Patrick's Head it appears to be well wooded, and near St. Helen's Point is characterised by several pyramidal points visible from a considerable distance inland.

Eddystone Point is more lofty than St. Helens, but from thence the mountains recede into the interior, and the 'iron bound' coast takes a north-west direction to Cape Portland at the entrance of Bass strait.

The north coast of Van Diemen's Island occupies an extent of more than 150 miles from Furneaux to Hunters Islands, and

forms a considerable curve intermediate between Cape Portland and Cape Grim, where-in is situated Ports Dalrymple and Sorell.

Cape Portland, the north-east extremity of Van Diemen's Island, in $40^{\circ} 44'$ S. lat., $147^{\circ} 56' 30''$ E. long., is low, with several rocky islets adjacent; the largest, *Swan Island*, is a narrow, hummocky strip of land, one-and-a-half mile long, distant about eight miles to the eastward. The shore east of the cape trends south in rocky heads and beaches; then curves to the westward, forming, with Point Waterhouse, *Ringarooma Bay*, which is seven miles deep and fifteen miles wide. There is a small haven in the bottom of the bay, into which the little and great *Boobyala* or Ringarooma rivers flow; both very small streams. Behind the coast, the eye wanders over apparently interminable woody ranges of irregular height, divided by scrubby gullies.

Waterhouse Island, four miles long by one-and-a-quarter wide, consists of beaches and rocky points rising abruptly to a moderate elevation, the level top being mostly covered with wood. From Point Waterhouse, the coast trends S. 67° W. five or six miles; thence south-south-west in a long sandy beach, subsequently curves to the westward and northward to west of Double Sandy point,—forming a deep bight about seven miles wide, off which lies Ninth Island, a small, level, verdant islet.

Double Sandy Point, is the joint name applied to two projections, closely resembling one another, though almost three miles apart; each overtopped with sandy hillocks,—a low barren tract stretching out in the back ground, and dividing them from the hills which approach the shores near Point Waterhouse. After another curve to the south and north-west, a very prominent bluff, connected with the mountain ranges, becomes conspicuous: it is termed *Stony Head*, and is in $40^{\circ} 58'$ S. lat., $147^{\circ} 8' 30''$ E., thirteen miles north, 65° east from Low Head, in $41^{\circ} 8' 30''$ S. lat., $146^{\circ} 47' 30''$ E., which, with *West Head*, five or six miles distant, forms the entrance of—

Port Dalrymple, situate at the mouth of the river Tamar, which above its junction with the sea, flows through a valley formed between two irregular chains of hills, which branch out to the north-west from the great mountain mass of the interior: these hills are, in some places, wide apart; in others they approach each other, and contract the tortuous channel of the river. Care is requisite in approaching Port Dalrymple, especially

from the northward; but the lighthouse on Low Head, a good pilot establishment there, and beacons on the most dangerous rocks inside, render the navigation comparatively easy; the worst reef, called the *Hebe*, after the ship of that name, wrecked there in 1808, is about a quarter of a mile wide. There are several islets in Port Dalrymple; that distinguished as the *Western Arm* is narrow, and not accessible for ships more than three miles; at the entrance the depth is not above three fathoms, but a mile above there are seven fathoms water. The *Middle Arm*, divided near the centre by Middle Head, has numerous shoals and mud flats, with only three fathoms in its deepest channel. *George Town* stands near the entrance of Port Dalrymple, on its eastern shore.

The *Tamar* estuary is navigable for large ships as far as *Swan Point*, three miles above *Middle Island*, but vessels of small draught proceed to Launceston, fifteen miles further. West of Port Dalrymple the coast trends west-south-west for nine miles, being generally low and sandy, with ridges of well wooded hills behind, and at the distance of nine to twelve miles inland, the Asbestos mountains are visible. At the eastern foot of this range is,—

Port Sorell, eleven miles to the west of Low head. The entrance is about one mile wide, but projecting rocks from both shores materially contract the navigable space. The port, after passing its entrance, is found to expand into a capacious basin, into the head of which a considerable stream, called the *Rubicon*, disembogues. Proceeding westward, we arrive at *Port Frederick*, which is narrow, and probably only available for small craft; the *Mersey* river and its tributaries, flow into it.

Immediately over *Dial Point*, twenty-nine miles from the *Tamar*, a peaked ridge rises abruptly. Between Port Dalrymple and this point, there are no less than five rivers, all with very short courses, and not navigable except by boats and small craft, and by those only in fine weather, on account of the surf on their bars. From *Dial point* to a peninsular projection, *Circular Head*, the coast trends N. 70° W.; and as far as *Rocky Cape*, the shore is steep and woody.

Emu Bay, ten miles from *Dial point*, is a confined anchorage, affording shelter from east winds, and receiving the *Emu* river.

Table Cape, fifteen miles north-west of

the preceding, is the cliffy extremity of a woody flat-topped eminence, visible thirty miles in clear weather from the deck of a ship.

Rocky Cape, intermediate between *Table* cape and *Circular head*, has a high pointed summit, with other peaks in the rear. The coast to the westward falls back, forming a sandy bight, into which several streamlets disembogue. *Circular Head*, is a cliffy peninsula, joined to the main by a low sandy isthmus. Rising abruptly from the water till its flattened crest attains an elevation of 490 feet, it looks like a huge round tower—while from the east, the connecting link not being perceptible, it appears entirely isolated—the more so, as the land at the back is somewhat lower, and undulates in very gentle slopes. The coast continues broken by numerous rocky projections from this point to *Cape Grim*, the north-west extremity of *Van Diemen's Island*, a steep, black head, in 40° 44' S. lat., 144° 43' E. long. On the north side of the cape the shore is low, trends in a sandy beach for three or four miles; to the south-south-west is a cliffy shore, with a depth of 120 fathoms, three miles off it.

ISLANDS IN BASS STRAIT.—Judging from the position and elevation of the islands at the east and west entrances of this strait (see general map of Australia,) it would seem that those at the eastern extremity are the visible links of a chain connecting *Wilson's* promontory in Australia with *Cape Portland* in *Van Diemen's Island*; and those at the western, *Cape Otway* with *Cape Grim*. The most important of these islands are included among the group situated at the western entrance of *Bass strait*, and named, strangely enough, in honour of *Captain Furneaux*, whose opinion concerning the non-existence of the channel in which they are situated has been recorded in a previous chapter.

Flinders or Great Island, the abode for several years of the exiled aborigines, is by far the largest of the *Furneaux* group, being about 130 miles in circumference. It is barren, and of forbidding aspect; a mountain range of 2,550 feet in height stretches throughout its whole length, bold and precipitous on its western face, but sloping gradually on the eastern, to a low scrubby plain much cut up with lagoons, and terminated by a sandy beach. The lower hills are clothed with timber, chiefly blue gum. The open grassy parts are not numerous,

but some portions are capable of cultivation. The wallabi abounds here, as do also various kinds of wild-fowl. (*Backhouse's Visit to the Australian Colonies*, 1832.) Three pyramidal hills, called the *Patriarchs*, rise conspicuously from the low land, and mark the eastern extremity of the island. A high peak in the south-west bears the name of *Strzelecki*. The northern point is placed by Flinders in $39^{\circ} 42' 30''$ S. lat., $147^{\circ} 53' 30''$ E. long.; by King in $39^{\circ} 47'$ S. lat.; and by Freycinet in $39^{\circ} 41'$ S. lat.

Several small islands, with reefs scattered alongside, border Flinders island, of which the largest, named *Hummock Island*, is between five and six miles long, and scarcely half-a-mile in width. It affords good shelter in westerly winds, and a plentiful supply of fuel. *Babel Islets*, the *Sisters*, and others, are little better than barren rocks.

Barren Island is divided from Flinders island by a channel four miles wide, thickly strewed with islands and shoals, its eastern entrance being almost blocked up with the sandbanks extending off five miles and a-half from *Vansittart* or *Gun-carriage Island*. Between *Capes Barren* and *Franklin*, its eastern and western extremity, Barren island has an extent of twenty-two miles, with a breadth of about five to seven miles. It well deserves its name, its denuded surface and jagged shores deeply indented with caves, and marked by strongly projecting headlands, present a picture of desolation which even the stormy weather so frequent in the strait can scarcely render more dreary. A peak at its eastern extremity rises 1,200 feet above the sea. *Armstrong Channel*, a passage about ten miles long, and from one to four wide, divides Barren from *Clarke Island*. In its western entrance lies *Preservation Island*, which owes its name to the preservation of the crew of a ship that run upon it in a sinking state. This and the adjacent islands abound in "mutton birds."

Clarke Island, which forms the northern shore of *Banks Strait* (one of the entrances to Bass strait), is six and-a-half miles long, by four and-a-half wide; rocky, and chiefly distinguishable by two rounded summits; the highest, 690 feet, resembling a saddle either from the east or west.

Chappell Isles lie to the westward of Barren island; the largest of them has a smooth round hill rising 500 or 600 feet above the level of the sea, which is rendered conspicuous by contrast with the low rocky isles around; it has a slight covering of herbage,

but in other respects appears (according to Flinders and others) nothing superior in fertility to the worst of Furneaux islands, and that is bad indeed. The smaller isles and islets in this vicinity it would be superfluous to particularize, the details connected with them having reference rather to sailing directions than general topography. Of the numerous small clusters scattered between *Flinders Island* and *Wilson Promontory*, the most remarkable are the *Kent Group*, of which the chief islands, named *Deal* and *Erith*, occupy a square of four miles, and are separated by *Murray Pass*, a channel half-a-mile wide. Conical granitic hills, in some cases clothed to their very summits with impervious scrub, are scattered over them. Captain Stokes describes the valleys on the north side of Deal as rich, and states that in one of them, leading from East Cove, he found a quantity of fine carrots, planted by some sealers; their seed having been carried by the wind till the whole valley was full of them. Besides East Cove, there are others on the north-east and south-east sides of this island; but on Erith there is but one, called West Cove, and that subject to violent gusts.

The *Hogan Group*—*Curtis Islands*—*Moncur Islands*, and several others, for the reason before given, it is not necessary to describe separately. How far they might be made available for settlers, or what seems more feasible, for convicts, is yet to be ascertained, but so far as we know at present, they are all bleak, rocky, and barren, offering little inducement except for fishing stations. Guano would, I should think, be found in abundance, and valuable minerals probably exist.

The western entrance of *Bass Strait* formed by the islands near Circular Head and Cape Grim on the north-west coast of Van Diemen's Island, and Cape Otway in Australia, is 108 miles wide. *King's Island*, nearly midway, occupies thirty-five miles of this space, and leaves to the northward a passage of forty-seven miles, and to the south one of thirty-seven miles; the southern is however much impeded by *Reid's Rocks*, the *Conway* and *Bell* sunken rocks, *Albatross Island*, and the *Black Pyramid*; the northern, between King's island and Cape Otway, has only three impediments: first, the *Harbinger Rocks*, N. 74° and N. 88° W., three and a-half to four miles from Cape Wickham, a round hill 594 feet high, on the north point of King's island; second, the *Navarino Rock* lying N.

25° W., one mile and-a-half from the same cape; and third, the reef lying half-a-mile off Cape Otway.*

King's Island (see general map, div. iv.) is thirty-five miles long from north to south, and twelve to fifteen miles broad; not very elevated, but with a few small eminences. A round hill at the north point, according to Flinders, is in 39° 37' S.; 143° 54' E.; according to Freycinet, in 39° 32' S.; 141° 42' E. The latter navigator makes the island about forty miles long, by eighteen miles broad. The western shore is described by Stokes as low, treacherous, and rocky, but good anchorage is found in a sandy bay on the north-west side, and likewise on the north-east side. The sand on the north-east coast is blown up in great ridges, partly over-spread and kept together by a kind of dog-grass; behind these the land rises in gentle elevations, covered with an almost impenetrable brushwood. A small lake of fresh water was found a short distance inland, surrounded by good vegetable soil.

Sea Elephant Bay, on the east side of the island, is a mile in depth, with sheltered anchorage, except when the wind is from the eastward. This haven used to be much frequented by sealers and other persons from Van Diemen's Island, for the purpose of killing sea elephants and seals, for the sake of their oil and skins; but the slaughter has been so great of late years, that these useful animals have almost disappeared both from this and other islands.

The *Hunter Islands*, near the north-west extremity of Van Diemen's Island, consist of three large, and several smaller islets. The principal, named *Hunter*, *Three Hummock*, and *Robins*, are mostly steep, rocky, and slightly elevated, with good anchorage in various places. *Hunter Island* was formerly named *Barren*, an appellation which it is described as fully deserving, being perfectly treeless, but overrun with scrub. *Three Hummock Island* received its name from three peaks on its eastern side, of which the most southerly rises abruptly from the water 790 feet. The whole island is clothed with an impervious scrub, which forms a perfect network. The trees are small and stunted. *Robins Island* leaves only a narrow boat-channel between it and the main, and has a small island close to its north-west extremity, called *Walker Island*, the two together forming an equilateral triangle, with sides of nine miles. *Perkins*

* Stokes' Voyages, vol. ii., p. 492.

Island, to the south-west of Robins island, forms the entrance to Duck bay, the inlet into which the stream of that name flows.

Albatross Island, the most northerly of the Hunter group, when first visited in the memorable voyage of Bass and Flinders, was densely tenanted—not indeed by men and women; for it is a strange fact, that *no aborigines were ever found on any island in Bass Strait*—but by seals, with whom Mr. Bass was obliged to fight his way up the cliffs, and albatrosses, among whom, when arrived at the top, he was forced to make a road with a club. These birds were sitting upon their nests, and deranged themselves only so far as to peck at his legs, in return for his unwelcome intrusion. Backhouse, who visited Albatross island in 1832, states, that above 1,000 were said to have been killed during the preceding year. *Steephead*, *Trefoil*, *Harbour*, the *Petrel*, *Penguin*, *Long Island*, and many others, with their different feathered denizens, need no separate notice.

NAVIGATION.—Bass Strait affords many good anchorages, several of which have been specified: its general navigation has been recently facilitated by the erection of various lighthouses; but before their construction, I passed from the eastward through the Strait, beating against a strong wind, without, I believe, more than ordinary precaution. In a line of soundings from Port Western (Australia), to Circular Head, the greatest depth midway was forty fathoms.

It may be useful to navigators to have the latest account published of the lighthouses in Bass Strait. The following is an abstract of the report of the late Captain Stanley, R.N., of her Majesty's surveying ship *Rattlesnake* :—

"1. *Port Dalrymple—Low Head*.—Base of house, 92 feet above high-water mark; centre of the light, 140 feet above the same level. Upper part, red; lower, white. Light, 15 lamps, revolving once in a minute. Admirably placed for leading vessels into the harbour.

"2. *Banks Straits—Goose Island* (one of the Furneaux islands), southern end.—Base of house, 30 feet; centre of light, 108 feet above high-water mark. Supporting column, 71 feet; and 24 feet in diameter at the base. Light, fixed, on the new principle, with a single lamp surrounded with lenses, and may be seen from a distance of 30 miles. The consumption is on an average a gallon of oil every night throughout the year. There is an officer and three men. Expense per annum, £292.

"3. *Banks Strait—Swan Island*, north end.—Base, 24 feet; centre of light, 104 feet above high-water mark. Supporting column, 71 feet, and 24 feet diameter. Upper part, red; lower, white. Light, very

good; same principle as at Goose island; a faint light constantly; a bright flash of two and a-half seconds' duration every five minutes; seen at Goose island (30 miles distant) in clear weather. On both these islands there is fresh water; provisions and stores are sent to the superintendent and the three men kept at each station, from Hobart Town, every six months. Expense per annum, £384.

"4. *Kent Group*.—Light-house about seven-tenths of a mile N. 10° W. (true) from the southern extremity of Deal island, which forms the east part of Kent group. Base, 829 feet; height to the lantern, 52 feet; whole height of pillar, 67 feet; upper half, red; lower, white. The light consists of 21 lamps, arranged in three sides, each containing 7 lamps; it revolves once in 54 seconds, and was seen from the deck of a small vessel 37 miles. Two substantial stone buildings for store and dwelling have been constructed near the lighthouse, which was commenced in April, 1846, and has cost for the building £1,840; for the lantern and five years' stores, £1,500 = £3,340. The great height of the lantern is considered by Lieut. Yule to be an objection, as the light is more liable to be obscured by fogs. There is water and firewood on the island, and pasturage for sheep. A superintendent and three men are maintained there at an expense of £484 per annum.

"On the Australian shore of Bass strait there is a lighthouse at the eastern and another at the western entrance. The former is on *Gabo Island*, five miles to the S.W. of Cape Howe, with which it is connected by a reef one mile and a-half long and three-fourths broad; the latter is on Cape Otway, 248 feet above high-water mark. The centre of the lantern 52 feet above the base. The entire cost of this light, including the erection of the lighthouse, keepers' quarters, and storehouses, and exclusive of the lantern, has been about £3,700. There is a lighthouse at *Shortland's Bluff*, Port Phillip, and another at *Point Gellibrand*, on the western side of Ilobson's Bay.

Eastern and Western Straits-men.—Before leaving Bass Strait, it may be well to notice the origin and habits of what may be called its *resident population*, which at some future day may probably be largely increased. From an early period after the establishment of settlements at New South Wales and Van Diemen's Island, the strait was frequented by a class of seamen called "sealers," who were placed on the different islands, for the purpose of catching seals, whose oil and skins they prepared for the vessels to which they belonged. Many of them became so attached to this wild mode of life, that when their ships were leaving the neighbourhood, they preferred to remain behind, receiving, in some instances, a boat and stores as payment for their work. Their numbers, also, were doubtless augmented by runaway convicts, who possibly prompted the daring forays made on either shore, to carry off the native women, frequently after severe contests with their natural protectors, who, it is however alleged, sometimes sold

them for seals' flesh, which they ate, the women themselves appearing glad to escape from their savage spouses, by whom they were treated literally as beasts of burthen. The poor creatures, in too many instances, benefitted little by the change of masters; at the best they fell into lawless and immoral hands, and in some cases appear to have been treated with cruelty. Such at least is the opinion of James Backhouse (of the Society of Friends), who visited Flinders island in 1832, when it was the abode of the exiled aborigines: he there conversed with several women who had been kidnapped by the sealers, but who, in different ways had escaped to the settlement; they told him of the manner in which they had been flogged when they did not pluck "mutton birds," or perform their other tasks satisfactorily; and one old woman, named Boatswain, spread her hands to the wall to show the manner in which they were tied up, and cried out with a failing voice till she sank on the ground as if exhausted! This tyrannical conduct was however probably confined to the runaway convicts, for ill-usage of anything defenceless, especially in female guise, whether old or young, civilized or savage, is notoriously inconsistent with the character of British seamen.

In process of time the sealers, or straitsmen, as they were called, when in consequence of the increasing scarcity of seals they no longer confined themselves to that pursuit, separated, or rather classed themselves into *eastern* and *western*, according to the position of the islands they respectively appropriated, more than two families seldom residing on the same.

Their habitations are generally of slab and plaster, rude, but tolerably clean and comfortable, for they have gradually obtained various necessities by barter from the whaling vessels that pass through the straits, or by means of a biennial visit to Launceston, from whence they never, it is said, bring back intoxicating liquors. The half-caste children have been previously described (p. 10) as a strong, bold race, of ruddy dark complexion, well adapted for sailors, and excelling as headsmen in whaling ships, where the keenness of their half-savage glance, and their dexterity in throwing the spear, make them invaluable as harpooners. Captain Stokes, who saw many of both the eastern and western straitsmen, speaks favourably of them in general, and especially

notices five-and-twenty children who were being brought up on *Preservation Island* and in its vicinity, adding, "their fathers, I am happy to say, give them all the instruction in their power; many can read the Bible, and a few write."

Preservation Island, when visited by Captain Stokes in 1842, was inhabited by an old sealer, named James Monro, known as the king of the Eastern Straitsmen, another man, and three or four native women; the embryo settlement comprising merely a few rude huts, with goats and fowls, and some cultivation around. Monro had then dwelt in this desolate place twenty-three years. A Captain Smith, who had met with a reverse of fortune, and fled from the abodes of civilized man, a few years since, took up his residence at King's island, with his wife, daughter, and three or four sons. In a slab hut, formed of boards, thatched with grass, this interesting family dwelt: their civilization manifesting itself, among other evidences, in the presence of a good library and musical instruments. This modern Crusoe subsequently returned to society, and is now, I believe, a comfortable settler in Van Diemen's Island. At *New Year's Island*, on the north-west side King's island, Stokes found an old English sealer living with two native women, who were clothed in very comfortable great coats made of kangaroo skins, and seemed quite contented with their condition. They assisted in working a whale boat adapted for the rough weather encountered in the strait by a canvass half deck, which being in the centre could be rolled up on the gunwale in fine weather.

The more available parts of the islands on which this mixed race reside have been brought into cultivation; grain thrives tolerably, potatoes, peas, cabbages, and other garden vegetables admirably. The chief occupation of the people, now that the kangaroo, wallabi, seal, and sea elephant have been almost entirely destroyed, is in catching the *sooty petrels*, called also the *Sheer-water* and the *Mutton birds*, from the fancied resemblance in taste of their flesh to that of sheep. These birds visit the islands annually in countless swarms, between the 15th and 20th of November, for the purpose of incubation. Each hen bird lays one or two eggs about the size of a goose egg, and somewhat similar in flavour. The male sits by day, the female by night, each going to sea in turn to procure its food. The nests

are made by burrowing two or three feet in the soft ground; and in favourable spots so close to each other, that in some of the islands it is scarcely possible to walk without falling, the surface being literally honey-combed. The native women collect the eggs and young birds, not however without danger, as venomous snakes are frequently found in the holes. When the sealers desire to take the birds in large quantities, a hedge is constructed sometimes half-a-mile in length, a little above the beach; towards daylight, when the male petrels are leaving their nests to go to sea, they run down towards the water, not being able to rise off the level ground. On being obstructed by the hedge they are driven by the sealers stationed at either end towards the centre, where a pit, several feet deep, is dug to receive them, and in which they smother each other. The birds are then plucked, the feathers carefully cured, packed in bags, and sent to Launceston for sale, when they bring about three-pence a pound. The feathers of about twenty birds weigh one pound, and Captain Stokes says he saw at one time thirty bags, the cargoes of two boats, and the spoil of 18,000 birds. Some of the petrels are preserved by dry smoking, and form the principal food of the islanders during part of the year.

A remarkable fact connected with this subject, noted by Backhouse and others, is the selection of different islands by different species of birds, in which they are doubtless directed by the various structure of the coasts. The albatross and petrel requiring a cliff or abrupt rise, from whence to wing their strong and long enduring flight, choose for their temporary abode rocky elevations; the penguin, which cannot fly, requires a low sloping shore, while some of the other species take possession of the small islands not occupied by those already named, simply because they are not inhabited by the carnivorous quadrupeds which, though not destructive to men, are so to birds.

The *Western and South-Western Coast* of Van Diemen's Island is characterized by mountain peaks and ridges, with gaps and fissures of every possible form, ever changing as the point of view is shifted. The inland lofty chains terminate in tremendous cliffs which project from two to four miles into the sea, at nearly equal distances from each other, with a breadth of about two miles, the little bays, with their sandy beaches, appear backed by dense scrub or arid

heaths. In sailing along this coast I was vividly impressed with the wildly grand character of these enormous buttresses, and the determined front which they present to the terrific storms and furious billows that assail them from the icy regions of the southern pole.

Resuming our examination of the coastline from Cape Grim, the point at which we left it, and proceeding to the southward, we pass a small bight called *Studland Bay*, then the *Mount Cameron* hills, and next arrive at the *West Point* of Van Diemen's Island, a sandy projection in $41^{\circ} 4' \text{ S.}$, $144^{\circ} 43' \text{ E.}$ From thence the coast extends south by east and south-south-east for nearly twenty leagues, and consists of sandy beaches, separated by points which have many straggling rocks lying off them to the distance of two miles. The shoreland is low for two or three miles, and then rises gently to a ridge of barren looking hills, backed by a higher and better wooded chain, from which rise detached peaks. *Arthur River* disembogues in an estuary about ten miles from West Point, of which I believe nothing certain is known.

Passing *Sandy Cape* and *Mount Norfolk*, which eminence is placed by Flinders in $41^{\circ} 24' \text{ S. lat.}$, $144^{\circ} 58' \text{ E. long.}$, *Mounts Heemskerk* and *Zeechaan* become visible; they form part of a lofty, irregular, and wooded range. Heemskerk, the most elevated, is sixteen miles north of Cape Sorell, and may be seen at thirty or thirty-five miles distance. Zeechaan bears from it $\text{E. } 20 \text{ S.}$, distant four or five miles, and has a peaked summit.

Macquarie Harbour, in $42^{\circ} 11' 30'' \text{ S. lat.}$, $145^{\circ} 16' \text{ E. long.}$, the principal haven on the west coast, was discovered in 1816; it extends inland in a south-west direction for about thirty miles, to the embouche of the Gordon river, diverging at its head right and left into two extensive coves or creeks, termed *Birche's Inlet* and *Kelly's Basin*. The entrance, which is very narrow, is formed by a moderately high bluff named Cape Sorell, in $42^{\circ} 10' 45'' \text{ S. lat.}$, $145^{\circ} 16' 30'' \text{ E. long.}$, on the south shore, and on the north by a long sandy beach. Nearly midway, in the mouth of the harbour, there is a small island or reef of rocks. The southern entrance, which is the best, is over a bar that extends for three-quarters of a mile outside the narrow part of the entrance, and has only nine feet water, on which the tide flows with great rapidity.

Inside, the depth of water is three to twelve fathoms, but there are extensive sandy shoals for more than four miles, among which are narrow channels shallowing in some places from fifteen to seven feet at low water. Further inland, the water deepens to ten, twenty, and twenty-six fathoms, for several leagues, where the shores run parallel with each other for more than fifteen miles.

The *Gordon River*, which flows into the bay near Birche's inlet, though barred, has two to seven fathoms within the entrance, and is navigable for thirty miles, in most parts very deep, and never less than 100 yards wide. The banks though generally precipitous, are in some places clothed with timber and shrubs, and exhibit beautiful scenery. The land is mostly rich, but so densely wooded with gigantic trees, as to offer little encouragement to agriculture.

Kelly's Basin has, near its northern extremity, a small river. There are several coves in Macquarie harbour, besides those already named, which may prove valuable, as the recent discovery of fine tracts of country, to the extent, it is stated, of at least two million acres, in its vicinity, will probably lead to the speedy location of this part of the island. The bar, the only material drawback in this magnificent haven, would then possibly be removed by scoops worked by steam power, as has been done at Port Adelaide.

Swan Bay, in the northern part of Macquarie Harbour, receives King's river; it is said to be a basin of considerable extent, in which vessels may lie completely landlocked; but very little is known of it.

Pine Cove has good anchorage in three fathoms, muddy bottom; the country around affords abundance of timber serviceable for various purposes; a tree of the pine species grows ordinarily to the height of forty or fifty feet, twelve to sixteen inches in diameter, with leaves resembling parsley, and affords excellent ships' spars. Lieutenant P. P. King, R.N., on landing here in 1819, found lofty trees growing within three yards of the edge of the water, upon a soil of decomposed vegetable matter, which in many parts was so soft that his party occasionally sank up to their knees in it. This swampy character arises from the thickness of these primeval forests, whose density prevents the rays of the sun from reaching the soil. The intelligent officer above mentioned, noticed near Pine cove a singular

evidence of the fertility of the district, and its adaptation for the sustenance of vegetable life, although in such a high latitude, and contiguous to the great Southern Ocean. After speaking of the magnificent forests, he adds—"The ground is also strewn with fallen trees, the stems of which are covered with a thick coat of moss, in which seedlings of all the varieties of trees and plants that grow here were springing up, in the prostrate stem of perhaps their parent tree; and it was not rare to see large Huon pines of three feet in diameter, rooted in this manner on the trunk of a sound tree of even larger dimensions, that had, perhaps, been lying on the ground for centuries; while others were observed, in appearance sound, and in shape perfect, and also covered with moss, which, on being trod upon, fell in and crumbled away." A stream called *King's River*, apparently of some length, flows into Pine cove. I think it will be found to water a valuable agricultural region to the eastward. The mountains along the eastern side of Macquarie harbour are not nearly so bare as those at Port Davey, further southward, the rock projecting above the soil only on the loftiest peaks, and the scrub of the gullies running into deep wood on the lower slopes. The shore open to the sea on the south, near Cape Sorell, consists of numerous small bays—some sandy, some shingly, others rocky, or covered thickly with decomposed kelp of enormous size, which engenders multitudes of maggots, the food of numberless white cockatoos, ducks, and other sea-fowl.

There was formerly a penal settlement on *Sarah Island*, a small island situated in the south-east side of Macquarie harbour. *Philip's Island*, on the north side, had then some garden cultivation.

From Cape Sorell the coast trends to the south-south-east, waving in rocky bights and projections; the land ascends gently from the shore, and is apparently destitute of wood.

Point Hibbs stretches westward about three miles from the coast, and being higher than the neck by which it is joined to the main land, presents an excellent position for a light-house. To the southward of this point, the coast trends more irregularly, acquires somewhat greater elevation, and becomes less bare of trees. About twelve miles from Point Hibbs, a small harbour is formed by two remarkable projecting

headlands. More to the southward is *Rocky Point*, thence the coast turns abruptly to the eastward, and *Mount De Witt* becomes visible at a distance of thirty to thirty-five miles.

We now arrive at *Port Davey*, ninety miles to the south-east of Port Macquarie, in 43° 21' S. lat., 146° E. long., an extensive inlet, discovered so lately as the year 1816, by Mr. Kelly, the skilful pilot of the *Dervent*, during an adventurous cruise in a whale-boat. This arm of the sea divides into two branches, one of which runs to the northward, with a moderate depth of water (three to six fathoms), and receives *Davey River*, a stream said to flow with great impetuosity from the Western Mountains; the other turns to the eastward, and forms *Bathurst Harbour*.

Backhouse was detained seventeen days in the "middle harbour" of Port Davey (see map); he describes it as a basin about a mile-and-a-half across, surrounded by hills with little wood, and sheltered from the open sea by a rocky islet and a conical rock, which leave an entrance "sufficiently deep for ships of moderate size." He adds, "we also went into the southern opening, called *Kelly's River*, which is an estuary five or six miles long, one broad, and from two to three fathoms deep. There were several black swans upon it. The wombat, a burrowing herbivorous animal, in figure somewhat like a small bear, abounds in this neighbourhood; its flesh, when young, resembles that of the hare. We likewise visited the Davey river, or Northern harbour, in which, under a point from the west, in the turn towards Cockburn cove, vessels sometimes take refuge from a southerly gale. Oysters are obtained at low tides in this cove, on the smooth waters of which, pelicans, red-bills, and gulls were swimming. On the north of it there is mica rock containing garnet." "Rock cod, and occasionally eels about five feet long and fourteen inches round, were caught there."

The *North Head* of the sea mouth of Port Davey is about 1,050 feet high, the shores on either side being of the most dreary and unpromising description, with a background of mountains which form a long tier, and stretch inland for several miles, attaining, it is said, an occasional elevation of 5,000 feet, and crowned with snow during the greater part of the year.

The following particulars respecting Port Davey, from the *New South Wales Monitor*,

though dated 1828, may be acceptable; for although this port and the coast to the South-west Cape is expressly stated to have been examined by Mr. Forsyth in 1842, in the *Vansittart*, during the surveying expedition entrusted to Captain Stokes, yet, strangely enough, no account of its capabilities or characteristics is given by the latter officer in his (on most points) comprehensive "Account of the coast and rivers" then explored.

"On entering Port Davey, the land on each side is of the most rugged and barren description, being steep and mountainous towards the east. As the traveller ascends, it gradually becomes narrower, till at last he finds himself, if in a boat, placed in a narrow but deep channel, in a chasm formed of perpendicular or overhanging rocky sides, reaching to so great a height as almost to exclude the light of day. The progress of the boat is at last stopped by its narrowness, not having room to ply the oars, and by a cataract of singular beauty. The water has evidently cut this channel for itself at some remote period; and having thus formed an outlet, has left the basin of the great lake which had formerly existed, a fertile plain above, of very large extent. The cargoes of Huon pine which have hitherto been brought from Port Davey, have usually consisted of logs and trees that have been washed down from this narrow chasm, and deposited on the sloping beach below."

The *South-West Cape* is a narrow piece of land projecting in two flattish hummocks from the main, and rising a thousand feet precipitously above the level of the sea; the peak in which it terminates is rendered more conspicuous by a deep gap behind. The white, weather-worn face of the cape is very striking, yet the adjacent coast is scarcely less wild, bare, and storm-beaten; high, denuded summits standing out occasionally from among the thick clouds that girdle them. Here and there, where vegetation struggles with sterility, its stunted growth and northern inclination testify to the bleakness and violence of the prevailing winds.

Cox Bight lies in the deep bay formed by the two projecting headlands termed *South* and *South-West Cape*. It was discovered in 1789 by Captain Cox, in the brig *Mercury*, and is situated north by west ten miles from the Mewstone. The country is said to be agreeably interspersed with hills and valleys, some of the hills being luxuriantly clothed with trees to the very summit. About four miles from where the *Mercury* anchored there was a stream of fresh water.

There is another inlet apparently extensive in the north-east part of this bay, close to *Peaked Hill*; it is reported to be a sandy bay, four miles deep, where it is probable there may be good anchorage, if two clumps

of rock which lie in the entrance will admit of a passage.*

De Witts or Maatsuykers Islands, so named by Tasman, are about twelve in number, of various sizes; the two largest are each three to four miles in circuit, with steep sides, but of a height inferior to that of the mainland, with which they have probably at one time been connected.

The *Needle Rock* to the westward, and the *Mewstone* to the southward of the above, are of the same character and formation. The Mewstone is nearly round, steep, and high.

The *Eddystone* and *Pedra Blanca* are two cliffy islets about twenty miles south of the *South Cape*.

The *Sidmouth Rock* is six miles north-east by east from *Pedra Blanca*. The channel between these islets and the mainland is thirteen miles wide, and near the middle the soundings are sixty fathoms on broken coral and shells.

The headlands of *South Cape* and *Whale Head*, with the intermediate open roadstead termed *South Cape Bay*, complete this necessarily cursory and unsatisfactory delineation of the coast-line of Van Diemen's Island, many parts of which are still very imperfectly surveyed, their latitudinal and meridional positions incorrectly laid down, and the capabilities of the havens and rivers in a great degree unknown. A limited portion of the colonial revenues could not be better employed than in making a trigonometrical survey of the entire coast-line of this remarkable island.

MOUNTAINS.—The range which divides the eastern from the western waters in Van Diemen's Island, is evidently a prolongation of that whose progress we have traced in the previous volume, through New South Wales and Victoria, to Wilson promontory, where its visible continuity, though in some measure interrupted by the sea, is yet clearly indicated by the chain of isles and islets in the eastern entrance of Bass strait, ordinarily comprehended under the name of the *Furneaux islands*; the *Hunter islands* in the western entrance would appear to be likewise the visible links of a submarine chain between Cape Otway and Cape Grim, but they are fewer in number, and the connection is far less evident. In the former instance, the course of the chain to Flinders island is distinctly marked by Rodondo, Moncur, Curtis islands, and the Kent group,

* *The Australian Directory*, printed by the Admiralty in 1830, p. 205.

while from thence to the southward, Barren island, Clark island, and Cape Portland are situated, with their respective heights, in such perspective that, shutting out the intervening sea, the eye may glide uninterruptedly from the heights of Flinders island, even to the far summits which crown the elevations of Van Diemen's Island. The chain, when it emerges from the ocean at Cape Portland, does not at once attain any remarkable altitude, its height for thirty miles not exceeding 700 feet. On arriving, however, at the point where it is commonly called Black-ridge, it suddenly rises to above 3,000 feet; and is seen casting to the right and left, in its south-west course, towards St. Patrick's head, three long spurs, which with their numerous ramifications, stamp the north-eastern section of the island with a most striking and characteristic configuration.

The first of these spurs branches off at the source of the river Boobiala, and terminates in a cluster of conspicuous granitic hills, of which the most prominent is *Mount Cameron*; next to it is that spur which is crowned with the greenstone elevations of *Mount Horror*, *Mount Barrow*, *Mount Arthur*, and *Mount Direction*, and which, stretching as far as George Town, terminates in *Mount Royal*. The third spur is characterised by the highest eminences in Van Diemen's island, namely, *Ben Lomond* and *Ben Nevis*, which are likewise composed of greenstone.

Count Strzelecki, who traced the great dividing range from Cape Portland to South Cape, and determined the position of the leading topographical features of the island, when describing the above-named spurs, says;—"it is impossible to give an adequate idea of the relief which they have produced; of those endless sharp-edged ridges, which run in all directions, interbranch and form, as it were, a net-work of mountain-chains, woven intricately together. At times the eye can seize upon their distinct and independent courses radiating from a common centre, and gradually sloping into flat-bottomed valleys; at times their flanks are erect and perpendicular, imparting to the ridges an appearance of having been rent asunder, and presenting between, dark chasms and gorges, from which roaring torrents make their escape."

The grandeur and infinite diversity of this mountain scenery is depicted as peculiarly striking, when viewed from the

lofty, craggy, and precipitous battlements of Ben Lomond, whose northern extremity, overhanging profound and tortuous abysses, commands an uninterrupted view of Ben Nevis, Mount Barrow, Mount Arthur, Mount Cameron, the northern coast, and the most conspicuous peaks of the islands of Bass strait. From the southern side is seen the whole eastern labyrinth of ridges and chasms, the fertile valley of the Break-o'-Day river, together with the beautiful outline of the bays and promontories of the eastern coast.

The central part of the summit of the mountain is a scene of unbroken solitude, silence, and desolation. On the bare earth, covered only here and there with patches of snow in the midst of summer, thousands of prismatic greenstone columns, of gigantic size (eight or ten feet in diameter), lie prostrate, columns chiselled by nature, and raised by her hands to this majestic elevation, where, overthrown and broken into huge fragments, their ends project over chasms 3,000 feet in perpendicular depth. From this table-land, however, of the mountain's top, the fearful gorges, precipitous cliffs, and inaccessible ridges of its immediate vicinity disappear; while the distant masses of the western hills seem blended or levelled into one undulating valley, intersected by the windings of glittering streams connected with the valley of the Tamar, and bounded, on the remotest verge of the horizon, by a delicately marked ridge of mountains.

The main chain at St. Patrick's head, recedes from the sea, and follows a south-westerly direction for about sixty miles, without presenting any particular features, either in its main or its lateral branches. At the point called Lake Tomb, and in the vicinity of the eastern marshes, it suddenly turns between these two localities, reaches St. Peter's pass, and casts towards *Spring Hill*, a spur, which separates the latter from the Clyde, and of which *Table Mount* is the principal eminence.

The dividing range next proceeds to the northward, where it passes between Lake Sorell and Lake Arthur. On arriving at *Dry's Bluff*, a remarkable elevation, resembling in shape a commanding promontory, it throws back again a spur, which encircles Lake Arthur, and thus flanks the left side of the Lake river, opposite to Miller's bluff.

The view from *Dry's bluff* embraces all the windings of the Tamar, with Ben Lo-

mond, Ben Nevis, Mount Barrow, and Mount Arthur in the background; the sinuities of the valley of the Meander, as far as the north coast; and the table land to the south, with the expanded waters of Great Lake, including vast verdant marshy plains, stripped of timber, plentifully intersected by rivers and rivulets, and here and there broken with ravines and elevations.

Between Dry's bluff and Western bluff, the chain, in its semicircular bend, sends one spur to the northward, which terminates in *Quamby's Bluff*, a remarkable detached round mountain, and several to the southward, which divide the lakes from the tributaries of the river Derwent. At Western bluff, it casts to the north-east a long spur, which separates the river Meander from the Mersey, rendering all the country which borders on Port Sorell and the river Tamar extremely broken and hilly. Throughout the whole distance from St. Peter's Pass to Western bluff the chain averages 3,500 feet in height, and exhibits a greenstone crest of an extremely irregular aspect. That crest is almost everywhere rugged, broken, and denuded of vegetation; its spurs steep, and tortuous in their course, angular and fantastic in their form; and its innumerable ravines, invariably deep and dry, are strewed with masses of rock of immense dimensions.

The dividing range to the southward of Western bluff assumes a still bolder character: its spurs in the vicinity of Lake St. Clair, to the north, north-west, and west, are topped for the most part by more lofty, bare, and cloven summits of quartz rock and sienite, and are divided by more gloomy gullies, the beds of which, furrowed by the torrents in yet deeper trenches, are at times impassable. The greenstone and basaltic spur which divides the Mersey from the Forth, that which separates the Forth from the Leven, that which spreads into the Hampshire hills, and stretches to Cape Grim, and, lastly, that which divides the river Arthur from the streams flowing into and towards Macquarie Harbour, all partake of the colossal, rugged, wild, and distorted features which here distinguish the chain.

Near the Hampshire hills is a ridge named the *Surrey Hills*, about 2,000 feet in height, from which rises *St. Valentine's Peak*, 4,000 feet above the sea, composed of siliceous conglomerate, the imbedded pebbles being of various appearance, from that of semi-opal to flint; others are opaque, and white, red, or scarlet.

Below Lake St. Clair, two remarkable spurs remain to be noticed; the one, which divides King from Gordon river, is crowned by *Frenchman's Cap*, a rugged towering point, so called from the resemblance of its snowy covering to that worn ordinarily by a French cook. The name, however, is ill chosen; for the scenery visible from its summit has nothing of the grotesque, but is described by Strzelecki as being of a "Pyrenean character, unequalled elsewhere in Van Diemen's Island." The other—also formed of greenstone and basalt, which separates the Derwent from the Huon, and terminates in Mount Wellington, constitutes a striking feature in the physical formation of the south part of the island. From both these spurs, elevated above all the adjacent mountains, the view is very extensive. Below the first, stretches the whole tract between Macquarie and Port Davey, a great part of the western coast, and the northern and eastern eminences of the Lake country. At the foot of the latter spur are seen, on one side, the conspicuous peaks of the elevated land about Lake Sorell, the Great Lake, Lake St. Clair, and Lake Echo, with all the numerous valleys which ultimately resolve themselves into that of the Derwent; on the other, the Coal-river valley, Tasman's Peninsula, and the borders of the Channel, with Hobart Town in the foreground, and the indented and projecting southern coast in the horizon.

The chain beyond these two spurs bends in a south-easterly direction, still sending forth minor branches, and studding with conical eminences the skirts of D'Entrecasteaux channel and Research bay, until it dips under the sea; thus terminating its terrestrial course at South Cape.

The following table, derived from Count Strzelecki's valuable work, shews the altitude, above the level of the sea, of the most remarkable mountains, lakes, water-courses, plains, and stations, in Van Diemen's Island, as determined by the barometer:—

Mountains.

Mount Humboldt, Western Range	5,520
Mount Ben Lomond, culminant point	5,002
Ditto North-west point	4,354
Ditto South Bluff	4,500
Cradle Mountain, north of Lake St. Clair	4,700
Dry's Bluff, Western Tier	4,590
Mount Wellington, Flagstaff	4,195
Mount Arrowsmith, between Frenchman's Cap and Lake St. Clair	4,075
Western Tier, opposite Mr. Groom's station	3,915
Ben Nevis	3,910
Frenchman's Cap	3,801

Black Range, Vale of Belvoir	3,381
Four Miles Rise, River Forth	2,957
Gad's Hill, River Mersey	2,588
Table Land, forming the base of Ben Nevis	2,327
Table Land, watered by the North Esk	2,220
Mount St. Patrick	2,277
Mount Stokes	2,039
Mount Herschell	1,200
Range between Mr. Whittle's farm and Watery Plains	1,506
Signal Hill (Mr. Kesmode's)	992
Asbestos Range	1,700
Mount Arthur	3,900
Badger's Head	1,300
Mount George, signal station	617
Sugar Loaf, near Mount George	642
Summit over Fourteen-miles Bluff	320
Government Cottage, George Town	23
Lantern of Lighthouse on Low Head	140
Mount Direction	1,233
Valentine Peak	4,000
Mount William	730
Mount Pearson	300

Lakes and Watercourses.

Great Lake	3,822
Arthur's Lake	3,388
Lake St. Clair	3,239
Source of the Nive	4,033
Source of the Leven	2,404
River Mersey (crossing place to V. D. L. Co.'s station	1,012
River Forth (crossing place, Circular Pond Marshes	796
Junction of the Tyne and South Esk	700
Junction of the North Esk, with a tributary from Ben Lomond	929
Junction of the two branches of River King	2,150

Towns and Stations.

Government hut at the Traveller's River	3,949
Sheep station of Mr. Wood at the Great Lake	3,822
Sheep station of Mr. James Clark, north of Marlborough	3,124
Bronte, Marlborough	2,912
Marlborough	2,858
Vale of Belvoir (V. D. L. Co.)	2,930
Middlesex Plains (V. D. L. Co.)	2,709
Government hut at foot of Frenchman's Cap	2,157
Chilton, a station of the V. D. L. Company	2,106
Regent's Plains (Mr. Wood's station)	1,892
Hampshire Hills (V. D. L. Company's station)	1,348
Oatlands	1,308
Circular Pond Marshes	1,140
Mr. Reid's farm	963
Caldstock	901
Captain Lloyd's farm, Westbury	800
Patcham (V. D. L. Company's farm)	839
Arundel, Western Tier	879
Coal Seam, Jerusalem	843
Formosa (an estate of Mr. Lawrence)	806
Mr. Legg's farm, Break-o'-Day	848
Mr. Groom's Sheep station, Western Tier	771
Adelphi (farm of Mr. Prinsep)	766
Lake Mills (farm of Mr. Fletcher)	725
Quamby's (the property of Mr. R. Dry)	691
Cressy (farm of V. D. L. Horse Company)	654
Blackman's Bridge	646
Jerusalem Settlement	634
Hummock Hill (Mr. T. Archer's station)	591
Carrick	560
Mr. Steiglitz's farm (Break-o'-Day)	577
Mona Vale (property of Mr. Kermode)	585

Campbell-town	567
Black Boy's Plain (Mr. Talbot's)	571
Eggleston (Mr. Headlam's)	549
Malahide (Mr. Talbot's)	431
Hamilton, town	346
Mr. Steill's St. Patrick	243
Rose Garland (property of Mr. Barker)	164
Mr. Hull's house, Mount Wellington	169
Risdon-house	150
Dr. Pugh's house, Launceston	142
Richmond-town	67
Ringarooma (property of Rev. Dr. Browne)	11

From the same authority we learn that the mean height of the *divisa aquarum* is 3,750 feet above the level of the sea. The average fall of the eastern rivers is estimated at ninety-three feet in every mile; and the average fall of the country, at 120 feet.

RIVERS.—The insularity of Tasmania, and the peculiar conformation of its irregular surface, give rise to many rivers and streams, of which some of the most important have their sources in the interior lakes; others originate in springs: but in both cases, though their volume is subject to sudden increase from mountain tributaries, it does not depend on them for support, and is not liable to be dried up in the warm months. I am aware that a different impression prevails in England on this point; but it is an erroneous one: for, making due allowance for its high southern latitude, Tasmania possesses a more than ordinary share of permanent surface water, distributed, so far as we know, (for there are some districts yet unexplored), very fairly throughout its whole extent.

The principal stream, called the *Derwent*, flows from the southern extremity of Lake St. Clair, about eighty miles to the north-west of Hobart Town, but the windings of the river give it nearly twice this length. Its earliest tributary is a stream, originating in a branch of the Western Mountains, which it receives on its left bank, five miles below Lake St. Clair; a rivulet named the *Guelph* shortly after joins it on the opposite side; thence continuing for fifteen miles in a south-east direction, the Derwent is joined by the *Nive*, which here terminates a course from the northward of about thirty-five miles, receiving only one small creek, the *Nivelle*, but fertilizing a considerable extent of fine country. After the junction of the Nive, the main channel receives from the southward a stream called *Florentine River*, whose source is supposed to be in the lakes at the foot of the Frankland range, in which the river Huon originates. Returning to

the Derwent, we find it pursuing its winding way through a chain of hills, from whence several mountain torrents (of which *Broad River* is the chief), descend to swell its stream; the *Dee* next joins it from the north, after a downward course from Lake Echo of about five-and-twenty miles, and shortly after, the impetuous waters of the *Ouse* and its tributaries form the most important accession which it receives throughout its course.

The *Ouse* has its rise near a remarkable eminence called Platform Bluff (see map of Van Diemen's Island), to the west of Great Lake, from the southern extremity of which its chief branch, the *Shannon*, takes its course, and after receiving two small streams, the larger of which, named *Blackman*, flows from the *Lagoon of Islands*, it joins the *Ouse*, near *Ebrington* township; from thence the united streams pursue a southerly direction, and after receiving the *Kenmere*, or *Native Hut Creek*, merge into the Derwent.

The rise of the Tasmanian rivers is generally rapid, owing to the mountainous character of the country; but the *Ouse* is especially subject to sudden floods, having been known to increase its depth above twelve feet in the space of two hours: this, of course, materially affects the Derwent, which, for a river connected with the sea, is remarkably uncertain in its rise and fall, and irregular in its volume.

Jones River next enters the Derwent from the foot of the ridge near Lake Barker; a little lower, on the opposite and northern bank, the *Clyde*, a far more important tributary, terminates a course which, including its sinuosities, may extend to some forty or fifty miles. Issuing from Crescent Lake, it for a short distance preserves a canal-like appearance, then rushes furiously over a rocky bottom: at one time it meanders peacefully amid rich and fertile land; at another, forces its way through steep gorges, or plunges headlong over precipitous cliffs.

Russell Falls, about ten miles below *Jones River*, the *Styz*, (whose present classic appellation, though in sound the same, is widely different in sense from that applied by its early visitors, when, seeing its channel nearly blocked up by fallen timber, they called it the *river of sticks*), and the *Plenty*, are small streams flowing into the Derwent from the mountain ridge which borders its right or southern bank, from whence the

Lachlan, *Sorell Rivulet*, *Humphreys*, &c., likewise descend.

On the opposite shore, the only branch of the main channel, of any importance, still unnoticed, is *Jordan River*, a clear, shallow stream, in dry weather little more than a chain of ponds, which, after watering a tract of exceedingly beautiful country, disembogues in an inlet called *Herdman's Cove*, situated near the head of the Derwent estuary, having been previously joined by *Strathallen Creek*.

I have elsewhere stated, that the fine river which we have now traced to its embouche, is navigable for large ships to Sullivan's Cove, Hobart Town; by smaller vessels, to about a mile-and-a-half above Elizabeth Town, or New Norfolk, where the channel is effectively barred by a ridge of rocks, chiefly under water, over which the river flows swiftly in a broken current (forming what is locally called the *Falls*); immediately above them the stream presents a deep and long reach, until again impeded by a similar obstruction. Locks and cuttings may probably hereafter render the Derwent practicable for a considerable distance inland. The Upper Falls, in the earlier course of the river, (before the accession of the *Dee*), are much more striking, the water precipitating itself in an unbroken volume over a ledge of rocks of considerable height, and forming, during the rainy seasons, a really magnificent cascade.

The waters of the Derwent are fresh for some distance below Elizabeth Town, although slightly influenced by the tide.

The *Tamar*, is the name applied to a part only of the main artery, whose ramifications spread over the north-eastern portion of the island, as the Derwent and its branches over the central and south-western, but the *Valley of the Tamar*, properly so called, may be considered as commencing at the head of Macquarie river, from whence to George Town, it has, according to Strzelecki, "a length of 100 miles, an average breadth of thirty, and a superficial extent of 3,000 square miles. It has forty miles of inland navigation for vessels of 600 tons, and the best macadamised roads cross it in every direction. Its sides are prominently indented with bold erect ranges of greenstone, which, under the progress of disintegration, are yielding to its soil the most valuable elements of production." In addition to these advantages, the same authority notices especially the advantages of its position

with regard to *Lake Arthur*, which lies above it at an elevation of 3,700 feet, forming a natural reservoir for irrigation.

The section, however, of this valley, especially distinguished as the Tamar, commences, or rather, is formed by the confluence of the *North and South Esk*, at Launceston, and after winding through a channel, usually narrow, but of varying width, between shores sometimes high and densely timbered, at others low, and offering to view an extent of forty miles of open country, abounding in rich pasturage, and receiving on its way the waters of the *Supply River* and some smaller creeks; it disembogues at Port Dalrymple in Bass Strait, after a course, including its sinuosities, of forty-five miles.

At twenty miles from the sea, the breadth of the Tamar is about a mile, but towards the entrance it varies from one to five miles, forming several inlets peculiarly adapted for docks and ship-building; for the latter there is great inducement in the abundance and excellence of the materials readily obtainable in its vicinity. Though its *Valley* is superior in an agricultural point of view, as affording a larger proportion of readily available land, as an *estuary* the Tamar will not bear comparison with the Derwent; its navigation, which has been before alluded to in describing the Coast Line (p. 27), being intricate and dangerous.*

The *North Esk* originates in several springs which flow from the mountain range to the northward of Ben Lomond, and is likewise fed by some tributaries from the foot of that eminence. During a course of about thirty-five miles it receives only one small stream, called *St. Patrick's*, and a few creeks, but it passes through an exceedingly rich country, and its banks are, to a considerable extent, lined by thriving farms.

At Corra Lin, about seven miles from Launceston, the North Esk forms a pretty waterfall, which prevents the further progress of boats and barges.

The *South Esk* rises near the northern boundary of Cornwall County, and forms a junction with *Break-o'-Day River*, near Fingal township; then flowing to the southwest, receives several rivulets; *St. Paul's*

* "The first appearance of the Tamar," says Captain Stokes, "is not very inviting to the seaman. A rapid stream, thrown out of its course, hemmed in by numerous reefs, and passing over a bottom so uneven as to cause a change in the soundings from twelve to twenty-six, and then eighteen fathoms, with a ripple or line of broken water across the mouth, renders it impossible in strong north-west winds, for a stranger

River, joining it near Avoca, and *Buffalo Brook* on the opposite bank; soon after, taking a north-west direction, the South Esk divides the counties of Cornwall and Somerset, receiving on its way *Ben Lomond River* and *Nile River*, and subsequently unites itself near the township of Perth to Macquarie river, which is in fact its main stem.

Macquarie River, remarkable for the fertile tract of country which it waters, rather than for its own extremely uncertain stream; has its origin near the source of the Clyde and Jordan (tributaries, it will be remembered, of the Derwent), thence taking a north-west course across the county of Somerset, and receiving *Blackman River*, *Elizabeth River*, the *Isis* and other periodical streamlets, it forms a junction with *Lake River* (which has obtained its name from the numerous reaches or lakes formed during its meandering course), at a point a few miles below Perth, and then flows onward to its union with the South Esk.

The waters of the *Quamby*, *Meander*, or *Western River*, with its tributary creeks, soon after enter the left bank of the South Esk, which about half-a-mile before its termination in the Tamar, forms, when in full volume, an imposing cataract; to this point the salt-tide flows up; the ebb and flow are regular, the rise being about fourteen feet at Launceston.

The river next in importance to the Derwent and Tamar is the *Huon*, whose embouche was described among the havens of D'Entrecasteaux channel. At twelve miles from its sea mouth the Huon receives on its right or west bank, a small stream called the *Kermadec*, and twelve miles further inland the *Mount River*, which flows from the Wellington range: the tide runs up as high as this junction, but the navigation is impeded by the Egg islets, which are covered with trees, brush-wood and long, grass, affording shelter for numerous swans to build their nests.

Above the Egg islands the channel is still narrow, but the water deepens to ten fathoms, and remains so to Mount river, whence there is a good road to Hobart Town, to detect the channels, and raises so much sea that the pilots cannot reach the vessels that arrive off the mouth." (Vol. i., p. 279.) Elsewhere he states that "on the whole of the northern coast, with the exception of the Hunter Islands, there is no place of safety for a ship in all winds, that a stranger would like to run into, the mouth of the Tamar being too much occupied with shoals." (Vol. ii., p. 503.)

distant fourteen miles. The Huon now takes a sudden turn to the west—the angle of the bend is termed *Mosquito Point*; the northern or left bank continues lofty and precipitous; the opposite side is composed of low land often flooded. About a mile above Mosquito point, the river is nearly 100 yards wide, and the first fall is met with; the stream then forms a succession of rapids to its sources. *Lakes Maria and Edgar*, situated near the eastern extremity of the Frankland range. *Picton River*, said to flow from a lagoon to the east of Bathurst harbour, joins the Huon about midway; but with this stream, as indeed, with the far more important one, to which it is a contributory, we are very imperfectly acquainted. Dense woods, consisting chiefly of the fine trees distinguished as Huon pine, from having first been found on the Huon river, render its shores in parts almost inaccessible, but in others there are said to be available tracts of extraordinary fertility.

Some miles to the north-westward of the sources of the Huon, a considerable but only partially examined river, named the *Gordon*, takes its rise; at the upper part of whose course, lime, which is rare in Tasmania, and, consequently, very valuable, is found. The Gordon is navigable for about thirty miles from its embouché in Macquarie Harbour (see p. 32). It receives *Spencer's Rivulet* and other streamlets, which are, I believe, unnamed. Another stream called *King's River*, said to be little inferior in length to the Gordon, empties itself into Swan bay, the northern inlet of Macquarie Harbour.

Numerous streams with short courses, flow into or towards Bass strait. At the distances of eight, eighteen, twenty-nine, forty-eight, and fifty-three miles eastward from Port Dalrymple, the *Currie*, *Piper*, *Trent* or *Great Forestier*, *Tomahawk*, and *Ringarooma*, (*Little and Great Boobyala*), disembogue into Bass Strait.* Westward of Port Dalrymple, at the distances of

eleven, eighteen, twenty, twenty-three, and twenty-seven miles, and all flowing from the southward, are the *Sorell* or *Rubicon*, the *Mersey* and its tributaries, the *Don*, *Frith*, and *Leven*, of which the Mersey and Rubicon are the principal. Westward of the Leven there are also several streams, viz.—the *Blythe*, *Emu*, *Coey*, *Cam*, *Inglis*, *Flowerdale*, *Detention* or *Tret*, *Hook*, *Greg Fish*, *Copper Ore*, *Black*, *Duck*, *Montague*, *Welcome*, &c. Count Strzelecki, who traversed the north-western extreme of Van Diemen's Island, between Circular Head and Point Woolnorth, describes it as presenting "eight rivers as difficult to cross as the Scamander, with deep gullies and rocky ridges, and marshes more difficult to overcome than either ridges or rivers." A similar feature marks the western portion of the island. One, named the *Arthur*, which disembogues ten miles to the southward of West Point, appears to have a course from the eastward of more than sixty miles, and to have several tributaries, termed the *Frankland*, *Horton*, *Leigh*, and *Balfour*. The *Hellyer*, *Mackintosh*, *Coldstream*, *Forth*, *Huskisson*, *Medway*, and other streams, are traced to some extent in the north-western portion of Frankland's large Map of Van Diemen's Island; but their sources or termination are not clearly defined.

The south shores are less indented with rivers than any of the others, excepting the more important streams previously named, there are none worth particularizing; on the east coast they are more numerous, but not of magnitude to require specific notice. Among them are included *Coal River*, the *Blackman*, in Tasman's peninsula, *Prosser*, *Little Swan Port*, *Wye*, *Cygnets*, *Break-o'-Day*, *Scamander*, *Georges*, *Ansons*, and *Great Muscle Roe*. The chief of these, named the *Coal River*, has its source near Three Hills, in Jerusalem plains, takes a southerly direction through a fertile country known as the Sweet Water Hills, receives the *Kangaroo River*, and empties itself into *Pitt Water*, an extensive salt

* Mr. Henry Widdowson, who was shipwrecked in the neighbourhood of the Ringarooma river, says it has a bar at its entrance, over which he thinks small vessels could easily pass during a flood tide; the mouth of the river is 100 yards wide, and gradually opens, says Mr. Widdowson, "into one of the most beautiful basins I ever saw. This fine sheet of water appeared the rendezvous of hundreds of black swans, wild ducks, and pelicans; the surrounding banks were covered with cherrytree and other small shrubs; altogether it had much the appearance of a piece of

water formed to adorn the park of some nobleman in England." The explorer proceeded one day's journey up the river; for thirty miles the land appeared to be good, but as it was the winter season, and evidently below the level of the river, he feared it would be inundated; advancing further towards the mountains, the river became regularly narrower, but Mr. Widdowson, being unarmed and afraid of meeting with the natives, did not continue his explorations. The description he gives of the Ringarooma will answer for several other rivers on this coast.

lake which communicates with North bay.

LAKES.—In a region of very varied altitude, receiving annually a large supply of rain, there are necessarily many inland sheets of water; but the greater number have as yet been imperfectly explored, either as to their exact position, extent, or depth. Little, therefore, can be done beyond indicating the leading characteristics of those best known.

Great, or Clarence Lake, ninety miles north-west of Hobart Town, is about fifteen miles long, by five broad, but the deep and continuous indentations of its shores give it a circumference very disproportionate to its limits, and conjectured to be little less than 150 miles; its depth, which is extremely variable, is differently estimated, but in no case with any pretension to accuracy; its height, above the level of the sea, is 3,882 feet. There are five islets in the lake, covered with a species of cedar, and numerous shrubs: the country in the vicinity is not thickly wooded, but composed of alternate marsh and hills, offering many tracts available for sheep and cattle runs, while in the distance the landscape abounds in the picturesque adjuncts of mountain and forest. A local historian, Mr. David Burn, speaks of its "woody islands and glittering bays" with rapturous admiration. "England," he says, "may vaunt her Windermere; Scotland chaunt the beauties of Loch Lomond; Ireland proclaim the graces of Killarney; but not with truer or prouder tongue than Antipodean Tasmania may boast the mountain glories and glowing waters of her own sweet lakes, than which none is fairer or sweeter than the majestic Clarence." The lee-shore of the lake is protected by a singular natural breakwater from the fury of the winter winds, and the causeway is nearly as regular as if constructed by masonic art.

The *Shannon* emerges a full-grown river from the broad expanse of *Great Lake*, whose waters nevertheless, in some parts, overflow their borders, even during the warm months: after rain, they of course rise considerably; and during tempestuous weather, occasionally wear a turbulent aspect, quite at variance with their ordinary tranquil beauty.

Lakes St. Clair and Sorell, in which the rivers Derwent and Clyde respectively originate, are next in size to *Great Lake*. *Lake Sorell* has high land close to its shores,

with here and there fine pebbly beaches, and it is divided by a narrow strip of land from *Lake Crescent*, a smaller sheet of water, to the south-east of which the remarkable eminence called *Table Mount* rises in the distance. Near *Lake Sorell* lie *Lake Arthur*, *Lake Woods*, and *Boundary Lake*, the sources of *Lake river*; and the *Lagoon of Islands*, a picturesque piece of swamp-water, in which numerous clumps of lofty bulrushes spring up from mounds of bog and long grass, variously grouped.

Lake Echo, whence issues the river *Dee*, lies immediately to the south of *Great Lake*, to whose irregular outline, its gently waving shores form a striking contrast; while its fairy islets, flowery banks, and clear blue waters, render *Lake Echo* perhaps even more attractive than its majestic rival.

The above lakes are all situated in the plateau formed by mountain ridges in the interior of the island; they are said to abound in water-fowl, and some of them in fish, but on this point I cannot speak with certainty; indeed I may here state that I have found more difficulty in obtaining accurate topographical information concerning Tasmania generally than any other of the Australian colonies.

Lake Tiberias is situated in Monmouth county; in the centre of that of Buckingham are several lakes, of which the largest is *Lake Barker*, at its western extremity are *Lake Pedder*, (three miles and-a-half long by two and-a-half broad), and *Lakes Maria and Edgar*, the sources of the *Huon*. According to Frankland's map, dated 1839, there is a communication between *Lakes Pedder and Maria*, not marked in the later ones.

Lemon's or Jordan Lake, twenty-five miles north of Hobart Town is encompassed by high hills. It is of a circular form, about ten miles in circumference, and except in wet weather very shallow.

DIVISIONS.—Tasmania was originally divided into two counties, Buckingham and Cornwall; the former occupying the northern, the latter the southern half of the island; and these counties were subdivided into police districts. This partition remained in force until June, 1836, when a redivision of the island, or rather of the eastern and central portions, was duly proclaimed, and the boundaries of eleven counties established. Of these, the *northern* were named Devon, Dorset, and Cornwall; the *central*, Westmoreland, Somerset, Gla-

morgan, and Cumberland; and the *southern*, Kent, Buckingham, Pembroke, and Monmouth. The limits of forty-nine townships and 155 parishes, comprised within the above-named counties, were fixed at the same time; but it is not necessary to enumerate them, as the greater number have as yet little more than a nominal existence. The counties themselves are rarely alluded to, either in the local enactments or statistical returns; the police districts, into which the settled tracts are apportioned, being alone mentioned.

In subsequent tables, the area, amount and description of cultivation, population, and stock, in each district, will be shewn. To avoid repetition, I shall therefore only notice, in this place, the leading topographical features of the country.

Hobart Town and the surrounding country.—The capital of Tasmania is situated in 42° 55' 13" S. lat., 147° 21' E. long. It occupies a commanding and extremely picturesque position, on the right bank of the Derwent, about twenty miles from the sea, at the head of the sheltered bight named Sullivan's Cove. The town is remarkably clean, well laid out, and neatly built; it covers from a mile to a mile and-a-half square of gently rising ground, backed by an amphitheatre of lofty and well-wooded hills, having Mount Wellington as the highest, which shelters it from westerly winds, and bound the horizon on that quarter; while the magnificent estuary of the Derwent—here more properly an arm of the sea, from its width and the saltness of its waters—with its shipping of various descriptions, and its picturesque points of land forming numerous bays and lakes, skirts it on the east. The streets cross each other at right angles; they are airy, well lit, and tolerably wide; those that have been levelled and macadamized, of which there are several, present rows of good houses and handsome shops; the former being most numerous in Macquarie-street, which contains many of the public buildings and the dwellings of persons in official employments; the latter, in Elizabeth-street.

Macquarie-street, and the road continuing from it for a distance of about two miles, runs in a line nearly east and west, over two or three small hills, from the quay to the Female Penitentiary, until it is lost in a thick woody ravine at the foot of Mount Wellington. Elizabeth-street runs north and south, extending from the Go-

vernment-house towards New Town, on the Launceston road, in a continuous line of about a mile.

The houses and stores constructed of late years are chiefly of brick or a dark-coloured freestone, abundant in the neighbourhood, and roofed with shingles, which have the appearance of slates; but the older erections are principally of wood. It is, however, only in the leading thoroughfares, where the ground is most valuable,* that the houses offer anything approaching uniformity in their appearance: they usually stand apart, each having a small plot of ground, varying from a quarter to half an acre in extent, attached to it; a circumstance which, together with the undulating nature of the surface, adds materially to the beauty of the town, compensating in some degree for the deficiency of trees, either for ornament or shade, occasioned by the exterminating "clearings" of the early settlers.

A rivulet named *Hobart Town Creek*, originating near the foot of Mount Wellington, runs through the town, and disembogues in the Derwent, affording, during certain periods of the year, a good supply of water, and working several flour and saw mills.

The water is distributed by means of metal pipes, laid down by the government, by the aid of convict labour. Some quarters of the town are said to be but indifferently watered; but this is by no means a general complaint, and the shipping especially has been well cared for.

The public buildings are numerous, and some of them are handsome and commodious, more especially those devoted to the celebration of divine worship,—St. David's cathedral, Macquarie-street; St. George's church, at Battery Point; Trinity church, in Campbell-street; a chapel in Goulbournestreet, and St. Patrick's cathedral, in Patrick-street, for which subscriptions were raised in England, and a peal of bells purchased; all belong to the Church of England. There are besides, the Presbyterian kirks, various chapels and meeting-houses belonging to different denominations, and a Roman Catholic chapel: there is also a Jewish synagogue.

The Government-house is a large irregular pile, originally planned upon an inconsiderable scale, and added to as necessity required; it stands in the midst of tastefully

* There are spots of land in Hobart Town worth £2,000 per acre, which not many years since sold for as many shillings.

laid out shrubberies, and commands some delightful views of the port and river. A new house was commenced by Sir John Franklin in the government demesne, but it has not, I believe, been advanced beyond the foundation. The Court-house is a commodious building of hewn stone.

The Female House of Correction, or the Factory, as it is commonly called, is an extensive building, whose admirable construction affords facilities for the classification and employment of the prisoners; the gaol, on the contrary, is remarkable for its inaptitude for the purposes for which it was designed, being insecure, and too often crowded; so much so, that formerly debtors and editors of newspapers confined for libel or political misdemeanours, have been the compulsory associates of capitally convicted felons.

The Military and Prisoners' Barracks, standing in separate quarters of the town, are large and substantial edifices of brick, the former building, especially, occupies an excellent position, and is both healthy and convenient.

The Custom-house is of pure white free-stone, it stands near the commodious and well supplied market-place, in the north-west angle of Sullivan's Cove. The Commissariat Stores, Police-office, Colonial Hospital and other buildings, it is not necessary to particularize; they are of the substantial character common to the chief towns of the Austral-Asian colonies. Towards the end of 1840, a Magnetical Observatory was established in the government demesne, Hobart Town, by Sir James Ross, and fitted up by him with the best instruments for magnetic, astronomical, and meteorological observations; it is one of a series of forty, extending from Hammerfest, in Norway, in 70° N. lat., to the above-mentioned spot, which is in 42° 55' 13" S. lat.; 9 hours, 49 minutes, 85 seconds E. of Greenwich, which is in 51° 28' 32" north lat. Great Britain now numbers twelve observatories, namely, those of Greenwich, Cambridge, Dublin, Kelso (the private one of Sir Thomas Brisbane), Simla, Madras, Singapore, Bombay, Toronto, St. Helena, Cape of Good Hope, and that before-named, in Tasmania. All the observations at each station are made at a corresponding moment of Gottingen mean-time; the university of Gottingen having originated the enquiry, and being the common centre. One of the main objects for which these establishments

have been created, is to settle the question whether the constant perturbations to which the magnetic needle is subject, are local, or of an universal character throughout the globe.

The distinguishing advantage of Hobart Town is its fine harbour, in which ships of any burthen may not only safely ride at anchor, but may lay close alongside the shore in any state of the tide, which here seldom rises above four, or at most, five feet, and discharge or receive their cargoes: this great convenience has been obtained by the exertion of no small amount of enterprise and perseverance.

When Colonel Collins first debarked in February, 1804, a small patch of ground called Hunter island, lay at the mouth of the Hobart Town creek, contiguous to the anchorage. The water on this shore shoaled rapidly, rendering the operation of un-lading both tedious and hazardous; it was therefore deemed expedient to connect the islet with the mainland, by a causeway upon which a series of substantial and commodious warehouses were constructed: a wharf was likewise formed, and although ships could not discharge alongside, still vessels of 100 tons were enabled to do so, and the water was materially deepened. Notwithstanding this, an evil still existed, inasmuch as the cargoes of traders had to be transferred either to their own launches, or to shore boats, in which they were frequently damaged by the surf consequent upon the strong sea-breeze: to remedy this inconvenience, the construction of another wharf was resolved upon. The western shore of Sullivan's cove, terminating in the rocky point on which stands the little fort, dignified by the name of Mulgrave Battery, with its telegraph and signal post, offered considerable facilities, the banks being by no means of difficult removal, and presenting an ample supply of road and building material; whilst the water was not only smooth, but of considerable depth. The work once commenced proceeded vigorously; the waters of the upper and northern part of the inlet which were shallow and valueless, were filled with the excavations, and a magnificent esplanade connecting the old and new wharf, and consequently the whole harbour, was forthwith constructed.* The carriage way from Battery Point, west, to Murdock's Point, east, may probably be an

* *Colonial Magazine*, Van Diemen's Land, by David Burn, Esq. (Vol. ii., p. 283.)

English mile; on it are numerous warehouses of hewn stone, each erected at a cost of many thousand pounds.

Along the water-side are ship and boat-building yards, whence, from time to time many brigs and schooners for the colonial trade are launched into the land-locked waters of the Derwent.* The Tasmanians in general are thoroughly British in their tastes and habits, and evince this similarity in nothing more strongly than in their genuine enjoyment of aquatic amusements. The first settlement of the island in 1804, is annually commemorated by a regatta, held at Hobart Town in December, usually the finest month in the year.

The principal buildings erected by private capital in Hobart Town are the banks (which I shall elsewhere have occasion to notice, as also the schools, charitable and stipendiary), several excellent hotels and other houses of entertainment, among which may be included a more than proportionate number of "grog shops," but these have diminished since the establishment of abstinence and temperance societies.

Among the manufactories may be noticed breweries, tanneries, founderies, timber-mills, flour-mills, worked by the different elements of wind, water, and steam, a pottery, and a sugar-bakery. There are besides several coach-makers and every description of cabinet and furniture makers; ship-building has also now become a large and lucrative occupation. Hobart Town may be said to be well and reasonably supplied, not with necessities only, but even with luxuries. The only commodity of which a scarcity is felt, is fish, and that I believe is in consequence rather from the class who might procure it being engaged in more easy and equally remunerative pursuits, than in the deficiency of the article itself.

Mount Wellington, a chief object of attraction to the traveller visiting this the most southern city of the British empire, rises 4,000 feet above the level of the sea; the base of the mountain commences about four miles from the harbour, from which the summit is distant nine miles. A road extends from Macquarie Strait to a considerable fall of water called the "Springs," half-way up the mountain; beyond this point there are huge rugged rocks abounding in marine fossils, and separated by ravines and gullies, and the somewhat oval-

shaped sloping summit buttressed by fluted columnar basaltic masses, several hundred feet high (see map), seems like the landing-place of a long chain of progressive steps or elevations. Mount Wellington does not present the frowning grandeur and barren aspect of Table Mountain at the Cape of Good Hope, for although capped with snow during eight months of the year, the lower slopes towards Hobart Town are thickly studded with fern trees, wattles, and eucalypti, with an undergrowth of the castor oil plant, and many flowering shrubs, some of which possess considerable beauty.

The excellent roads of Hobart Town were repaired by the convicts at the expense of the government until 1846, when it was divided into five wards; commissioners were elected by the inhabitants, and the town assessed, the government on its part relinquishing some wharf dues and other taxes.

The land in the vicinity of Hobart Town is hilly and densely wooded, and the soil is stated to be generally thin and poor, yet some of the most unpromising tracts have been brought into successful cultivation, and the commodious and often handsome villas of the merchants and traders who carry on their respective occupations in the Tasmanian metropolis, stand amid gardens in which all kinds of English fruits thrive luxuriantly; while on the woody hills around patches of fresher green, with here and there a whitewashed cottage, enliven the dense masses of forest, composed chiefly of gum-trees (*eucalyptæ*), whose olive-brown foliage, gnarled trunks, and shedding bark of a changing ash-grey colour, form an almost invariable feature in every Tasmanian landscape.

On either bank of the Derwent, both above and below the town, are pleasant dwellings and agricultural farms, and immediately facing it on the opposite shore, is a low wooded tongue of land named *Kangaroo Point*, with a deep bay on either side, upon which a small village is situated, between which and the capital constant steam-communication is kept up from the circumstance of Kangaroo Point being the principal route to Sorell and Richmond.

Sandy Bay, a suburban dependence of Hobart Town, is delightfully situated at the head of the bight (about two miles in extent) whose name it bears; it is sheltered on the east and south by Mount Nelson, which runs abruptly into the river, closing all further view of the coast on that side.

* *Twelve Years in the British Colonies*, by J. C. Byrne.

On this eminence (1,000 feet high) is a signal-post, communicating with Mulgrave battery, and announcing the first intelligence concerning the arrival of vessels.

The productive farms and gardens of Sandy Bay, its race-course, and the broad lake-like expanse into which the river here opens, have rendered it a favourite resort. A thriving village named,—

New Town, on the opposite or northern side of Hobart Town, from which it is about two miles and-a-half distant, stands upon the banks of a small rivulet flowing into one of the numerous bays formed by the Derwent. The natural advantages of this spot, both with regard to scenery and soil, early attracted attention, and grants of the land in its immediate neighbourhood were obtained by the first settlers. The houses generally, are built in a superior manner, extensive quarries of fine-grained freestone being immediately available, and to several of them tastefully laid-out shrubberies are attached, the extensive gardens and orchards are highly cultivated, and the commodious farm-houses, with their neatly enclosed fields and paddocks, can hardly fail to strike an English eye as peculiarly home-like.

This locality appears extremely favourable to the growth of the vine, and so long ago as 1830, Prinsep, in his "Journal of a Voyage from Calcutta to Van Diemen's Land," stated, that from the garden of the house in which he resided, 300 gallons of very tolerable wine were made in one year. The chief building is the Orphan School; a large and handsome structure appropriated to the reception of children of both sexes; the boys, in addition to the ordinary branches of school education, being instructed in tailoring, shoe-making, and other useful handicrafts. *New Town* boasts a pottery, tannery, and one or two breweries; it has also its race-course.

LAUNCESTON, is situated in the *County of Cornwall*, and the *Police District of Launceston* (formerly called *Port Dalrymple*), in 41° 24' S. lat., 147° 10' E. long. It stands within the fork formed by the North and South Esk when about to merge in the Tamar, upon a fertile plain backed by rising hills of open woodland, and although con-

sidered very healthy, is subject during the winter to dense fogs.

Its admirable trading position was disregarded for some years after its settlement, owing chiefly to the intricate navigation of the Tamar,* but its advantages at length prevailed, and it began to manifest unmistakeable evidences of commercial importance; at the present time the business-like appearance of the town, its shipping, quays, wharfs, stores, and buildings, both public and private, attest the value attached to it by its enterprising inhabitants as the key of a fertile and extensive country. Its coasting and intercolonial trade received an additional stimulus from the establishment of the colonies of South Australia and Port Phillip on the opposite shores, a forcible indication of the impolicy as well as positive unfairness of endeavouring to promote the welfare of one settlement by preventing the formation, or what is far worse, hindering the progress of others, when under a right system the individual increase and prosperity of each ought naturally to conduce to the welfare of the whole.

The streets (of which Charles-street, Wellington-street, and John-street, are the chief) are wide, airy, and laid out like those of most other Tasmanian towns and villages, at right angles; excellent houses, well-built and well-appointed throughout, extensive warehouses, and handsome shops are numerous, but the public buildings, though good and substantial, already seem disproportionate to the increasing magnitude of the northern capital.

Launceston is chiefly constructed of brick, and consequently lacks the imposing effect produced by the numerous stone edifices of Hobart Town, with which it is in many respects a worthy competitor, having its places of worship—episcopalian, presbyterian, Wesleyan, and meeting-houses of various denominations; its court-house, soldiers' and prisoners' barracks, female factory, &c., its schools both public and private, several banks, various charitable societies (to be mentioned elsewhere), printing establishments, and to crown the whole a well-conducted exchange or reading-room, supplied with an excellent selection of papers from

* Z. P. Pocock, in a pamphlet on emigration, published in 1847, says—"The Tamar is navigable to Launceston, only for vessels of 300 tons, those of larger size being prevented from approaching the wharf by a bar, are obliged to discharge in lighters. The rise of tide is about fifteen feet." Mr. Russell,

who visited Van Diemen's Island in 1839, speaks of vessels of 500 tons burthen being brought into Launceston harbour without difficulty. See Chambers' valuable miscellany, entitled *Information for the People*, vol. I., p. 307.

the mother country and the other colonies. In connexion with the post-office, custom-house, and commercial establishments, a telegraph has been erected on an eminence, called the Windmill-hill, which by means of a code of signals devised for each mercantile house, apprizes the merchants when a vessel enters or clears the heads of George Town.

The hotels and inns are of a superior kind, and the stores well deserve that name, from the quantity and variety of the articles they comprise, which are disposed of at very reasonable rates.

The annual races take place on a flat piece of ground on the banks of the North Esk; the number, breed, and condition of the horses combine to astonish the visitor, and indeed, throughout the island, horses and cattle of all descriptions thrive remarkably well.

Launceston is under the immediate control of a civil commandant, who resides in what is called the government-house, a building of no pretensions, but situated in the midst of an excellent garden.

The country in the vicinity of the northern, is very superior in soil to that which surrounds the southern capital, and the scenery likewise differs. The predominating features are, on one side huge mountain masses separated by narrow valleys, or gullies as they are here called, rising precipitously from the water's edge; on the other, the mountains, though not less lofty, are more remote, the intermediate space being moulded in undulating and richly-productive ground, thickly scattered over with gentlemen's seats, and cleared of all timber, except a few left for ornament.

To the east of Launceston is the open grassy tract called *Paterson's Plains*, on the South Esk, whose junction with a small stream called St. Paul's; is marked by the village of *Avoca*. *Fingal Township* is situated nearer the source of the South Esk, a short distance below its confluence with the Break-o'-Day; the agricultural farms on both banks of the Esk and its above-named tributaries, possess great advantages in point of soil, which have been largely availed of; improvements of all kinds in buildings, fencing, and working the land, especially in drainage and irrigation, have been energetically carried out, until many of them bear a striking resemblance to some of the best cultivated in England, while others show that time and capital only are wanting to assimilate them; nor

is this state of things confined to the above-named localities, but is applicable to various other parts of the settled tracts. Break-o'-Day plains are a series of lofty hills, between which and the Ben Lomond range on the north, there are open grassy lands watered by mountain rivulets. On the south is the St. Paul's tier, so called from the dome-like appearance of one of the elevations. The St. Paul's plains are a succession of indulations running to the eastward, marked by some of the remarkable natural ridges found in different parts of the country, and called "Dead Men's Graves."

The road, of 124 miles, between Hobart Town and Launceston, is tolerably good, and located throughout; it has a considerable degree of traffic, vehicles of all kinds are to be seen there, including mails and stage-coaches, and private carriages attended by servants in livery; while goods of every description are conveyed in drays drawn by a team of bullocks from two to eight in number, as occasion may require.

George Town, situated in *Dorset County* (in $41^{\circ} 6' 20''$ S. lat., $4^{\circ} 23' 44''$ W. of Sydney), from its excellent harbour and commanding position, about three miles from the mouth of the Tamar, was originally designed for what Launceston has now become, the entrepôt for the northern portion of the island, but this project was frustrated by the inferiority of the land in its vicinity. For a defensive station, it offers great advantages, which have too long been neglected. It is now merely a straggling village, but its mild and salubrious air, render it a favourite resort for sea-bathing. It stands at the foot of a snug cove on the western side of a group of conical hills, and is well supplied with water from springs in its immediate neighbourhood. An excellent road has been made between George Town and Launceston, a distance of about forty miles, through a country rendered interesting by the picturesque reaches of the Tamar. *York Town*, on the opposite bank, was an early settlement, since almost wholly abandoned, from its unfavourable soil. The *George Town District* extends on both banks of the river, towards Launceston, and has tracts of fertile soil on either side; considerably to the east of the town itself there is good soil, and the valley of Piper's river is rich, but limited and somewhat thickly wooded; further on to the eastward, the flat-bottomed, marshy, scrubby valleys of Forrester, Boobiala, and Anson's rivers, are stated by Strzelecki to

offer every inducement to agriculture, though requiring like other parts still in a state of nature, an outlay of capital and labour.

About twelve miles south of Launceston, on the high road to Hobart Town, is the thriving village of *Perth*, pleasantly situated on the lofty bank of the South Esk. Two substantial bridges have been thrown across the river, and the churches, mills, &c. form a picturesque scene. A little to the westward of Perth is *Longford*, or *Latour*, a town of recent formation, situated in the *District* now called by the same name, but formerly known as *Norfolk Plains*; it has

* The following description of "cattle-hunting," from the graphic pen of Mr. David Burn, may interest many of my readers:—"In the early days of the colony, ere the local enactment, called the fencing act, had rendered Van Diemen's Land aught beyond a vast common, the cattle of the different settlers were wont to range in hardly restrained liberty throughout the island. With the exception of such as were brought up by hand, or broken into work, the bulk of the herds were as wild as deer, and scarcely less fleet. It thus became necessary to mount herdsmen, who were termed stock-keepers. The province of such herds was to ride round the animals, and keep them as much together as practicable. In addition to this, it was necessary to collect them at particular seasons, for the purpose of cutting, and marking the increase. At any great gathering, several riders were invariably congregated. By many of these, cattle-hunting was regarded as a sport of the most exciting character—no way inferior to a fox-chase—indeed it was an amusement not unpregnant with danger, requiring a tolerable share of nerve and equestrian skill. The hunters were armed with long heavy whips, not so much for the purpose of flogging the animals, as to terrify them with the tremendous cracking, wherewith the hills and valleys were made to resound. No sooner did the huntsman perceive a knot, or as it was colonially termed, *mob* of cattle, than giving his steed the rein, he dashed at them, awaking the echoes with the thunder of his thong, and urging the affrighted oxen madly before him. At the first off-set a tremendous pace was kept up, although the aim of the pursuer might merely be to keep the beast in view until he could increase the group by further accessions. The wily oxen however, seemed generally perfectly aware of such an intent, which they endeavoured in every way to evade; and when a considerable herd had been collected, it required the utmost vigilance and skill to keep the phalanx compact. Sometimes a sulky bull making a dash from the main body—sometimes an old cow becoming blown and refusing to progress—and not infrequently a rebellious subdivision forcing the ranks, and charging down hill with reckless impetuosity.

"For one man to attempt the control of such a herd is an absurdity; indeed it can hardly be achieved by two—for should two or three detachments thus break away, and the main body be left until the deserters were reclaimed, in all probability ere such a consummation could be effected, the column so left to themselves would have dispersed and become lost to view. The fleetness of wild cattle far exceeds the conception of those who have never beheld them

rapidly acquired importance from the beauty and extreme fertility of the surrounding country.

Westbury Town and District (in *Westmoreland County*), likewise formerly included in the New Norfolk district, form one of the finest cattle tracts in the country;* and the farms situated on the Quamby or Western river are of a superior character.

Port Sorell Town and District comprise the chief located tracts of *Devon County*, and include some land in good cultivation. The eastern portion towards Port Dalrymple is hilly, being crossed by the ridge called in full career. These flying detachments will frequently lead the pursuer, at the imminent hazard of breaking his neck, a race of several miles, tearing up and down the hills, doubling and winding in the most rapid and artful manner, and dashing through the underwood and fallen timber, where the spirited semi-Arab courser was sure to follow. Here the greatest risk is incurred. A horse trained to cattle-hunting will follow every inflection of the chase, doubling and winding as rapidly as the oxen themselves; and therefore to avoid a somerset, the utmost caution is requisite; even a wary eye, a ready hand, and prompt attention being sometimes insufficient to save the rider a heavy fall. The chance, however, of being thus unhorsed, is nothing compared to the danger incurred by encountering the limbs of trees, amid which cattle precipitate themselves when hard pressed. Many a good rider has owed his life, or at least escaped from broken bones more to the sagacity of his steed than to any efforts or ability of his own.

"When the heads of such refractory runaways, as it has been endeavoured to depict, have at length been turned in the wished-for direction, a fresh bound is almost sure to be attempted in a new quarter, to control which requires consummate tact. Having regained the battalion whence the troublesome skirmishers have so annoyingly deployed, it will no longer be found in close column, unless the party may have been strong enough to leave a horseman to keep it in check. No, without awaiting the word of command, they have taken open order, scouring the country far and near. Away once more speeds man and horse—tramp, tramp, like the Bürger's Leonora; hurraing—shouting—storming, and cracking their whips, until the tiresome brutes again fall in. Cattle which have broken from the herd have been often so run down as to become incapable of further flight. In such condition they are somewhat dangerous, standing at bay, and charging horse and rider with the utmost fury. Although, as a sport cattle-hunting may have been exciting, nevertheless the wear and tear of horses, and the flesh run off the oxen themselves, added to the great loss of time (proprietors being many weeks collecting the bulk of their herds), rendered the keeping of such wild animals a profitless speculation, unless carried on to a very great extent. The enclosing and subdividing of estates, together with the numerous improvements in the breed and management, have rendered cattle-hunting nearly an obsolete story; the quiet Devon, Suffolk, Hereford, Fife, Ayrshire, or Durham cow having superseded the half buffalo breed of earlier date."

the Asbestos mountains, from the circumstance of asbestos being found there. The western, towards Port Frederick, is low towards the shore, and has a gentle rise further inland. Having noticed the chief northern settlements, I return to those situated between Launceston and Hobart.

Campbell Town, in *Somerset County*, is situated on the banks of a small tributary of the Macquarie, called Elizabeth river, over which a causeway has been erected. It contains some good buildings, and wears a prosperous appearance. There is much good land in its vicinity, although on the north, between it and *Perth*, a sandy, unproductive tract extends, more heavily timbered than the generality of this part of the country, called *Epping Forest*, beyond which lie *Henrietta Plains*, and other open and fertile tracts. The long ridge, sometimes distinguished as the *Eastern Tier*, of which the most conspicuous summits are the jagged peaks of *Ben Lomond*, stretch to the eastward of Campbell Town, to the westward of which lies the embryo township of Lincoln, laid out at the confluence of the *Isis* with the river *Macquarie*; and to the southward, likewise, in *Somerset County*, are the villages of *Lincoln* and *Ross*, or *Ross Bridge*, as it is frequently called, from the long narrow wooden structure that here crosses the Macquarie. Two miles from Ross about 30,000 acres of land were originally reserved by government as peculiarly available for farming purposes, but they have long since been disposed of to private individuals, and are now under successful cultivation. To the south of Ross lie extensive flats of excellent pasturage, called *Salt Pan Plains*, from two large salt marshes therein situated, the one of about forty, the other some twenty acres in extent. In winter these marshes are filled

with rain, which, after the evaporation caused by the summer heat, have a crust of fine white salt, varying in thickness from a quarter to half-an-inch. These plains are terminated on the south by woody hills, among which is a defile called *St. Peter's Pass*, a few miles beyond which lies *Oatlands*, a thriving but not prettily-situated town, nearly midway between the southern and northern capitals. It adjoins a rushy lagoon, about four miles in extent, called *Lake Frederic*, and has some substantial public buildings, and a considerable number of good freestone dwellings. The land around is well supplied with surface water, and otherwise adapted for agricultural purposes. Limestone is abundant in this neighbourhood. Between Oatlands and a straggling settlement called *Jericho** lies a beautiful level, comprising from ten to twelve hundred acres, originally called *Fourteen Tree Plain*, from a singularly formed group which grew there. *Jericho* is situated on the right bank of the *River Jordan*, which, from its head down to *Brighton*, a distance of about thirty miles, comprises a series of very flourishing farms.

Bothwell Town and District are situated to the westward of Oatlands, on the left bank of the Clyde, which divides the counties of *Monmouth* and *Cumberland*. It has a neat church, military barracks, gaol, mills, good inns, &c., and is built upon a somewhat sandy flat, backed by wooded and mountainous country. In its vicinity are some valuable estates, with handsome residences. *Den Hill*, an eminence of long, tedious, and, for cattle, even dangerous ascent, lies between Bothwell and Hobart Town. The distance between these places, by the line of road, is about forty-six miles. To the south of *Bothwell*, on the same bank

* The origin of the names of places in our colonies will hereafter be a puzzling subject for the antiquarian; and certainly the designations of various localities in Van Diemen's Island, unless explained, will give rise to innumerable conjectures. The strange juxta-position of such words as *Jericho* and *Bagdad*, *Jerusalem* and *Abyssinia*, *Jordan* and *Nile*, *St. Paul's river* and *Hell's gates*, *Tiberias* and *Troy*, is thus explained:—At the period of the early settlement of the colony, in 1804–5–6, the colonists and convicts were much in want of animal food, and several persons—soldiers, freemen, and convicts, were allowed to range the bush in quest of game, a mode of life which subsequently led to the crime of "bush-ranging." Among the parties so employed there was one under the direction of a marine, named Hugh Germaine, who, with two convicts, collected kangaroos, emus, &c., for a marine officer, to whom Germaine was servant. Game was then very plen-

tiful; and on the spot where Hobart Town barracks now stand, Germaine killed a large forest kangaroo, who measured nine feet from the tip of the nose to that of the hind feet, and whose hind quarters weighed 130 lbs. Germaine and his assistants pursued this life for several years, and returned to his master, on an average, 1,000 lbs. of animal food weekly, which was sold to government for 1s. 6d. per lb. For five years Germaine never once slept in a bed, and lived entirely in the bush with his companions. Only one of the party could read; and the sole books in their possession were a Bible and the *Arabian Nights' Entertainments*. Whenever, therefore, the hunters were in want of a name to distinguish a place—having previously exhausted the vocabulary of Kangaroo Point, Emu Plains, &c.—they chose their names out of the book of sacred writ, and from among the most celebrated scenes described by the Arabian story-teller.

of the Clyde, is the pretty town of *Hamilton*, situated in the *District of Hamilton*. It has a handsome stone church, good flour mill, police court, &c. The road from Jericho to Hobart lies through an old-established little hamlet called *Lovely Banks*, and thence through a rich flat about six miles in extent, called the *Cross Marsh*, intersected by the Jordan, to the fertile valley of Bagdad, (enclosed throughout with post and rail fences), which, though at first of limited breadth, expands as it approximates to the Derwent into noble plains, equally desirable for the farmer or the grazier. It is bounded on either hand by moderate hills, whose slopes afford excellent pasturage. Some few miles' distance, to the right, lies the settlement called *Tea Tree Bush*, and on the left of the townwards road is the township of *Brighton*, which stands in the midst of very extensive but somewhat stony plains, immediately below the junction of *Strathallan Creek* with the *Jordan*, and above their embouchure, in a beautiful cove of the Derwent, which soon after, taking first a south-west and then a north-west direction, separates the counties of Monmouth and Buckingham. On the northern frontier of the latter county, and on the southern bank of the river, stands *New Norfolk* or *Elizabeth Town*, distant twenty-two miles from Hobart Town, built upon an eminence called *Richmond Hill*, which slopes gently towards the Derwent. It is the centre of a small but very productive district. Its public buildings present nothing remarkable, except the hospital, whose external construction and internal arrangements are both admirable. The town is well watered by means of an aqueduct cut from a rivulet named the *Thames*.* A pretty little hamlet, exactly facing New Norfolk, on the opposite shore, borders a streamlet called *Back River*, and lies in a sort of natural basin surrounded by rising ground, a conspicuous eminence, named from its form *Mount Dromedary*, towering above the rest.

Richmond, in *Monmouth County*, is a village of some consideration, having, besides the usual buildings in an incipient town, an excellent stone bridge, and a windmill with a stone tower, and good inns. It is situated at the head of Pitt Water, a salt-water

lagoon communicating with North Bay, about six miles in length and three in breadth, around which there is a considerable portion of comparatively level land of the first description, adapted for either agricultural or pastoral purposes. The small settlement called *Jerusalem* lies near the sources of Coal river, which disembogues at Richmond into the Pitt Water lagoon, on whose north-eastern shore stands *Sorell Town* (Pembroke county), a thriving place, with a church and parsonage-house, school-house, windmill, and several good inns. The land in the vicinity is considered among the best in the colony, some is even said to have produced sixteen crops of wheat in succession, many of them self-sown. The view from behind the town is very English-like; undulating cultivated ground, divided into fields by post and rail-fences, and ornamented by the scattered dwellings of settlers, stretches in various directions among the woody hills. To the south of *Sorell* is *Carlton*, a pretty little hamlet situated on a creek opening into North Bay.

The centre of *Pembroke County* is occupied by *Brushy Plains*, an extensive flat of open forest, bearing grass and sedgy herbage, intermingled with scrub, and joining some swampy land called the *White Marsh*. From thence, over a series of open forest hills, there is a road to *Prosser's Plains*, a grassy district partially located. The adjacent rugged woody ravine of Prosser's river is ironically called *Paradise*, and on the route to *Prosser's Bay* some very rough steep hills are termed the *Devil's Royals*. From the latter-named bay the track leads through a few open forest grassy hills to the agricultural settlement at Spring Bay. The road from Prosser's Plains to *Kelvedon* passes beside a soft salt marsh, at the head of the *Little Swan Port*, and over a series of basaltic bluffs, divided by deep ravines called the *Rocky Hills*, which separate the districts of Little and Great Swan Port. The forest is distinguished from most others in the island by the prevalence of a cypress-like tree, called the oyster bay pine (*callitris pyramidalis*.)

The chief locations in the *County of Glamorgan* are comprehended in the *Great*

* A curious circumstance, noticed by Prinsep as recorded in the early annals of New Norfolk, is, that a whale once found its way thus far up the Derwent, and being unable to turn, was easily made a prize of by the astonished inhabitants. A gentleman in the neighbourhood gave a considerable sum

for it, and hastened to Hobart Town, expecting to profit by his speculation; but, on his return, he found the monster of the deep already disposed of, having been devoured, during his absence, by the small fish.—*Journal of a Voyage from Calcutta to Van Diemen's Island*, p. 77.

Swan Port District, a large but thinly-populated tract, extending along the shores of *Oyster Bay*, and backed by a continuous ridge of high land (see "Coast Line.") It includes some fine pastures, and a fair proportion of agricultural soil; but the peculiar feature of this locality is the whale fishery.

In the *County of Kent* there are as yet few traces of cultivation, except in the immediate vicinity of *South Port*, although the fertile banks of the *Huon* and its tributaries will, doubtless, be speedily located whenever Tasmania shall obtain the elements of prosperity, in which alone she is now deficient, namely, capital and free labour.

Two inland townships still remain to be noticed, namely, *Morven* and *Horton*; both of them have been formed since those to which I have previously alluded, and are now the centre of rising districts, especially the former, whose population, importance, &c., as will be seen in the statistical section, has increased extraordinarily during the last few years, already surpassing many places of far older establishment. The townships, however, one and all, are, as it were, the creation of yesterday; and to attempt in this place a detailed description of them would be but to waste space, since in a few years the likeness might probably scarcely be recognised, more especially as the limits of the existing divisions are liable to continual alteration.

The territories occupied by the Van Diemen's Land Agricultural Company lie in the north-western portion of the island, and include the following tracts:—

The Peninsula of *Circular Head*, whose seaward face has been described in the "Coast Line," is $5\frac{1}{2}$ miles long, and contains about 8,000 acres, of which some 4,000 acres consist, for the most part, of dry open grassy hills, with an excellent herbage of fine grass, trefoil, cinquefoil, and wild vetches. The soil is light, but productive. About 2,000 acres are covered with small trees, and many parts, though rocky, comprise patches of good grass. Water is difficult of attainment.

At *Highfield Plain*, on the north-west part of the peninsula, 36 acres of forest have been cut down, and the land brought into cultivation, the well-tilled fields wearing a cheerful aspect. The village contains farm buildings, stores, workshops, a jetty, and several residences, of which the principal is the handsome dwelling, with its fine garden and demesne, of the Company's agent (see view on map), occupying some rising ground

on the northern part of the point. Substantial barracks for the convicts in the employ of the Company have been erected at this station, also well-constructed stone stables for the valuable horses reared at *Circular Head*.

At *East Bay* much labour has been effectually bestowed upon large sluices of marsh rescued from the influx of the sea.

The country adjacent to the peninsula consists principally of barren heathy plains and low swampy forests, and the part near the shore is cut up with the branches of a large estuary.

The vicinity of *Woolnorth* is basaltic, and to the westward low and marshy, but the land generally is of fair quality, and some of the soil is red loam. *Highbury*, the township of the district, comprises cottages, stores, farm-buildings, &c., belonging to the Company. The low ground near the coast is open grassy forest; short bushes cover some parts of the interior, and the sandy and grassy hills south of *Woolnorth* have good sheep pastures.

Between *Circular Head* and *Emu Bay*, the country is intersected by many rivers, and the road lies close along the coast; proceeding from a muddy bay near the peninsula, for eight miles on a sandy beach, *Black River* is reached; here blue slate of good quality, and limestone, are found; thence, five miles of beach lead to *Crayfish River*, and four more to *Detention River* (see map), where there is a grassy plain at the foot of some steep white quartz hills near *Rocky Cape*; which are thinly covered with sandy peat, and have scattered over them a species of *Xanthorrhæa* or grass tree, and a beautiful *Blandfordia*, with stems one foot and-a-half high, supporting crests of ten to twenty pendulous red blossoms, margined with yellow, one inch and-a-half long, and three-quarters of an inch wide at the mouth. East of these hills is a level plain, on which the *Banksia serratifolia* is the prevailing tree; it is equal in size to a pear-tree, its heads of flowers are six inches long and twelve round; the seeds as large as almonds. Near *Table Cape* there is some rich red loamy soil, clothed with luxuriant vegetation; fern, prickly acacia, and musky aster, grow so thickly as to render a passage difficult. The tree ferns are particularly numerous, and many lofty shrubs are overrun with the white clematis and different climbing vines, alike over-topped by stately stringy barks and white gum trees about

200 feet high. The road thence passes along the beach, crossing the *Inghis* and *Cam* rivers to *Emu Bay*, near which the Van Diemen's Land Company have a store; the goods are landed on the basaltic rocks which there rise perpendicularly out of the sea in pentagonal columns.

Between *Emu Bay* and the *Hampshire Hills* (distant twenty miles), lies a magnificent forest; for a few miles from the sea it consists chiefly of white gum and stringy-bark trees 200 feet high, with straight trunks clear of branches for from 100 to 150 feet, and resembling, in the opinion of James Backhouse, who traversed this region, "an assemblage of elegant columns so irregularly placed as to intercept the view at the distance of a few hundred yards." These giants of the forest are crowned with branching tops of light willow-like foliage, but at an elevation too great to allow the form of the leaves to be distinguished, yet casting a gentle shade on the fern-trees and shrubs below, as well as on the smaller ferns which carpet the ground.

As the distance from the sea increases, the Australian myrtle and sassafras, with their dark dense foliage, become the prevailing trees, while the undergrowth is composed of the tree-fern, some of which have trunks twenty feet high, and leaves eight to twelve feet long, which with the new ones forming, rise in the centre like croziers. The road is ascending and undulating, broken at intervals by grassy elevated plains and vales, varying in extent from 300 to 1,500 acres, intersected in every direction by clear streams with pebbly beds.

St. Valentine's Peak, although only six miles from the Hampshire, requires a distance of sixteen miles to be traversed before its summit is reached, owing to the thickness of the myrtle forest, which extends part of the way up one side. From the top of the Peak (see map) the north coast is visible near Port Sorell, the Cradle mountain, Barn Bluff, and the lower parts of the western tier bound the prospect on the east. Numerous mountains are visible to the south, and on the west the sea is seen through a few openings in the hills. The whole view, except the sea, the projecting rocks, and a few small open tracts of land, such as the Hampshire hills, Goderich plains, &c., appears to extend over one vast sombre forest.

The Van Diemen's Land Agricultural Company have a settlement in the Hamp-

shire hills, upon a gently rising eminence, among grassy and ferny slopes, interspersed with forest, and watered by clear brooks, bordered by beautiful shrubs.

An opening in the forest called *St. Mary's Plain* is described by J. Backhouse as being clear of wood, except a few clumps of silver wattle on the hills, and lines of tea tree on the margins of the brooks by which it is intersected; one of these falling over a basaltic rock, forms a pretty waterfall, about forty feet high and thirty feet wide; it is decorated with the tea tree at the top and sides, and at the bottom a shrubby *aster* with toothed leaves, is loaded so profusely with pure white blossoms as to bend gracefully in all directions. The grassy hills are besprinkled with buttercups, blue speedwell, flax, stylidium, and little white flowers resembling English daisies. The road to this "spot of great beauty" is through a myrtle and stringy-bark forest, by which it is encircled.

The *Surrey Hills*, about twenty miles to the south of the Hampshire hills, have an elevation of nearly 2,000 feet, and are equally beautiful; they resemble in some places English enclosures, being separated by brooks, bordered by belts of sloping shrubberies; in others the knolls resemble a neglected old park.

Mr. Fossey, who traversed the Surrey hills, likewise represents the neighbouring country as resembling in appearance a nobleman's domain, both as to extent and quality, particularly that part lying east of the river Leven. The *Green Forest*, which divides the Surrey from the Hampshire hills, comprises myrtle, sassafras, "celery-top" pine, with a little stringy bark, all of large circumference. There are also the "pepper" and fern trees, with musk and dogwood. The whole distance from the Hampshire hills to the coast is like the Green forest, except two small plots of land. A considerable portion of the forest is very flat and dry, rich in soil as nature can make it, and tolerably open, to within about three miles of the coast.

The climate of the Hampshire and of the Surrey hills is as humid as that of Yorkshire; indeed, on the former, which are nearest to the sea, the quantity of rain which fell, from 1835 to 1839, averaged annually 67 inches; in 1838 it exceeded 80 inches. Snow falls in winter to the depth of a foot, or more; fogs are unknown, and the air is salubrious. Limestone and building-stone

are attainable, and offer inducements to settlers, but, on the other hand, the difficulty of removing the timber is a serious obstacle.

The measurement of trees growing in two acres of the Emu bay forest is thus stated by the late Mr. Hellyer:—

	First Acre.	Second Acre.
Trees under 12 inches in girth	500	704
Trees from 1 to 2 feet in girth	992	880
" 2 to 3 " 	716	148
" 3 to 6 " 	56	56
" 6 to 12 " 	20	32
" 12 to 21 " 	12	28
" 21 to 30 " 	4	8
Trees 30 feet and upwards	4	8
Fern trees	84	112
Total	2,384	1,976

Vegetation of every description seems to thrive in these districts. The tea tree (*Leptospermum lanigerum*), usually a shrub of about 10 feet in height, was found at Chilton, near the foot of Valentine's Peak, 70 feet high and 7 feet in circumference. The silver wattle, in the same locality, grew 70 feet high and 11 feet two inches round; while a sassafras tree measured 6 feet round and 140 high. At the junction of the *Emu River* with the *Loudwater* (so called from its cascade), within a distance of half-a-mile, ten standing trees were measured, whose height was 180 to 200 feet, and their circumference 18 to 20 feet. One tree which had fallen, was ascended and walked along by four persons abreast with ease. The elevation, traceable by the branches, was 213 feet. In his fall he had overturned another 168 feet high. Some of these trees, when felled, are so large that they cannot be cut into lengths for splitting. Near the *Guide River* two myrtles were measured, of 32 and 42 feet round, and, with many others, appeared to be about 150 feet high. Some of the tree ferns have 32 old and 26 new fronds; the usual number is 6 old and 4 new, exclusive of the dead ones. The description given by Backhouse, of some of these forest trees is very graphic. In one place, at a few miles from Emu bay, he measured a tree supposed to be 250 feet high, which had a girth of 55½ feet at 5 feet from the ground; its circumference at the surface was about 70 feet. He adds: "My companions spoke to each other when at the opposite side of the tree to myself, and their voices sounded so distant that I concluded they had inadvertently left me to see some other object, and immediately called to

them; they, in answer, remarked the distant sound of my voice, and inquired if I were behind the tree!"

When the road was forming through this forest, a man who had only about 200 yards to go from one company of the work-people to another, lost himself; he called, and was repeatedly answered, but getting further astray, his voice became more indistinct till it ceased to be heard, and he perished. Some of the white gum trees are of such equal circumference, that in a fallen trunk of 100 feet in length, it was difficult to determine which end had grown uppermost.

The Van Diemen's Land Agricultural Company's station at *Chilton*, distant 113 miles from Launceston, is about 2,106 feet above the sea, and consists of high marshy flats. Proceeding thence towards Launceston the *Leven River* is crossed, the road beyond lies through some open forest, over the swampy Black Bluff mountains (3,381 feet high), and across a fine open country called the *Vale of Belvoir*, in which there is a sheet of water named *Patterdale Lake*. The Belvoir vale has numerous pits of water and streams even with the grass, dividing and again uniting. There are also deep fissures in the earth destitute of water. Passing the *Middlesex Plains* the *Isis River* is crossed, and the *Great Western Road*, as it is termed, leads through an open forest. On the descent to the *Forth River*, which is about 2,000 feet, there are some beautiful views of mountain scenery. The river is here wide and rapid, and the noise of the fall called the *Forth's Gateway*, is audible at a considerable distance.

Gad's Hill, which lies between the *Forth* and the *Mersey*, is 2,588 feet high, very steep, and clothed with timber. On the top of the hill are some pretty grassy plains. After passing the *Mersey* river there are a few hills, and some small limestone plains, called the *Circular Pond Marshes*, which derive their name from a number of circular basins that seem to have been formed by the draining off of the waters through subterranean channels. Some of these pits are full of water, the outlets below being choked with mud; others are empty and grassy down to their perforated bottoms. There are also here, as in other parts of the island, some remarkable caverns, with openings like doorways, and long subterranean passages, opening into grassy hollows.

Between the *Circular Ponds* and the *Mole River* (so called from its occasionally flow-

ing underground), there is some elevated land.

Newly-discovered Country.—We are as yet imperfectly acquainted with the character of the territory recently explored in the western part of the island, and around Port Macquarie and Port Davey; it appears to be somewhat similar to the scenery and grassy elevations of the Hampshire and Surrey hills, only the plains are larger, and the mountains loftier than those in the northern districts. The area of some of these tracts is thus estimated:—*King William's Plains* 40,000 acres, *Guelph Plains* 20,000 acres, *Vale of Gordon* 120,000 acres, *Pedder and Huon Plains* 12,000, forest openings 8,000 acres; total 280,000 acres. The rough herbage has been burnt on these plains to promote the growth of the grasses which succeed it, and in some parts, especially near lakes Pedder and Edgar, the pasture is luxuriant.

The plains to the westward of the Arthur range, those near Port Davey, Bathurst plains, Painter's plains, and those on the Franklin, near the foot of the Frenchman's Cap, beside the valleys of the Denison and the Picton rivers, have as yet only been seen by Mr. Cotton, the assistant surveyor-general, from the mountain peaks: he was of course unable to estimate satisfactorily their extent, but he considers an area of 100 miles in length by 40 in breadth, or one million acres of land are fit for the immediate occupation of flocks, and that the tract contains a full proportion of fertile country fit for agricultural purposes, and *never-failing rivers*. Its geological structure is said to bespeak the existence of metals, and the banks of the Gordon, from their abrupt bend to the salt-water level, are peculiarly deserving of attention.

These fine tracts of open country have hitherto been an unknown land, owing to the almost impenetrable natural barriers with which they have been surrounded. Surveying and working parties are now employed under the direction of the surveyor-general of the colony, Captain Power: the base of operations being on the upper part of the Derwent, and on the lower part of the Huon. A cart-road has been opened from Marlborough to the north part of King William's plains, a distance of twenty-four miles. A branch road from the above passes between Mount Charles and the Wentworth hills, ten miles to the Derwent, and a foot-tract has been marked out from

the Guelph river to the head of the Gordon. A bridle-road has been opened from Victoria, on the Huon river, through a very intricate forest country, bordering that river to lakes Pedder and Edgar, a distance of fifty miles, over many small streams and the *Arve*, the *Picton*, and *Cracroft*, which are of more importance (see map).

Unexplored Country.—The territory lying between Woolnorth and Macquarie Harbour, a tract about 100 miles long, by 30 to 50 miles broad, is almost entirely unknown. Judging from the nature of the country about the *Surrey Hills* in the north, and the *Frenchman's Cap Mountain* in the south, there will probably be found large available districts, and as the settlers are now locating their flocks along the rich valleys of the Gordon and Huon rivers, they will soon be led to seek fresh herbage in the more northern parts of the island. Pastoral pursuits are the ordinary precursors of agriculture, and it is the advantages it offers for both, but especially the latter branch of rural industry, that renders Tasmania such an eligible position for men with small capital, who desire to obtain a subsistence from the soil.

Farming is better understood, and more carefully practised in Van Diemen's Island than in New South Wales; the extensive sheep downs and cattle runs in Australia invite the settler to grazing pursuits, but the absence of these extensive prairies, and the rich alluvial valleys of the Tamar, Derwent, and other rivers in Van Diemen's Island, almost compel the Tasmanians to devote their energies to the tillage of the earth. Hence the appearance of elegant mansions and pleasure-grounds; tasteful cottages surrounded by gardens, well-stocked farm-yards, and extensive barns; comfortable homesteads and productive orchards; admirably tilled fields, divided by neatly-clipped hedgerows; while the agricultural villages, with their church, school, and parsonage, the well-supplied inns, and excellent stage coaches surprise every traveller on visiting Tasmania. Sir William Denison, in a recent dispatch to Earl Grey, says—

"Comparing the aspect of the colony with colonies of far older date, settled under different circumstances, we are at once struck with the appearance of wealth and prosperity which is everywhere manifested. The houses in the towns are well built of stone or brick; the streets are well kept; the roads are remarkably good; the wharfs and public buildings show evidence of a large outlay of labour. In fact, there is a general aspect of ease and affluence throughout the length and breadth of the land."

CHAPTER III.

GEOLOGY—MINERALOGY—SOIL—CLIMATE—AND DISEASES.

THE general geological features of Van Diemen's Island are similar to those of Australia; but the effects of subterranean agency, as evinced in the torn, rugged, and contorted surface of the colony, are more manifest in the lesser and southern island. Count Strzelecki found, during his scientific researches, that in Van Diemen's Island the space occupied by the *crystalline* as compared with the *sedimentary* rocks, was 7 : 1 ; in New South Wales, 3 : 1. A classification of all the mineral masses, whether unstratified or stratified, into two divisions—the one including rocks having more than 60 per cent. of silica, the other less than 60 per cent.—shews that in Van Diemen's Island the area of the first division is to that of the second as 1 : 3 ; in New South Wales, as 4 : 1 : 1.*

The various geological details given in the previous divisions, on New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, and Western Australia, although applicable, do not require recapitulation; but it may be advisable to mention some of the leading characteristics of Van Diemen's Island, which Strzelecki supposes to have been originally composed of five islands: the *first* approaching the form of a triangle, and included between Cape Portland, St. Patrick's Head, and the head of the river Forrester; the *second* constituting what are now called the Asbestos hills; the *third*, a small island, now forming the valley of the Lake river: the *fourth* including the eastern portion of the Hampshire hills and a part of the northern shores; and the *fifth*, an oblong and indented island, comprising a part of Middlesex Plains, and enclosed between Macquarie Harbour, Port Davey, South-west Cape, South Cape, the right bank of Huon river, the west side of Lake St. Clair, and Western Bluff.

The localities where different rocks are found, are stated by Strzelecki to be:—*granite*—Eldon range, Ben Lomond, and Frenchman's Cap; *glandular granite*—Flinders' island, Cape Portland, and Black ridge; *porphyritic granite*—Eldon and Black ranges, and Ben Nevis; *protogene*—Eldon range; *sienite*—islands in Bass Straits, eastern coast of Van Diemen's Island, on Mounts

Horror and Humboldt, and at Port Davey; *quartz*—the most remarkable locality is in the dividing range west of Lake St. Clair, Frenchman's Cap, and the spur which unites that mountain to the main ridge of the dividing range; the granular variety is principally found between the Mcander and the Mersey rivers, at Rocky Cape, Cape Grim, and the heads of the Derwent; *curite*—on the summit of Flinders' island; in Van Diemen's Island it appears first between Mount Cameron and Waterhouse Point, and is next met on the Black range; it is also found on the St. George and Scamander rivers, to the north of St. Patrick and Ben Nevis, and to the south of St. Valentine's Peak, in the Hampshire hills; *serpentine* is seen in a mountainous mass on the Asbestos hills; on their west side it is associated with mica-schist, on the east with limestone, on the north with greenstone; the maximum height at which it is found is 1,500 feet; the structure decidedly amorphous, but in the vicinity of the river Rubicon it shews some slight appearance of stratification. The foregoing constitute the *crystalline* rocks, which form by far the largest portion of the island; the distinguishing lithological peculiarities of each are stated in the previous division on New South Wales, pp. 500, 501.

As regards the *sedimentary* rocks, it may be briefly noted that *mica-schist* is found in various places, associated with granite, sienite, and serpentine; siliceous and argillaceous slate exist in many localities; limestone, compact and fossiliferous, is widely spread; much of the common limestone is of a yellowish or reddish colour, owing doubtless to the quantity of oxide of iron with which it is mixed; slaty greenstone is obtainable in every part of the island, at various heights, to an elevation of 5,200 feet above the sea and shore, capping some of the most prominent elevations of the interior.

For the benefit of those who understand little of the scientific nomenclatures of geology, and the relative position of different strata, but who wish to know what are the useful rocks, I may state that argil appears in the form of excellent roof-slate, at a cer-

* Strzelecki, p. 155.

tain spot between Launceston and George town. In the form of mica, it is found in large masses on the rocks round Port Davey, on the southern corner of the island, where, being much exposed to the winds and waves of the Southern Ocean, they have become so much worn by the weather, as to put on the appearance of snow. Excellent sandstone for building is obtained in almost every part of the island, and many of the houses in Hobart Town are now built with it, instead of badly made bricks, as formerly; it is brought from different parts within half-a-mile or a mile of the town. A quarry of this kind has recently been discovered at Port Arthur, where the manufacture of filtering-stones, it is probable, will be found a profitable employment. Flints are scattered in great plenty upon the hills, especially in neighbourhoods where basalt abounds. They generally occur in the globular form, covered with a white indurated crust of chalk. Other rarer species of the siliceous genus have been found in different parts of the island, especially in those which appear to have been washed, in former times, by the ocean, and which have been deposited in certain ranges or linear positions by the lashing of the waves, and the subsiding of the waters. Of these may be mentioned, though found generally in small pieces, hornstone, schistus, wood-opal, blood-stone, jasper, and that singular species called the cat's eye, reflecting different rays of light, according to its position. Marble, well adapted for domestic purposes, is obtainable in several places.

Basalt is very abundant; indeed, it would appear to be the predominant substratum of the island. All along the coast, it presents itself in rocky precipitous heights, standing on beautiful columnar pedestals, as at Fluted cape, Adventure bay. Circular Head is a remarkable instance of the singular appearance which this species of rock puts on, resembling different artificial productions of man: it stands out into the sea, exactly like a huge round tower or fortress, built by human hands. At Cape Grim, some of the upper portions of the cliff are soft sandstone, but the most striking portions are of columnar basalt. Mount Wellington, the great western Table Mountain, and the rocky banks of many of the mountain rivers, as the Shannon, are composed of this rock. In some parts, both on the coast and in the interior, the columns stand up in insulated positions, springing up from the grass or the

ocean like obelisks or huge needles, and presenting a singular appearance to the eye. On the south end of Bruny island, which is composed of this rock, there are several of this description; and those upon the land stand erect upon their several blocks, gradually diminishing as they rise, till the force of a well-aimed stone would be sufficient to drive the uppermost from its seat. As this rock has the power of acting on the magnetic needle, and since it occurs in such large masses in the island, it may account, in some measure, for the variations which travellers in the bush sometimes experience, who depend on the guidance of the pocket compass. Elevated beaches are found in several places; that which forms Green island, in Bass strait, is a comminuted mass of shells, and rises to the height of 100 feet. Similar up-heavings are found on the west and south coasts of Tasmania.

Petrified remains of wood, and other vegetable productions, entirely converted into siliceous matter, and capable of the finest polish, are occasionally met with in different parts of the island, especially in the Macquarie district, at Allenvale, and Mr. Barker's estate, where whole trunks and branches of trees have been found, some in a horizontal, and others in a vertical position, exhibiting the fibres and structure of the leaves and wood, the distribution of the vessels, and the annular growth, as distinctly, and in as perfect a state as in the living tree.

MINERALS.—Iron ore, of a red, a brown, and a black colour, is very frequently met with; some analyses gave eighty per cent. of the pure mineral. It occurs, though rarely, and in smaller quantities, under the form of red chalk, which, when mixed with grease, is used by the aborigines to adorn themselves with fantastic figures. Of other metallic ores, specimens of red and green copper, lead, zinc, manganese (and, according to some persons, silver and gold), have occasionally been met with. There are no metallic mines as yet worked; but, judging from the geological characteristics, and the formation and locality of Van Diemen's Island, I have no doubt it is rich in mineral productions.

Coal has been found cropping out in various places right across the island:—beginning at South cape, it is found at Satellite island, in D'Entrecasteaux's channel, on the banks of the Huon river, at Hobart Town, at New Norfolk, the Coal river, Jerusalem, Jericho, and other places. The stratum of

the South cape is situated on the north side of the bay, and extends about two miles along the coast. A few miles above New Norfolk, at Mr. Cawthorn's farm, on the Derwent, a fine bed of what is termed wood-coal has been discovered, at a depth of about thirty feet. Mr. James Rennie, on examination, ascertained that the layers and fibres of the wood are very marked and distinct, even to the worming and irregular lines caused by knots; yet when the pieces are broken transversely, they exhibit the fracture of genuine coal. At the upper bend of the semicircle of the Derwent, the bitumenization has advanced farther; jet, of the finest grain and lustre, has been found passing from the common wood-coal, with an even or vitreous fracture, into a phase, presenting a perfect conchoidal fracture, in which it might be cut into necklaces, brooches, and other ornaments. The Derwent wood-coal burns with a strong, unpleasant smell, but is admirably adapted for the preparation of gas. In the coal found at Port Arthur, the greater portion of the bitumen is driven off by volcanic heat, while the sulphurous portion, in rising through the superincumbent strata of sandstone, &c., combines with the iron, forming the whitish metallic layers of pyrites, often mistaken for copper or silver. The Port Arthur coal-mines have been worked for some years by the colonial government with convicts; they are now let on lease to a private individual. A shaft has been sunk to a depth of more than 300 feet; and the galleries where the miners work are said to extend over a space of several miles.

Between the sources of the *Macquarie River*, which run to the *Tamar*, and those of the *Jordan River*, which run to the Derwent, there is a salt plain, with three pools or hollows, which are filled with water during the rainy season; but when dried up by evaporation, the soil around them is so strongly impregnated with salt, that a considerable quantity of this indispensable condiment is left on the surface, and collected by the settlers for domestic use. There are several medicinal springs; some fifteen miles west of Circular Head, belong to a class of carbonated waters, and are aperient and tonic.

THE SOIL is very varied; in some places a rich alluvial mould, in others sandy or argillaceous; its fertility is shewn by the excellent crops produced for successive years without manuring the land. A soft clayey

marl has been discovered around Hobart Town during the progress of improvements, exposed at a depth of two or three yards, and has proved very useful as a manure.

CLIMATE. — Allowing for the higher southern latitude, the coldness and humidity attending on its insularity, and direct exposure to the strong winds of the Southern Pacific, the seasons and weather at Van Diemen's Island may be estimated from the data given in the preceding volume respecting Australia.

Generally speaking, throughout the summer months, there are alternate land and sea breezes, every twenty-four hours, the influence of the latter being felt many miles from the shore, and tending greatly to cool the atmosphere, even in the hottest days of summer. The wind blows from the land, from sunset till ten or eleven o'clock the following day; when the sea breeze sets in and continues till evening. The average of the thermometer is about 70°; although there are times when the mercury is subject to sudden elevations, even to 100° to 110°. When this happens, a hot wind blows from the north or north-west, the effects of which sometimes show themselves upon growing crops, by producing blight, and similar injurious consequences; but it seldom lasts long; and the rain, which is almost certain to follow within a few hours, again so cools the atmosphere, that its previous sultriness is little regarded. Thunder storms are seldom experienced; nor are they ever of a violent nature. Even in the height of summer the evenings and nights are generally cool.

September, October, and November are the spring months, when the weather is usually bright and clear, with occasional rain and high winds. The average of the thermometer for these months is from fifty to sixty degrees.

December, January, and February constitute the summer. In general very little rain falls during these three months. The productions of the earth, such as grass, corn, and vegetables, arrive at maturity about *one month* earlier than the same kinds would in England; that is, in December, which answers to the June of the northern hemisphere, products are gathered which, in England, ripen in July.

March, April, and May are the autumnal months, and form by far the pleasantest season. The air is then clear and bright—the sky free from clouds and vapours—the

medium heat of the day is about 65°; and the nights are cool and refreshing.

The winter includes June, July, and August: in the interior, particularly upon high and exposed situations, frosts are sometimes severe, and at times a good deal of snow falls; but it is seldom that the sun so wholly loses its power, as to suffer an appearance of either frost or snow to last throughout the day; and the winter is rather contemplated by the inhabitants, as a season of moderate and genial rain, sufficient to replenish the storehouses of the earth against the ensuing spring, and to facilitate the labours of the husbandman, than as the cold and dismal period of the higher latitudes. The longest day is fifteen hours twelve minutes; the shortest, eight hours forty-eight minutes.

There is a royal observatory at Hobart Town, 42° 52' S., 9^h 50^m E. It is under the directorship of Lieutenant J. H. Kay, R.N., and the observations are registered day and night with great care; from January, to the 1st of October, 1848, they were made hourly, and thence to the 31st

of December, at five periods in the twenty-four hours, viz., at two and six a.m., and at two, six, and ten p.m. The cistern of the standard barometer is 107 feet above the level of the mean tide, causing a depression in the mercurial column of about 0.1. The observatory is unfavourably situated for a correct register of the *absolute* quantity of rain which falls in any year; *relatively* one year with another there is no doubt of the accuracy of the register, as the reservoir which receives the rain is emptied every morning at nine o'clock, and by a self-acting syphon besides, whenever the quantity which falls exceeds the twenty-fifth part of an inch. The effect of evaporation is therefore inappreciable, as the pencil of the register marks the quantity as it falls. The area of the funnel which collects the rain is 200 square inches, and as the reservoir contains fifty cubic inches, each time it is full, 0.25 of an inch of rain has fallen on that area. With these explanatory remarks I give the following meteorological table for Hobart Town during the year 1848:—

Months.	Barometer.		Fahrenheit's Thermometer.		Mean.		Quantity of Rain, in inches.	Usual No. of Wet Days.	Mean Temp. of the Air for 3 years.
	Max.	Min.	Max.	Min.	Barom.	Therm.			
January . . .	30.166	28.952	82.7	43.0	29.737	60.2	1.03	10	61.2
February . . .	30.276	29.477	81.0	42.7	29.950	59.3	0.80	7	59.7
March . . .	30.212	29.218	81.0	47.3	29.743	59.6	1.16	6	58.5
April . . .	30.373	29.173	77.2	39.6	29.790	56.9	0.54	5	54.5
May . . .	30.184	29.180	67.0	34.2	29.740	49.1	4.34	12	48.3
June . . .	30.402	29.392	59.0	34.7	29.041	45.8	1.08	11	44.9
July . . .	30.370	29.407	54.3	31.3	30.004	42.8	2.49	15	43.2
August . . .	30.297	28.760	57.8	35.3	29.722	45.3	2.66	10	45.8
September . . .	30.242	28.596	72.0	36.2	29.549	48.6	1.91	11	49.8
October . . .	30.226	29.051	72.0	39.0	29.698	50.4	1.61	14	52.2
November . . .	29.938	28.938	74.7	40.0	29.442	53.3	3.83	11	55.6
December . . .	30.110	28.869	86.6	39.8	29.550	56.7	2.22	10	60.8

The mean for the year 1848 was—barometer, 29.739; thermometer, 52.3; rain 23.67 inches. The average number of rainy days is in a dry year 100, and in a wet year 120 days. The hot winds during 1848 were rare and of moderate character, occurring on January 3rd, February 12th, March 30th, and April 5th; that on February 12th was most marked, the thermometer being 91° in the shade. None occurred in the latter part of the year. There was but little rain until the month of May, when upwards of two inches fell between the 6th and 7th of that month. June and July were fine, August wet; the spring months of September and October were fine, November and

December severe—constant gales with wet cold weather. In December the thermometer was several times as low as 43°, with snow in quantity on Mount Wellington. The westerly winds include six-tenths of all the winds that blow during the year. The aurora-Australis was not so brilliant in 1848 as in 1847. Its most brilliant appearance was on the 25th of March. On October 18th and November 17th, when it was very remarkable in Europe, it was very indistinctly seen in Van Diemen's Island, probably from the cloudy state of the weather.

A comparison of the quantity of rain which has fallen annually for seven years at

58 QUANTITY OF RAIN IN HOBART TOWN AND IN LAUNCESTON.

Hobart Town shews that there are alternate wet and dry seasons ; thus in—

Year.	Inches.	Year.	Inches.	Year.	Inches.
1842	22.84	1845	15.89	1848	23.67
1843	18.20	1846	22.58	1849	—
1844	24.00	1847	14.02	1850	—

The average of the seven years is upwards of twenty inches, or about the same quantity which falls in London annually.

The climate of that portion of this large island which is open to the Southern Pacific Ocean, necessarily varies in some degree from the coast line opposite to Bass Strait. I therefore give the following abstracts of

meteorological observations at Launceston during the year 1848 :—

Months.	Barometer, at 9 A.M. and 3 P.M.		Thermometer, Extreme Range.	
	Max.	Min.	Max.	Min.
January . . .	30.327	29.381	88	47
February . . .	30.428	29.612	88	45
March	30.307	29.241	74	43
April	30.478	29.507	69	40
May	30.897	29.405	60	30
June	30.510	29.609	55	30
July	30.405	29.640	53	27.5
August	30.342	29.320	56	30
September . . .	30.301	28.984	68	32
October	30.320	29.327	68	37
November . . .	30.037	29.025	71	36
December . . .	30.228	29.145	76	41

Direction of Winds and Quantity of Rain at Launceston during the year 1848.

Months.	N.		S.		E.		W.		N.E.		S.E.		N.W.		S.W.		Calm.		Quantity of Rain in each month.
	9	3	9	3	9	3	9	3	9	3	9	3	9	3	9	3	9	3	
	A.M.	P.M.	A.M.	P.M.	A.M.	P.M.	A.M.	P.M.	A.M.	P.M.	A.M.	P.M.	A.M.	P.M.	A.M.	P.M.	A.M.	P.M.	
January . . .	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	13	23	10	8	8	—	2.340
February . . .	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	14	12	14	14	1	.727
March	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	2	13	21	4	5	13	3	—	2.211
April	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	16	19	3	8	10	3	—	.852
May	—	—	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	3	2	6	14	4	9	16	6	5.427
June	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	6	9	4	11	20	9	—	2.268
July	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	1	—	2	10	5	9	5	6	17	5	2.790
August	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	1	—	11	7	12	1	3	23	3	—	3.288
September . . .	2	—	1	—	—	1	1	4	—	—	3	4	9	11	1	8	13	2	4.039
October	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	3	3	7	23	1	4	20	—	4.284
November . . .	2	2	—	1	1	—	1	5	—	—	1	2	18	14	—	5	7	1	4.508
December . . .	3	1	—	2	—	—	1	—	—	—	1	—	16	22	6	5	4	1	2.681
Total . . .	7	3	2	4	2	2	5	10	1	1	14	35	119	191	51	86	165	34	35.415

Strzelecki says truly that "the soils, the vegetation, and the diaphanety of the atmosphere possess as great an influence upon the hygrometrical condition of the Australian colonies as that which they so beneficially exercise on the effects of solar heat." Thus in Van Diemen's Island soils formed by the disintegration of greenstones, basalt, and trachyte, give rise to a vegetation characterized by lofty trees, ferns, close-tufted graminæ and mosses, which contribute to prevent the rain-water imbibed by the soil from evaporation; the same vegetation screens the earth from the great absorption of solar heat, and also impedes the terrestrial emission of heat, by which means the temperature of the ambient air is lowered to such a degree as to produce, whenever the atmosphere is clear, a copious condensation of the floating vapours, either in showers, or in the form of dew, if no unfavourable circumstances interfere to prevent its deposition.

DISEASES.—The prevailing maladies will

be seen from the following return of the number of cases treated at her Majesty's colonial hospitals in Van Diemen's Island; also the number of deaths which occurred there during the year 1848 :—

Diseases.	Cases treated.	Deaths.
Fevers	201	8
Diseases of the lungs	357	47
" liver	31	6
" stomach and bowels . . .	256	25
" brain	228	23
Dropsies	14	5
Rheumatic affections	287	2
Venereal affections	230	1
Abscesses and ulcers	439	6
Wounds and injuries	279	8
Diseases of the eyes	553	—
" skin	41	—
Other diseases	561	35
Total	3,475	166

It must be remembered that this return includes principally the convict population, and the most ill-conditioned of about 25,000

people, who are admissible into the colonial hospitals. The proportion of acute diseases is very small, and the mortality on the whole of the cases treated, which must include many persons advanced in years, is only about five per cent. This is a convincing proof of the salubrity of the climate, on which further evidence will be adduced

when treating of the births and deaths in the colony. Invalids from India have benefited by wintering at Van Diemen's Island. Number of insane persons in lunatic asylum at New Norfolk, on 1st January, 1849:—free, males, 37; females, 22 = 59: convicts, males, 75; females, 45 = 120 = 179: in 1848, discharged cured, 20; deaths, 20.

CHAPTER IV.

POPULATION, FREE AND BOND—PROGRESSIVE INCREASE—MARRIED AND SINGLE—BIRTHS AND DEATHS—RELATIVE AGES AND OCCUPATIONS—RELIGION—BENEVOLENT AND CHARITABLE INSTITUTIONS—EDUCATION—THE PRESS—CRIME, AMONG FREE AND BOND.

VAN DIEMEN'S ISLAND, when discovered, was peopled by an aboriginal race, now nearly if not entirely extinct, as stated in the historical chapter. In examining the progress of European population since the formation of the settlement, in 1803-4, I shall endeavour to distinguish the relative number of free and of convict inhabitants; the latter are, however, annually merging into the former, by termination of servitude or by pardon.

The following table presents, at one view, the state of population in Van Diemen's Island, distinguishing the free from the bond, between 1804 and 1847, the date of the last census. Until 1832-3, the number of the aborigines is estimated. No census was taken between 1842 and 1847; and for several years I am not enabled to give the consecutive columns complete. The population, however, is now about 80,000:—

Year.	Free.			Convicts.			Military and Children.		Aborigines.		Total		Grand Total.
	Males.	Fem.	Total.	Males.	Fem.	Total.	Males.	Fem.	Males.	Fem.	Males.	Fem.	
1804	68	10	78	360	40	400	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1816	—	—	1,269	—	—	629	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1822	2,209	1,407	3,616	4,548	348	4,996	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1824	3,781	2,248	6,029	5,467	471	5,938	266	70	180	160	9,694	2,949	12,643
1825	4,297	2,462	6,759	6,244	601	6,845	438	150	170	150	11,149	3,363	14,512
1826	4,810	2,600	7,410	6,051	711	6,762	640	180	170	150	11,671	3,641	15,312
1827	5,613	2,910	8,523	6,373	887	7,260	800	250	160	140	12,946	4,187	17,133
1828	6,419	3,056	9,465	6,724	725	7,449	904	300	150	130	14,197	4,211	18,408
1829	6,929	3,492	10,421	7,334	1,150	8,484	880	230	130	125	15,273	4,992	20,265
1830	8,351	4,623	12,974	8,877	1,318	10,195	880	230	120	100	18,228	6,276	24,504
1831	8,392	4,952	13,344	10,391	1,627	12,018	1,032	246	100	90	19,915	6,915	26,830
1832	9,202	5,865	15,067	11,062	1,644	12,706	905	225	91	85	21,260	7,819	29,079
1833	11,020	7,194	18,214	13,126	1,864	14,990	877	247	62	60	25,085	9,365	34,450
1834	12,524	8,560	21,084	13,604	1,874	15,538	789	277	52	59	27,029	10,770	37,799
1835	12,940	9,051	21,991	14,914	2,054	16,968	895	318	52	59	28,081	11,482	40,283
1836	15,693	10,321	26,014	15,590	2,071	17,611	900	300	52	59	31,135	1,275	43,886
1839	—	—	27,044	—	—	17,077	1,249	—	—	—	—	—	44,121
1840	—	—	28,294	—	—	17,763	999	—	—	—	—	—	46,057
1841	—	—	35,108	—	—	16,391	1,234	—	—	—	—	—	51,499
1842	—	—	38,570	—	—	20,332	1,431	—	—	—	—	—	58,902
1847	25,361	18,311	43,672	20,687	3,501	24,188	1,765	481	15	23	47,828	22,336	70,164
1848	—	—	46,282	24,494	3,965	28,459	—	—	—	—	—	—	74,741

The latest census of Van Diemen's Island was taken on the 31st of December, 1847; and the following statement shews the distribution of the population over the island,

the sexes, relative ages, free or bond, single free, &c.; also the number and description of married, born in the colony or arrived of houses:—

Return of the Population, showing the Sex, Age, and whether Married or Single, on 31st December, 1847.

Police District.	Under 7 years.	7 and under 14.	14 and under 21.	21 and under 45.	45 and up-wards.	Under 7 years.	7 and under 14.	14 and under 21.	21 and under 45.	45 and up-wards.	Married.	Single.	Married.	Single.
	Males.	Males.	Males.	Males.	Males.	Fem.	Fem.	Fem.	Fem.	Fem.	Males.	Males.	Fem.	Fem.
Bothwell . . .	67	43	41	455	90	71	40	28	93	45	124	572	111	166
Brighton . . .	180	114	90	1,035	270	189	139	96	289	90	331	1,358	312	491
Campbell Town .	152	92	82	1,032	138	166	76	55	251	66	275	1,321	261	350
Fingall . . .	81	33	19	501	72	63	29	33	114	18	108	598	109	148
George Town .	51	23	15	237	47	57	21	12	68	15	79	294	71	102
Great Swan Port	61	37	26	634	78	66	22	25	94	22	149	687	91	138
Hamilton . . .	87	55	44	749	79	77	57	33	157	24	130	884	129	216
Hobart Town .	1,991	1,227	814	6,572	1,424	1,982	1,296	1,022	4,334	827	3,243	8,785	3,439	5,962
Horton . . .	68	43	24	334	46	73	41	34	73	10	93	422	90	141
Launceston . .	958	509	407	3,695	637	1,043	522	362	1,729	238	1,602	4,604	1,605	2,289
Longford . . .	295	160	127	1,762	293	288	170	102	420	83	466	2,171	439	624
Morven . . .	212	116	59	1,217	169	196	106	53	300	51	297	1,476	313	393
New Norfolk . .	166	117	82	974	320	153	87	78	321	86	303	1,356	282	443
Oatlands . . .	88	62	63	896	109	76	66	43	169	24	170	1,048	170	206
Port Sorell . .	45	28	11	321	45	50	18	11	2	12	84	366	73	90
Richmond . . .	408	351	811	4,166	869	415	248	204	507	180	1,188	5,417	636	978
Sorell and Prosser's Plains	79	26	16	421	65	80	44	19	123	20	117	490	112	158
South Port . .	45	34	33	322	40	60	30	27	71	16	94	370	92	104
Westbury . . .	144	63	50	879	111	176	78	38	204	24	204	1,043	197	298
Aboriginal Inhabitants .	1	1	—	13	—	1	1	—	14	8	12	3	12	11
Total . . .	5,179	3,134	2,804	26,205	5,002	5,231	3,001	2,272	9,493	1,858	9,059	33,265	8,544	13,311

Classified Return of the Free and Bond Population, and the Number and Description of Houses.

Police District.	Free.			Bond.			Free.			Bond.			Houses.	
	Born in colony.	Arrived free.	Other free persons.	Ticket of leave.	Govt employ.	Private employ.	Born in colony.	Arrived free.	Other free persons.	Ticket of leave.	Govt employ.	Private employ.	Brick or stone.	Wood.
	Males.	Males.	Males.	Males.	Males.	Males.	Fem.	Fem.	Fem.	Fem.	Fem.	Fem.	No.	No.
Bothwell . . .	131	87	177	126	27	148	135	78	24	16	—	24	55	100
Brighton . . .	372	203	426	199	62	427	422	199	112	27	3	40	143	235
Campbell Town .	264	214	404	285	46	383	271	160	81	28	2	72	213	106
Fingall . . .	132	72	163	85	26	238	108	67	39	14	2	27	43	77
George Town .	82	79	109	61	11	31	82	58	21	6	—	6	26	83
Great Swan Port	107	114	110	105	208	192	95	84	21	9	2	18	70	55
Hamilton . . .	186	115	266	142	10	295	178	91	36	10	—	30	73	139
Hobart Town .	3,405	2,817	2,490	1,107	555	1,654	3,592	2,659	1,161	423	883	693	2,679	1,336
Horton . . .	90	120	147	103	6	40	108	99	12	8	—	5	13	107
Launceston . .	1,503	1,834	1,377	633	350	709	1,631	1,298	420	205	155	194	763	1,213
Longford . . .	563	341	655	453	22	586	517	305	151	47	—	43	211	271
Morven . . .	354	224	506	337	6	346	341	190	80	39	—	56	94	254
New Norfolk . .	342	194	395	167	235	326	292	186	115	21	45	66	156	177
Oatlands . . .	182	124	283	170	12	447	177	104	61	13	1	20	134	63
Port Sorell . .	71	66	99	98	12	104	78	53	13	4	1	16	6	—
Richmond . . .	945	542	749	383	3,273	713	785	454	236	66	4	69	111	88
Sorell and Prosser's Plains	96	161	112	54	22	162	98	101	31	12	—	28	166	509
South Port . .	76	107	80	27	20	154	86	79	25	1	—	5	39	106
Westbury . . .	228	170	294	214	18	323	223	172	58	16	—	26	6	115
Aboriginal Inhabitants .	16	—	—	—	—	—	23	—	—	—	—	—	73	190
Total . . .	9,163	7,391	8,832	4,749	4,921	7,278	9,240	6,427	2,687	965	1,098	1,438	4,963	5,224

The manufactories and trades in operation, in the colony of Van Diemen's Island, on the 31st of December, 1848, distinguishing the number of each, as ascertained from returns furnished by the several police magistrates, is thus stated:—Agricultural implement makers, 47; auctioneers, 9; blacksmiths, 125; breweries, 40; butchers, 127; cabinet-makers and turners, 32; candle manufactories, 10; carvers and gilders, 4; che-

mists, 16; coachmakers, 7; cooperages, 17; corn and ship chandlers, 12; dyers, 2; engineers, 7; fellmongers, 17; foundries, 7; furriers, 3; general dealers, 360; grocers, 44; ironmongers, 15; mast and block manufactories, 3; mills, 80; painters and glaziers, 11; pastry-cooks, 29; potteries, 4; printing-offices, 9; publicans, 376; rope-makers, 3; sail-makers, 6; saw-mills, 8; shipwrights and boat-builders, 51; shoemakers, 246;

POPULATION TO EACH SQUARE MILE—SETTLED DISTRICTS. 61

soap-boilers, 2; tailors, 87; tanners, 40; tin-workers, 32; tobacconists, 11; wine-merchants, 30; woolstaplers, 4.

The official returns to her Majesty's secretary of state, for 1848, includes the following classified account of the population:—

District.	Area in Square Miles.	Males.	Females.	Total.	Population to the Square Mile.	Persons Employed.				Marriages.
						Agriculture.	Manufacture.	Commerce.	Otherwise.	
Bothwell	468	696	277	973	2	227	61	5	680	12
Brighton	209	1,689	803	2,492	12	878	134	26	1,454	27
Campbell-town . .	770	1,596	614	2,210	2.8	677	187	30	1,316	30
Fingal	2,825	706	257	963	0.3	324	61	10	568	7
George-town . . .	1,238	373	173	546	0.4	91	21	5	439	—
Great Swan Port .	1,058	836	229	1,065	1	274	53	9	729	9
Hamilton	649	1,014	345	1,359	2	434	72	7	846	5
Hobart Town . . .	1,294	12,028	9,401	21,429	16	1,336	2,172	591	17,330	419
Horton	4,021	515	231	746	0.8	291	50	8	397	5
Launceston	684	6,206	3,894	10,100	14.7	926	910	290	7,974	153
Longford	923	2,627	1,063	3,690	4	1,179	228	64	2,219	25
Morven	407	1,773	706	2,479	6	978	105	22	1,374	17
New Norfolk . . .	196	1,659	735	2,394	12	525	180	11	1,668	14
Oatlands	700	1,218	376	1,594	2.2	446	114	22	912	7
Port Sorell	878	450	163	613	.7	228	44	4	337	—
Richmond	240	6,605	1,614	8,219	34	1,931	857	39	5,392	28
Sorell and Prosser's Plains	691	607	270	877	1.2	221	50	5	601	19
South Port	1,820	46	196	660	0.36	114	197	3	346	12
Westbury	893	1,274	495	1,742	1.9	613	88	21	1,020	—
Aborigines	—	15	23	38	—	38	—	—	—	—
Military	—	1,765	481	2,246	—	—	—	—	2,246	—
Convicts on Public Works	—	3,739	—	3,739	—	—	—	—	3,739	—
Total	19,964	47,828	22,336	70,164	—	11,731	5,584	1,172	51,677	799

Deaths during the year, 773; births, 1,653; increase, 880.

The increase, during five years, in the population of the townships, between 1842 and 1847, is shewn by a comparison of several of the principal places:—

Townships.	1842.	1847.	Increase.
Hobart Town . . .	14,602	21,429	6,827
Launceston	7,332	10,100	2,768
New Norfolk	1,759	2,384	625
Richmond	4,158	8,219	4,061
Bothwell	958	973	15
Oatlands	1,393	1,594	201
Campbell Town . . .	1,832	2,210	378
George Town	544	546	2
Westbury	817	1,742	925
Horton	330	746	416
Brighton	2,129	2,492	363
Morven	1,924	2,479	555
South Port	252	660	408
Hamilton	330	1,359	1,029
Fingal	697	963	266

The classification of free and bond, for 1847, cannot be relied on, in consequence of a clause in the Census Act, which prohibits the enumeration commissioners from asking the civil condition of any person. Lieutenant-governor Sir William Denison supposes that many "ticket-of-leave" people

returned themselves as free persons. The Comptroller-general of Convicts makes the "ticket-of-leave" holders from three to four thousand greater in number than the census commissioner: thus the total number of convicts, in 1847, would be 27,476; and of the free (exclusive of the military) 40,432. Of this latter number, Sir William Denison says, in a despatch to Earl Grey, dated the 20th of January, 1849, "only 32,211 are really free; the remainder consists of those who have been convicts, and have obtained their freedom by servitude; and many of them are only conditionally pardoned persons."

This observation is incorrect: those who have committed crimes, and suffered the punishment prescribed by law, are "really free;" they are under no legal ban; and may go where they please. Persons who have obtained "conditional pardons," for their good conduct, are free, to all intents and purposes, although they may not be permitted to return to the United Kingdom.

The increase of the whole population, between 1842 and 1847, was from 58,902 to 70,164; about eighteen per cent. for five years, or four per cent. per annum. Among

the free population, the increase is about five per cent.

When we consider that about 58,000 convicts have been sent to Van Diemen's Island between the years 1803 and 1847, it is surprising that the population is not now larger. The colonists, who are opposed to the continuance of transportation to Van Diemen's Island, assert that there has been a large emigration from the island; they estimate the numbers who have quitted it since 1841 at 12,000. Doubtless the temptation of higher wages in the Australian colonies has induced many to pass from Hobart Town and Launceston, to Adelaide, Melbourne, Sydney, and New Zealand; and lately a large number have gone to California. The governor, in a despatch to Earl Grey, of the 3rd of June, 1848, says—"Since April, 1846, there has been an emigration from the colony to the extent of 10,012, all of whom must have been free; though a large proportion, amounting perhaps to half of the whole, have been originally convicts;" and he adds—"The census of December, 1847, compared with 1842, shewed an increase from 57,471 to 67,918; an increase, in five years, of eighteen per cent." The lieutenant-governor, however, omitted to state, that during this period, *i.e.* for the five years ending 31st December, 1847, there arrived in the colony 10,781 male, and 2,904 female prisoners.

Between 1842 and 1847, there arrived free in the colony, males, 715; females, 505 = 1,220. Born in the colony, males, 3,317; females, 3,325 = 6,642.

In 1848, the number of persons who emigrated from Van Diemen's Island was, 3,799; of whom, 2,400 were free persons, 978 persons who have served out their sentence of banishment, and 421 persons holding conditional pardons.* Of the emigrants, 2,797 went to Port Phillip, 280 to Sydney, 415 to Adelaide, and 307 to other places. The arrivals during the same year were, in number, 4,410; of whom, the free people, including troops, were, men, 2,074; women, 491; children, 385; convicts—men, 925; women, 509; children, 26—total men, 2,999; women, 1,000; children, 411. From Sydney there came, 1,014; Port Phillip, 258; Adelaide, 217; New Zealand,

* Thus the merciful policy pursued by her Majesty's government, enables those who have received conditional pardons to seek an honest livelihood in other lands, far away from the scenes of their crime and of their punishment.

60; Portland Bay, Port Fairy, and Port Albert, 255.

The free and convict immigrants from other places were:—

Countries.	Free.			Convict.		
	Males.	Fem.	Child.	Males.	Fem.	Child.
England . . .	197	72	40	438	339	26
Ireland . . .	1	3	7	—	170	—
Bermuda . . .	52	4	4	202	—	—
Gibraltar . . .	54	6	6	240	—	—
India . . .	25	5	8	32	—	—

It is against the transmission of convicts from Bermuda, Gibraltar, India, and other places, that the Tasmanian colonists have more especially petitioned the Queen, as stated in the historical chapter.

That the population has largely increased from births, is indubitable. The years for which I have returns of the registered number of births and deaths prove this.

Years.	Births.	Deaths.
1824	177	132
1828	309	250
1829	301	260
1830	460	270
1831	422	282
1833	455	379
1834	714	557
1835	730	525
1848	1,653	773

We may assume other years to bear a like proportion.

The births and deaths (of free persons) registered during 1848, exclusive of Great Swan Port District, were:—

Sex.	Births.	Deaths.	Increase.
Males	858	463	395
Females	795	310	485
Total	1,653	773	880

The deaths of convicts recorded in the Comptroller-general's department in 1848, were in number 244, shewing a total of deaths in the colony of 1,017, against 1,653 registered births; a net increase of 636. The increase of males and females in the whole population, between 1842 and 1847, has been about—males 17, and females 23 per cent; among the free population solely, 15 and 21. The proportion of married to single is, about 30 married to 100 single; not taking into account the military, or convicts at punishment stations. In 1847 there were 862 marriages, about one per cent. of the whole population.

AGES OF THE INHABITANTS OF VAN DIEMEN'S ISLAND.

63

The registered deaths of *free* males and females during 1848, between 1 and 95 years of age, is thus shewn:—

Years of Age.	Males.	Females.
1 and under 2	23	25
2 " " 3	15	15
3 " " 4	6	7
4 " " 5	5	9
5 " " 10	12	8
10 " " 15	10	6
15 " " 20	9	7
20 " " 25	16	15
25 " " 30	12	17
30 " " 35	23	22
35 " " 40	22	18
40 " " 45	27	12
45 " " 50	27	10
50 " " 55	42	18
55 " " 60	17	10
60 " " 65	12	7
65 " " 70	14	2
70 " " 75	14	5
75 " " 80	17	1
80 " " 85	4	—
85 " " 90	6	—
90 " " 95	1	—

One hundred and twelve male and 89 female children died under the age of one year, and 17 males and 7 females had not their ages registered. The number of children dying under one year old, is in the proportion of 10 males to 7 females. It is nearly in the same proportion between one and five years old.

The relative numbers of registered births and deaths, during the quarters of 1848 ending March, June, September, and 31st December, were:—

Quarters ending	Births.		Deaths.	
	Males.	Fem.	Males.	Fem.
March	187	155	108	94
June	223	209	103	82
September	252	220	104	62
December	216	211	148	72
Total	858	795	463	310

It will be seen from the above, that the greater number of births were in the September or spring quarter, and of deaths in the December or summer quarter. The proportion of deaths generally, is about 1·3 per cent. of males, to 1·5 per cent. of females. The proportion of males to females in the whole population, in 1847, was 100 males to 47 females; this is attributable to the large number of male convicts. Among the free inhabitants, the proportion is, 100 males to 72 females.

The ages of the white inhabitants, excepting the troops, and the convicts at punishment stations, were, on 31st December, 1847—

Years of Age.	Males.	Females.	Total.
Under 2	1,790	1,788	3,578
2 and under 7	3,388	3,443	6,831
7 " " 14	3,133	3,000	6,133
14 " " 21	2,804	2,272	5,076
21 " " 45	26,192	9,479	35,671
45 " " 60	4,078	1,526	5,604
60 and upwards	924	324	1,248
Total	42,309	21,832	64,141

The occupations of the colonists are thus classified for the years 1842 and 1847:—

Occupations.	1842.	1847.
Landed proprietors, bankers, merchants, and professional men	1,846	1,502
Shopkeepers and other retail dealers	802	1,172
Mechanics and artificers	3,720	5,584
Shepherds and others in charge of sheep	879	1,098
Gardeners, stockmen, and farm labourers	9,870	11,693
Domestic servants	3,477	4,839
Other persons not included in the above	27,067	38,291
Military, with their families	—	2,246
Convicts at punishment stations	—	3,739
Total	47,661	70,164

STATE OF RELIGION.—This essential part of abiding civilization was neglected in the settlement of Van Diemen's Island, as in that of New South Wales. Lieutenant-governor Arthur was the first person who endeavoured to remedy the defect; and in this course he was zealously supported by the Legislative Council of the colony, who, on 11th October, 1833, advised that six additional chaplains should be appointed; that additions should be made to the salaries of the presbyterian minister for Hobart Town, and of the Roman catholic priest, and a salary of £100 per annum be granted to a presbyterian minister at Launceston. Archdeacon Scott and Archdeacon (now Bishop) Broughton, of New South Wales, to whom the spiritual care of Van Diemen's Island was then entrusted, pressed (and for some time in vain) this vital subject on the home authorities.

It is distressing to read the following passages, which I have extracted from the despatches of Lieutenant-governor Arthur, Sir John Franklin, and others. Thus, on the

14th October, 1833, Colonel Arthur writes to Mr. Secretary Stanley—

"I have frequently urged upon his Majesty's government the necessity of augmenting the number of chaplains, and I feel I should ill discharge the highest and most important duty I have to perform, were I to neglect on this occasion to second most earnestly the advice of the council. Sir, I pointed out several years ago, as forcibly as I had the power to put it, that *penitentiaries, tread-wheels, flogging, chain-gangs and penal settlements would all prove ineffectual either to prevent or punish crime without religious or moral instruction; there must be a mind to work upon, or all punishment will be utterly un-availing.*

"I entreat I may be permitted again to urge the paramount importance of this point, and, if it be ceded, I importune you no less to cause clergymen to be selected who are devoted to their calling; men of education and mildness, as well as of decided piety. A dignitary of the church holding the office of arch-deacon, upon a most moderate salary, should be placed over the spiritual and temporal concerns of the established church."

Again, on 16th May, 1834, the lieutenant-governor repeats his representations to Mr. Secretary Stanley; I give them in full, because it shews that the colonists were far from being the demoralized class which Archbishop Whateley and other good men erroneously supposed:—

"I had the honour in my despatch of 14th October 1833, accompanying the estimates for 1834, to lay before you an expression of the earnest desire which is entertained by the legislative council, and by the community generally, for an extension of the church establishment, so that the ordinances of religion may be placed within the reach of the more remote settlers, and also be brought home to the convicts labouring on the roads and in the chain-gangs.

"I submit, that in no part of the world are the influence and teaching of the divine and the exertions of the schoolmaster so essential as in Van Diemen's Land, where, in addition to the usual incentives to evil which under every climate and in all situations tend to degrade and demoralise the human mind, there is to be combated that propensity to the commission of crime which is an almost necessary consequence of the habitual indulgence in vice to which a large portion of the convicts have been addicted previous to their transportation.

"While the government coerces these men, while it strives to prevent by the fear of punishment or the promise of reward the actual perpetration of crimes, it is evidently essential to supply them, by the assiduous teaching of properly qualified men, with new motives of action, and to raise up within their minds a power of self-control to prepare them on recovering their liberty for such an enjoyment of it as may not be incompatible with the comfort or safety of others.

"It is therefore with much earnestness that I again recommend for your favourable consideration the suggestions contained in the communications from time to time addressed to me by the successive arch-deacons of New South Wales, after they had in the course of their visitations obtained ocular evidence of the wants of the several districts, and witnessed the desire of the settlers for the plantation amongst

them of churches under the care of pious well-educated clergymen.

"With a view to the erection of these, I have already had the pleasure of informing you that the inhabitants of several districts in the interior have raised very liberal subscriptions, upon the understanding, that in accordance with Sir George Murray's instructions of 1829, the government would assist them with sums equal to those provided by themselves; and, as I have had the honour of reporting in my despatch of the 14th October last, the legislative council unanimously voted the necessary advances, which will shortly be applied in the contemplated buildings, one of which is in progress, and the others are on the eve of being commenced."

On 15th April, 1841, Sir John Franklin, then Lieutenant-governor of Van Diemen's Island, wrote to Lord Stanley thus:—

"I must now again advert to the great want of religious instruction for the large bodies of convicts now under the superintendence of the local government, and to the absolute necessity of steps being taken to send out two pious and practical ministers, whose hearts are in the cause."

These representations, effectively supported by Bishop Broughton, have now produced the most beneficial effect, and her Majesty's government have cordially aided the efforts of the colonists and of the Church Missionary and the Christian Knowledge Society, for the extension of the ordinances of religion to every class of the community.

In 1824, there were in the colony only two church of England establishments, one presbyterian and one Roman catholic; in 1830, the number of churches of England was increased to seven; in 1833, to nine, and in 1835, to twelve.

In 1836, there were two churches of the established religion in Hobart Town, and a presbyterian and a Roman catholic chapel; in Launceston, one church and one presbyterian chapel; at Elizabeth Town, New Norfolk, and at Richmond, Sorell, Clarence, Campbell Town and Norfolk Plains, there was in each place a church, and one was erecting at Ross. The ministers of the established church then consisted of a rural dean, one senior and seven rural chaplains, three presbyterian ministers, one Wesleyan, one independent, and one Roman catholic priest, all paid by government.

In 1842, (24th August) an excellent divine, the Right Reverend Dr. Nixon, whose comprehensive work on the *Catechism of the Church of England* indicated his peculiar fitness for the spiritual office, was consecrated Bishop of Tasmania. In 1843 (27th July), the venerable F. A. Marriott was inducted as Archdeacon of Hobart Town.

The number of temples dedicated to the worship of God in 1848, was, according to

the certificates of the heads of the several denominations,—

Denominations.	No. of places of worship.	No. of sittings.	Average attendance.	Expense borne by	
				Co-lony.	British Treas.
Church of England— Archdeaconry of Hobart	34	13,200	4,940	9,301	£5,086
Rural Deanery of Longford	19				
Church of Scotland	13	3,420	2,710	2,936	—
Church of Rome	3	580	1,800	1,220	2,056
Wesleyan Methodists	21	4,500	4,000	500	—
Independents	15	3,480	—	—	—
Baptists	3	400	270	150	—
Jews	2	268	90	—	—
Total	110	25,875	13,610	14,107	7,142

Note.—Pew-rents, as stated by clergymen, £797; Office-tory fund, £759; from church endowment fund, £954.

A classification of the religious denominations, shews their relative numbers in 1835, 1842, and 1847, exclusive of the troops and convicts at punishment stations—

Denominations.	1835.	1842.	1847.	Relative proportion in 1847.
Church of England	15,228	32,656	44,490	.69
Church of Scotland	2,352	3,619	4,552	.07
Wesleyans	1,399	1,944	2,566	.04
Other protestant dissenters	713	1,650	2,186	.03
Total protestants	19,692	39,869	53,794	.83
Church of Rome	1,833	3,931	9,904	.16
Total Christians	21,525	43,800	63,698	—
Jews	124	259	452	.006
Mahomedans and Pagans	—	60	29	—
Totals	21,649	44,119	64,179	—

Return of the Emoluments of the Ministers of Religion of the several denominations of Christians paid from the Colonial Treasury.

Denominations.	Lord Bishops.		Colonial Chaplains.									Totals.
	£1,091	£591	£495	£355	£345	£330	£310	£295	£275	£245	£230	
Church of England	1	—	—	1	2	1	1	1	13	9	1	30
Church of Scotland	—	—	1	—	—	—	1	—	6	1	1	10
Church of Rome	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	1	4
Wesleyan Methodists	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Baptists	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Independents	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Totals	1	1	1	1	2	1	2	1	21	10	3	44

Return of the Emoluments of the Ministers of Religion of the different denominations of Christians paid by the Home Government, and those receiving no Stipend from Government.

Denominations.	Chaplains and Religious Instructors to Convicts.							Missionary Chaplains.			Clergy paid from other sources.	Total.
	£286	£266	£250	£236	£230	£210	£150	£336	£286	£236		
Church of England	6	—	1	4	—	1	1	2	2	2	6	25
Church of Scotland	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	2
Church of Rome	—	6	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	3	11
Wesleyan Methodists	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	7	7
Baptists	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	2
Independents	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	6	6
Totals	6	6	1	4	2	1	1	2	2	2	26	53

Note.—The total number of clergymen of all denominations is 97. There is no account of the income of the clergymen paid from other sources. The colonial treasury is charged with £500 a year towards the support of Wesleyan Clergymen, and £150 a year for a Baptist Missionary. To nearly all the chaplaincies glebes and residences are attached.

The number of ministers of religion in 1848, was—the *Church of England Establishment*, a Bishopric of Tasmania; an *Archdeaconry* of Hobart Town district, with thirty-two clergymen, of whom fourteen belong to the town itself; and a *Rural Deanery* of Longford, with fifteen clergymen: the incomes vary from £120 to £500 a year, with, generally speaking, parsonage-houses.

The *Church of Scotland*, eleven ministers, with incomes of from £266 to £486 per

annum, paid from the colonial treasury, and two missionaries, who visit the different out-stations.

The *Wesleyan Methodist Congregations*, seven ministers, with incomes from £100 to £300.

The *Independent Congregations*, seven ordained clergymen, with £100 to £300, with residences.

The *Roman Catholic Church*, under the control of a bishop and three clergymen.

Eight clergymen are attached to the convict department at Hobart Town, Oatlands, Maria Island, Port Arthur, South Port, and the coal mines, but they are permitted to attend other members of their respective churches in their several localities.

The amount paid to each class in 1840, is in gratifying contrast to the past state of religion in this colony; it cannot be said that the people are neglectful of providing the means for the due fulfilment of the holy ordinances to which they are attached.

The amount appropriated for religion from the colonial and home treasury is about £22,000 a-year; but the lieutenant-governor, in a despatch to her Majesty's Secretary of State, dated 3rd June, 1848, says, "although the amount expended, when taken in consideration with the number of the people, may seem to be large, yet, when compared with the wants of the community, originating in their peculiar position, and their character and habits, it is not nearly sufficient for their wants." By the act, 13 & 14 Vic. c. 59 (A. D. 1850), which provides for the formation of a representative government in Van Diemen's Island, it is enacted, that after the establishment of a Legislative Council, a sum of not less than £15,000 shall be annually set apart for the purposes of religion. This sum nearly corresponds with the amount paid from the colonial treasury in 1848, viz., £14,107.

Up to September, 1848, the colonists have erected, without any aid from the revenue of the colony, no less than twenty buildings for the performance of divine service; and private liberality has been exercised to the extent of no less than £36,000, as endowments in land and money, as shewn in a letter from the Bishop of Tasmania, dated 7th September, 1848:—

"Sums subscribed for investments, or expended for church purposes, and value of land given.—Bishopbourne estate.—Endowments for the bishopric, £5,000; Ripon Missionary Fund (including recent subscriptions in England, £10,000; arch-deacon's endowment, £1,500; Paling's farm (valued at), £1,000; Moat farm, £800; allotments purchased and given, £280; land at Hagley, £120; land at Bruin, land at Cullenwood, not known; College estate, £9,000; estimated value of the farm given to the college, £9,000; Grammar-school at Launceston, £700; Hutchin's school (pledged), £2,000; expended in erecting churches, chapels, and school-rooms, £2,436; recent subscriptions to Trinity Church, Hobart Town, £1,000; grant from Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, on churches and schools, £500; total, £36,136.

"This does not include the large sums expended on

the several churches in the colony, more especially Trinity, Hobart Town; Trinity, Launceston; and Longford: for which three churches alone, many thousand pounds have been subscribed, nor does it include the sums granted for church purposes by the local branch of the Society for Propagating the Gospel, and Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge in Hobart Town.

"The rural dean of Longford has also sent a report of £4,148, (including pew-rents and the offertory), contributed by the members of the Church of England, in the northern division of the diocese during the year 1847, for church and educational purposes, and for the poor.

"It will be seen from this abstract, that 20 buildings have been erected, at the sole cost of the members of the Church of England, where divine service may be performed. For the most part they are in places where no great amount of aid could be expected from the inhabitants."

In addition to this, the bishop says, "latterly we have ensured the services of four additional clergymen, and one catechist for the missionary work of the church.

"With reference to our present and future means, I am prepared to say, that we can furnish a sum of £1,000 per annum, for the promotion of religious knowledge amongst the members of the Church of England in the colony.

"Assuming, then, that the home government does not consider their contribution of £1,200 for the salaries, and £540 for the allowances of the missionaries as too much in consideration of the fearful amount of spiritual wickedness poured in upon us, our own contributions will complete a sum of at least £2,740, as available for the purposes of religious instruction, exclusive of the grants for the same purposes from the colonial treasury.—F. R. TASMANIA."

The Rev. H. P. Fry, A. B., rector of the parish of St. George, Hobart Town, who has resided ten years in the colony, and evidently taken extraordinary pains to make himself acquainted with the actual condition of the convicts, says, in his recent instructive work on *Penal Discipline*, "in no community is religion, in its most spiritual influences, more widely and deeply diffused; in none, is education more generally advocated and afforded: the future prospects of Van Diemen's Island are, therefore, in the highest degree encouraging." And in another place, the reverend gentleman says—

"The incitement to industry and exertion—the profitable field for the human energies—the inducements to marriage, from the advantage of a large family, all the members of which may obtain profitable occupation—the advancement of condition of life, and the abundance and cheapness of provisions, have a powerful influence in directing the minds, and forming the habits of the colonists to industry, rewarded by so many advantages, and withdrawing them from idleness and vice, the evil effects of which are more apparent, and greater in a small community. These natural advantages have withstood the inundations of vice, and enabled the free colonists to maintain the principles and establish the habits of a moral community. If transportation were discontinued, and the colonists, under a free government,

were allowed to exercise their own intelligence, and develop the resources of their country, the stains and evils of having been the receptacle of criminals would speedily disappear."—(p. 205.)

The religious and charitable institutions are numerous, and I can only enumerate them. For *religious improvement* there is the Hobart Town branch of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge and for the Propagation of the Gospel; this branch has district associations in different parts of the island; a branch of the British and Foreign Bible Society, the Van Diemen's Land Auxiliary Bible Society, Wesleyan Tract Society, London Missionary Society branch, Van Diemen's Land Colonial Missionary and Christian Instruction Society, and others. Of *charitable institutions* there are St. Mary's Hospital, Hobart Town, opened in January, 1841, on the self-supporting principle, for all classes of society; St. John's Hospital, Launceston, opened 1st September, 1845; St. Paul's Hospital, Circular Head; General Dispensary and Humane Society, Hobart Town; Lying-in Charities, termed the *Dorcas Societies*, at Hobart Town and at Launceston. The Tasmanian Hebrew Benevolent Institution, the Wesleyan Strangers' Friend Society, the Van Diemen's Land Society, for the protection of destitute and unfortunate females, and other truly Christian institutions.

Among the other institutions of the colony, I may mention the Hibernian Benefit Society, established at Hobart Town in September, 1848; the St. Patrick's Benefit Society, established at Launceston in October, 1848; the Launceston Printers' Benefit Society, established in October, 1849; all for the purpose of allowing pecuniary assistance to such members as may need aid, owing to sickness, death of relatives, or other misfortune. There are several *total abstinence* and *teetotal* societies, with branches, for the promotion of temperance. The Juvenile Total-abstinence Society has upwards of 500 members; the Roman Catholic Total-abstinence Society, established in 1846, has 3,800 members; the Van Diemen's Island Total-abstinence Society, established in 1846, has 2,000 members; the Hobart Town Total-abstinence Society, and the Tasmanian Teetotal Society, established in 1842, have each a large number of members. The Hobart Town Mercantile Assistants' Association was formed in February, 1847, for the mutual instruction of the members in the various branches of literature, science, and useful knowledge: it has already a

library of 600 volumes. The Hobart Town Choral Society was established in 1843, for the purpose of cultivating the study and practice of music, and for imparting a knowledge of the science to the children of its members. There are five masonic lodges, and a Tasmanian Masonic Benevolent Fund, established in 1843, for affording relief and assistance to aged and distressed freemasons, their wives, and orphans. There are four Oddfellows' lodges, to assist widows and orphans of deceased brothers, and make allowance to members during illness. For the same laudable objects, there are two lodges of the Independent Order of Rechabites. A Tasmanian Turf Club was formed at Hobart Town in March, 1847; and a United Service Club, open to all officers of both services, has been established at Launceston. It holds general meetings on the anniversaries of the battles of Trafalgar and of Waterloo. There are two Licensed Victuallers' societies, one at Hobart Town, and one at Launceston, established for the same excellent objects as the great Licensed Victuallers' Society of London. Did space permit, I might quote other proofs of the practical benevolence and advanced social state of our fellow-subjects in Tasmania.

EDUCATION has been for some years a matter of primary consideration with the colonists. There are no records prior to the year 1828; but from thence to 1835 the number of government schools, and their expenditure, was—

Year.	No. of Schools.	Number of Scholars.			Government Expenditure.
		Males.	Females.	Total.	
1828	8	242	177	419	£1,964
1829	9	305	219	524	1,887
1830	11	314	249	553	1,188
1831	15	314	254	568	2,512
1832	16	338	262	600	2,323
1833	19	462	394	856	2,967
1834	24	553	450	1,003	12,844
1835	29	667	510	1,177	7,450

Note.—The government expenditure for the year 1834 includes arrears of the orphan schools which had accumulated from 1827.

In 1836, the local government supported seventeen elementary schools alone, and a male and female orphan school, of which the children were divided into four classes: viz.—first, those who are entirely destitute; second, those who have one parent living; third, those who have both parents living, but totally incompetent to afford them the

means of education; and, fourth, children whose parents are to contribute the moderate sum required for the maintenance and education of children in the king's schools, viz., £12 per annum.

The Queen's orphan schools, at New Town, at the expense of British and colonial funds, contained on the 31st of December, 1848—

Description.	Males.	Fem.	Total.
Children of free parents . . .	39	25	64
" convicts . . .	208	188	396
Total . . .	247	213	460

Note.—Of the children of free persons, there are three male and four female, whose parents are aborigines.

The orphan children of convicts are supported entirely at the expense of the British

government; while those of free persons are charged to the colonial treasury, under the head of "pauperism."

The number remaining on the 31st of December, 1847, was 448, viz.—males 229, females 219. Of these, the children of convicts numbered, males 195, females 193 = 388. The children apprenticed during the year were, males 18, females 19; discharged to friends, males 30, females 33; died during the year, males 5, females 6; received during the year, males 63, females 55 = 118; of whom the offspring of convicts numbered, males 51, females 52.

There is a public board of education, and the number of government schools under its superintendence on the 31st of December, 1848, was, according to the inspector—

Locality of Schools.	No. of Children.			Average attendance.	Annual Cost of each School to Colonial Treasury.		
	Boys.	Girls.	Total.		Salaries.	Rents.	Total.
Back River	22	12	34	30	£100	£40	£140
Bothwell	14	16	30	25	100	36	136
Campbell Town	40	20	60	48	100	35	135
Clarence Plains	33	24	57	48	125	30	155
Glenorchy	27	33	60	45	100	40	140
Green Ponds	30	25	55	35	100	50	150
Hobart Town, Liverpool-street	61	—	61	50	150	40	190
" Campbell-street	83	72	155	110	150	60	210
Launceston	49	22	71	50	120	80	200
Longford	32	21	53	40	100	30	130
New Town	38	23	61	45	100	35	135
New Norfolk	26	25	51	48	100	45	145
Norfolk Plains	7	10	17	12	25	—	25
Oatlands	30	20	50	40	100	40	140
Perth	15	15	30	20	100	35	135
Richmond	14	19	33	50	125	—	125
Sorell	19	18	37	28	100	—	100
Sandy Bay	21	25	46	36	95	50	145
Kangaroo Point	18	14	32	25	100	36	136
Evandale	30	20	50	40	45	—	45
Patterson's Plains	15	6	21	16	18	—	18
Cressy, closed on 8th December, 1848	10	6	16	10	100	25	125
Total	634	446	1,080	851	2,153	707	2,860

Attendance at Infant Schools, December 31, 1848.

Schools.	Boys.	Girls.	Total.	Colonial aid per annum.
Hobart, Murray-street	55	53	108	} £100
" Liverpool-street	14	16	30	
Launceston	26	30	56	
Total	95	99	194	£150

The Van Diemen's Island Sunday-school Union has 22 stations, 154 teachers, and 1,242 children in attendance. The Wesleyans have 17 Sabbath-schools, 122 teachers, and 1,098 children. There are also

other Sunday-schools. There is a Christian Union School of Industry, and a Ladies' School of Industry, at Launceston.

The number of schools in connection with the churches of England and Rome, aided by contributions from the government on 31st December, 1848, was,—

Denomination.	No. of Schools.	No. of Scholars.			Aid from Col. Treasury.
		Boys.	Girls.	Total.	
Church of England	33	852	639	1,491	£1,198
Church of Rome	4	108	213	321	326
Total	37	960	852	1,812	1,524

These schools have been aided conformable to Mr. Secretary Gladstone's despatch, No. 55, so that parents who might object to the system of instruction in operation at the government schools, might have some opportunity of obtaining instruction for their children, according to the system approved by their own church. Nearly 2,000 children are thus provided with instruction who would otherwise have had none.

Private education is also well promoted. The number of private schools, on 31st October, 1848, in different parts of the island, was,—

Police District.	No. of Schools.	No. of Scholars.		
		Boys.	Girls.	Total.
Bothwell	1	22	10	32
Brighton	4	19	29	48
Campbell Town . .	3	17	43	60
George Town . . .	2	16	14	29
Great Swanport . .	1	—	—	27
Hamilton	2	14	19	33
Hobart Town . . .	42	753	543	1,296
Launceston	25	304	237	541
Longford	5	37	26	63
Morven	2	31	11	42
New Norfolk . . .	3	23	20	43
Richmond	4	40	22	62
Sorell	4	10	22	32
Westbury	2	—	15	15
Total	100	1,285	1,011	2,323

Notes.—There is 1 School at Campbell Town and 1 at Richmond, for which there are no returns; and 5 at Hobart Town, and 6 at Launceston, for which there are no returns. In the return for Great Swanport, the sex is not stated.

The number of children in Van Diemen's Island, in December, 1847, under 14 years of age was, males, 8,311, females, 8,261=16,572. It is reasonable to assume that one-third of this number, or about 5,500 are mere infants; about 4,000 are from 12 to 14 years of age, and valuable for assistance to their parents, who can no longer afford to have them at school,—this would leave about 7,000 children for education; in the returns given, we have records of 5,869, being in course of education, and there are no returns from 14 schools, which, at an average of 50 per school, gives a further sum of 700. It is probable, therefore, that altogether, 7,000 children are being educated in Van Diemen's Island, and I cannot, consequently, agree in the opinion expressed by the Lieutenant-governor to Earl Grey, 3rd June, 1848, that "a population is growing up, of whom upwards of two-thirds are receiving no instruction at all."

The principal educational establishment, termed *Christ's College*, was opened at Bishopsbourne, 1st October, 1846. The

visitor is the learned bishop of the diocese, Dr. Nixon; and the warden, sub-warden, and honorary fellows are men who have attained honours in the British universities. There are three divinity-fellowships. The college is endowed with 4,100 acres of land, of which 3,000 are in cultivation. The annual income is £1,200, chiefly designed to form a reserve fund for building. The High School at Hobart Town was established in 1847, with a capital of £5,000, in shares of £25 each; its object is the instruction of youth in the higher branches of learning. Hutchin's School, which has a foundation fund of £1,065, has the same object. Launceston has a Church Grammar School, opened 1st July, 1846, under the management of a committee. There are Mechanics' Institutes at Hobart Town and at Launceston, with reading-rooms, library, museums, and lectures annually. Among the other institutions, I may name the Tasmanian Society of Natural Science, Agriculture, Statistics, &c., established by Sir John Franklin in 1839; the Royal Society of Van Diemen's Island, founded 14th October, 1843—patron, her Majesty the Queen; to develop the physical character of the island, its natural history and productions; the Midland Agricultural Association, established in 1838; the Launceston Horticultural Society; the Gardeners and Amateurs' Horticultural Society, at Hobart Town; the Bothwell Literary Society; the Launceston Library Society, established in 1845, by shares, and other public libraries.

THE PRESS has for many years been very active in Van Diemen's Island, and proved a severe censor of the local government. In 1848, there were in Hobart Town six newspapers, of which four were bi-weekly and two weekly; in Launceston, two bi-weekly, and one monthly.

CRIME.—In an island which has been, since it first became a British possession, a penal settlement—to which nearly 60,000 criminals have been deported, and where the entire free and bond population was by the recent census in December, 1847, little more than 70,000, the records of crime cannot present a fair comparison with other British settlements. It is however asserted, on credible data, that previous to the large influx of convicts, i.e. about 1840–1, the proportionate number of criminals among the free population was in a less ratio than in England. Into this question of degree I shall not now enter;

when I come to a general view of the social state of the whole of our colonies, the subject may be relatively considered; for the present my duty is to convey to the public the actual extent of crime in the island.

On examining various returns, the first point which impresses itself on my mind is the fearful extent to which the crime of drunkenness even still exists.

The number of cases of drunkenness of free and bond increased from 433 in the year 1824, to 2,841 in 1832; the proportion in 100 of the total population was in the first year three, in the last nine. During the year 1847 the number of cases of drunkenness brought before the magistrates in the nineteen police districts throughout the whole colony, and also at the penal stations of Port Arthur, Maria Island, &c., was of free men (or calling themselves such), 2,588; of convicts, 2,444 = 5,032. Taking the population in 1847 at 70,000, this would give the proportion of drunkards in each hundred of the inhabitants about seven; so far therefore there is some diminution of this crime between 1832 and 1847. By later accounts, of which I have not the details, it appears that intoxication has materially decreased.

The number of persons taken before magistrates in the nineteen districts of Van Diemen's Land during the year 1848, the nature of the offences with which they were

charged, distinguishing free persons from bond, have been compiled from the weekly returns furnished by each magistrate.

Offences.	Bond.	Free.	Total.
Felony and Larceny	1,227	626	1,853
Absconding	854	54	908
Insubordination	116	1	117
Absence without leave	1,754	28	1,782
Disobedience of orders	585	29	614
Drunkenness	2,288	2,967	5,255
Neglect of duty	345	14	359
Insolence	369	6	375
Idleness	48	27	75
Misdemeanour	2,802	165	2,967
Penal convictions under colonial acts and English statutes	308	2,159	2,467
Assaults	257	345	602
Sureties of the peace, and for good behaviour	4	81	85
Various other charges not under the above heads	2,752	446	3,198
Cases under examination	313	87	400
Total	14,022	7,035	21,057

It must be remembered that many of the offences mentioned in this list would not be deemed such, or at least be considered very venial in an entirely free population.

It is, however, very satisfactory to perceive that, notwithstanding the rapid influx of convicts of late years, crime has not materially increased, except during 1844, '5, and '6, when discipline was relaxed, and the number of robberies increased. I understand that, in 1848-9, there has been a marked decrease in crime of every description. The following is an official return, commencing with 1838:—

Crimes against the Person tried before the Supreme Court.

Description of Crime.	1838.	1839.	1840.	1841.	1842.	1843.	1844.	1845.	1846.	1847.	1848.	1849.
Assault, common	10	22	13	12	1	10	16	6	4	—	3	—
" on children	1	—	—	—	—	—	1	2	—	2	1	—
" and robbery	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
" with intent to rob	—	—	—	—	—	31	6	—	—	2	3	—
" to ravish	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	1	2	—	—
Burglary, with violence	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	3	—
Larceny in dwelling, and putting in fear	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	4	—
Manlaughter	1	1	5	2	5	1	3	1	2	4	3	—
Murder	2	—	4	6	3	4	3	8	1	3	5	—
Perjury	—	—	—	1	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—
Robbery	10	4	1	10	17	5	52	28	29	23	4	—
" and beating	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	2	—
" being armed	—	—	—	—	—	—	65	27	25	8	—	—
Rape	1	—	1	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	—
Shooting, with intent to murder	1	—	—	—	—	—	21	1	—	1	9	—
Stabbing	—	—	—	—	—	—	9	7	8	4	7	—
Wounding	—	—	6	—	4	3	—	—	3	2	—	—
Unnatural crime	—	—	—	—	1	3	—	2	4	—	—	—
Bestiality	—	—	1	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Libel	1	1	—	4	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
Bigamy	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—
Concealing birth	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	28	28	31	38	32	58	178	86	80	55	44	—
Total population	45,846	44,111	46,057	51,499	58,902	60,000	62,000	64,000	66,000	70,164	—	—
Number of crimes per cent. of the population . . . . .	.06	.06	.07	.07	.05	.09	.28	.13	.12	.07	—	—
Number of convicts per cent. in whole population . . . . .	.40	.38	.38	.31	.34	.30	.35	.35	.36	.34½	—	—

NATURE OF CRIMES BETWEEN 1838 AND 1848, IN V. D. ISLAND. 71

Crimes against Property.

Description of Crime.	1838.	1839.	1840.	1841.	1842.	1843.	1844.	1845.	1846.	1847.	1848.	1849
Arson	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	1	1	—	1	—
Burglary	8	24	22	30	17	18	62	49	25	27	13	—
Cattle, horse, and pig stealing	6	2	3	—	9	4	8	19	6	6	4	—
Coining and uttering coin	—	—	—	—	14	7	11	10	7	2	—	—
Embezzlement and deceit, and obtaining goods falsely	7	4	3	4	6	2	4	1	—	2	1	—
Forgery and uttering forged notes	5	6	14	8	—	—	13	4	15	—	17	—
Larceny	43	149	130	111	95	85	174	134	85	91	—	—
" by servant	7	—	—	—	—	—	5	11	4	4	—	—
" from person	7	—	—	—	—	—	3	10	5	1	33	—
" on a river	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
" in a dwelling, above £5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	2	1	—	—
Misdemeanour	—	—	—	—	14	3	1	1	—	—	—	—
Receiving	19	30	27	17	5	11	27	23	13	—	7	—
Stealing in dwelling-house	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	—	—	—	—
Ditto, and putting in fear	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	5	—	13	—
Sheep stealing	4	10	6	6	13	4	5	15	6	6	2	—
Unlawfully pawning	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	2	4	—	—	—
Maliciously wounding cattle	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	1	—	—
Selling unwholesome meat	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—
Illegally at large, being armed	2	10	4	—	5	2	—	—	—	—	—	—
Felony	13	—	—	—	14	18	—	—	—	—	—	—
Not particularized	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Absconding	6	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total population	45,846	44,111	46,057	51,499	58,902	60,000	62,000	64,000	66,000	70,164	—	—
Number of crimes per cent. of the population . . . . .	.3	.05	.4	.3	.3	.2	.5	.4	.26	.2	—	—
Number of convicts who arrived in the years	2,224	1,441	1,365	3,488	5,520	3,727	4,966	3,357	2,049	1,186	679	—

Convictions for serious offences, in 1848.

Crimes.	Free.		Free by Servitude or Pardon.		Convicts.	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
SUPREME COURT—						
Against the Person	1	—	5	—	37	1
Against Property	6	2	50	2	44	—
QUARTER SESSIONS—						
Convictions	11	2	46	—	55	6
Total	18	4	96	2	136	7

Of these, the principal crimes were, five cases of murder, one perpetrated by a free-man, and four by convicts.

The number of persons convicted in the colony, who were free at the time of their conviction, and on the registers of the convict department on the 1st of June, 1848, was 658; viz.—92 who arrived free, or were born free; 472 free by servitude; and 94 conditionally pardoned.

There are eight gaols in the colony, viz., at Hobart Town, Launceston, Oatlands, Richmond, New Norfolk, Campbell Town, Longford, and Swansea, capable of containing 151 prisoners in separate cells, and generally 717 prisoners. The total number in confinement at Michaelmas, 1848, was 124 males and 11 females; the greatest number in confinement at any one time in the year,

was 247 males and 23 females. Wherever there is a gaol or watch-house, a surgeon is paid from the colonial revenues for attending upon the constables, and upon any sick persons confined.

The number of executions in the colony, and the crimes for which each individual suffered, in 1848, are thus officially stated:—

Crime.	Free Persons.	Free by Servitude.	Convicts.
Arson	—	—	1
Murder	1	—	4
Robbery, being armed	—	1	—
Shooting with felonious intent	—	—	5
Stabbing with ditto	—	—	2
Wounding with intent to kill	—	—	2
Total	1	1	14

Flagellation has constituted a large portion of the punishment to which the convicts in Van Diemen's Island are subjected. The number of prisoners flogged during the twelve months ending 30th June, 1846, at twenty-one convict stations and seven police districts was 516, and the number of lashes inflicted was 22,722. At Port Arthur ninety-nine men received 4,110 lashes, averaging more than forty-three each: at Ross twenty-nine men received 1,184 lashes, or forty each. At the coal-mines, eighty-three men received 4,532 lashes, or fifty-four

each. In the police district of Hobart Town, fourteen men received 710 lashes, or fifty each. The average of the whole was forty-four lashes to each convict. It is to be hoped that this demoralizing mode of punishing crime may be by this time less practised, for experience teaches, even though humanity should not have suggested it, that the application of a "cat-o'-nine-tails" usually tends to harden the criminal, and that its frequent use is one of the most effectual means of preventing reformation. *Convict discipline* will be examined in a subsequent chapter.

CHAPTER V.

GOVERNMENT—LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL—LAWS—MILITARY FORCE—TAXATION—REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE—FINANCIAL STATE—BANKS, COINS, AND MONEYS—COMMERCE—IMPORTS AND EXPORTS—SHIPPING—STAPLE PRODUCTS—LAND IN CULTIVATION—LIVE STOCK—PRICES OF LAND—PROFITS OF SHEEP FARMING—WAGES OF LABOUR, AND PRICE OF PROVISIONS—VAN DIEMEN'S LAND AGRICULTURAL COMPANY—VEGETABLE AND ANIMAL KINGDOM.

On the first establishment of a settlement at Van Diemen's Island, its local affairs were administered by a lieutenant-governor, subject to the orders of the governor of New South Wales; in 1825, an Executive Council was appointed, consisting of the lieutenant-governor, chief justice, colonial secretary, colonial treasurer, and the officer in command of the troops. Subsequently a Legislative Council was authorized to be assembled of not more than fifteen nor less than ten members, to be approved by the warrant from the Crown, some to be independent of the government, *i. e.*, holding no office of trust or emolument.

The colonies have for twenty years been petitioning the Crown and Parliament for local legislative authority.

In the act 13 and 14 Vic. c. 59, providing for the better government of her Majesty's Australian Colonies, Van Diemen's Island is included, and the Tasmanians are authorized to form a Legislative Council, not exceeding in number twenty-four, of whom one-third is to be appointed by the Queen, and the remaining two-thirds to be elected by the free colonists, in districts to be fixed for the purpose. This number of twenty-four councillors may be increased by the Legis-

lative Council, but the proportion of members nominated by the Crown must always be one-third of the number elected. The qualifications for an elector are—twenty-one years of age, a natural born or naturalized subject of her Majesty, a freehold estate of the clear value of £100, above all charges or incumbrances, of which the voter shall be seized or entitled, six months before the date of election; or a licence to depasture stock, or a leasehold estate in possession, of the value of £10 per annum. "Provided always, that no man shall be entitled to vote, who has been attainted or convicted of treason, felony, or other infamous offence in any part of her Majesty's dominions, unless he has received a free pardon, or one conditional on not leaving the colony for such offence; or have undergone the sentence passed on him for such offence."

By the seventeenth and eighteenth clauses, it is provided there shall be annually payable to her Majesty out of the revenue funds arising from taxes, duties, rates, and imposts, the several sums mentioned in the following schedules, to be appropriated as therein mentioned:—

Schedule 1. Governor, £2,000; chief justice, £1,500; puisne judge, £1,200; salaries of attorney

and solicitor-general, crown solicitors, and contingent and miscellaneous expenses of administration of justice throughout the colony, £13,300: total, £18,000.—*Schedule 2.* Colonial secretary, and his department, £2,800; colonial treasurer, and his department, £1,800; auditor-general, and his department, £1,600; salary of clerk of executive council, and miscellaneous expenses, £700; pensions, £2,000: total, £8,900.—*Schedule 3.* Public worship, £15,000.

Any bill passed by the Council altering these schedules must be reserved for the signification of her Majesty's pleasure thereon, previous to such alterations being attempted to be carried into effect.

By clause twenty-seventh, the governor and Legislative Council of Van Diemen's Island, and of the other Australian colonies, may—

"Impose and levy such duties of customs as to such respective governors and councils may seem fit on the importation into such respective colonies of any goods, wares, and merchandise whatsoever, whether the produce or manufacture of or imported from the United Kingdom, or any of the colonies or dependencies of the United Kingdom, or any foreign country: provided always, that no new duty shall be so imposed upon the importation into any of the said colonies of any article the produce or manufacture of or imported from any particular country or place which shall not be equally imposed on the importation into the same colony of the like article, the produce or manufacture of or imported from all other countries and places whatsoever."

By clause thirty-one, it is also provided and enacted,—

"That it shall not be lawful for the legislatures of any of the said colonies to levy any duty upon articles imported for the supply of her Majesty's land or sea forces, nor to levy any duty, impose any prohibition or restriction, or grant any exemption, bounty, drawback, or other privilege, upon the importation or exportation of any articles, nor to impose any dues or charges upon shipping, contrary to or at variance with any treaty or treaties concluded by her Majesty with any foreign power."

This latter clause would seem to be at variance with the former, which prevents the colonists levying any differential duties even in favour of the produce or manufactures of England, as compared with those of the United States, France, or other foreign countries; but should the system of "free imports" in England give place to a system of "reciprocity" in the commerce between the United Kingdom and foreign countries, under which corresponding or equivalent duties would be levied in the ports of the nations entering into reciprocity treaties; then, as it appears to me, the two clauses of the bill would be in direct opposition to each other, for the colonial legislatures would be obliged not to act "contrary to or at variance with any treaty or

treaties concluded by her Majesty with any foreign power."

By clause twenty-nine, the Australian legislatures are empowered from time to time to pass acts "for the better administration of justice, and for defining the constitution of courts of law, equity, and of juries; district councils, or in other words, municipal corporations may be established by letters patent from the governor." Full powers are granted by the act to the governor and Legislative Council, to impose such taxes, and make such laws as they deem requisite, and to alter the constitution of the Legislative Council, as regards the qualification of the electors and the elected members, or to establish—

"Instead of the Legislative Council, a council and a house of representatives, or other separate legislative houses, to consist respectively of such members to be appointed or elected respectively by such persons and in such manner as by such act or acts shall be determined, and to vest in such council and house of representatives, or other separate legislative houses, the powers and functions of the Legislative Council for which the same may be substituted: provided always, that every bill which shall be passed by the council in any of the said colonies for any of such purposes, shall be reserved for the signification of her Majesty's pleasure thereon; and a copy of such bill shall be laid before both houses of parliament for the space of thirty days at the least, before her Majesty's pleasure thereon shall be signified.

"33. Provided always, and be it enacted, that the provisions of the said firstly-recited act of the sixth year of the reign of her Majesty, as explained and amended by the said secondly-recited act of the eighth year of the reign of her Majesty, concerning bills reserved for the signification of her Majesty's pleasure thereon, shall be applicable to every bill so reserved under the provisions of this act."

Subject therefore to the ratification of approval by their Sovereign, the colonists of Australia and of Van Diemen's Island, possess a perfectly free constitution, such as no parent state ever before granted to its dependencies.

THE LAWS are those of England; there is a supreme court of judicature, having civil, criminal, equity, and ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and administered by a chief justice and puisne judge; the crown has an attorney and a solicitor-general. The court has four terms, and the judges have six or eight gaol deliveries at Hobart Town and Launceston. Courts of quarter sessions and courts of requests are held in the several districts at stated intervals. The legal practitioners, barristers, attorneys, and proctors have equal rights, and are in number sixty-seven: there are nine notaries public.

Eight of the police magistrates have salaries varying from four to eight hundred a-year; eleven assistant police magistrates received from two to two hundred and fifty pounds a-year, there are beside 248 unpaid, who in 1848, were thus classified—sixty-five naval and military officers, on retired or full pay, twenty-four surgeons, six barristers, nine clergymen, twenty civil officers, nineteen merchants, and 105 other gentlemen. There are also fifty-one coroners residing in different parts of the island, who receive £2 2s. for every inquest they hold, and one shilling for every mile travelled above ten miles from the residence of the coroner

MILITARY FORCE.—The command includes Norfolk Island and Western Australia, and the distribution of the troops in 1849 was, at Hobart Town, 18 officers and 550 men; Launceston, 4 officers and 115 men; Tasman's Peninsula, 2 officers and 105 men; Spring Bay, 1 officer and 25 men; Oatlands, 1 officer and 23 men; Ross, 2 men. Total in Van Diemen's Island, 26 officers and 820 men. At Norfolk Island, 7 officers and 145 men; at Western Australia, 3 officers and 105 men. Grand total in command, 36 officers and 1,070 men. There are a few mounted police, and the constabulary number 506 men, who could soon be made available as a military force. There is no militia. It would seem advisable to employ some of the convict labour in the colony in the construction of forts for large guns at the entrance of the Derwent, near Iron Pot Light-house, and also at the entrance of the Tamar. At present these two cities are at the mercy of any hostile squadron.

REVENUE.—The public income is derived, as in other colonies, from customs duties, licences, rents of crown lands, &c. In 1824, the revenue fixed amounted to £16,866, and in 1834, it had increased to £89,939, the principal items of increase being in the customs duties. Since then the receipts have fluctuated according to the prosperity or depression of the colonists: the following shews the net revenue of 1848, and indicates the nature and extent of the taxation.

Customs—Port of Hobart, £49,527; ditto, Launceston, £27,624: total, £77,151. Post-office—Collections, £5,184; ditto, aid from home government, £1,500: total, 6,684. Wholesale and retail licences to sell wines and spirits, £9,685; auctioneers', pawn-brokers', hawkers', and carriers' licences, £903; fees under port regulation act of council, £171; stage-coach and theatrical licences, £24; fees for registration of dogs, £906; licences under kangaroo hunting act of council, £49. Fees—from judicial

department, £2,671; ditto, civil, £899; ditto, police, £1,801: total, £5,172. Water-rates, £1,185; rent of markets, £800. Tolls on main line of road, Hobart, £177; ditto, Launceston, £28: total, £206. Rents of crown property, £372; miscellaneous receipts, £1,433. Grants from the home government—in aid of police and gaols, £24,000; ditto of witnesses' expenses, £1,000: total, £25,000. Total revenue of 1848, £129,545.

The *Customs Duties*, which form the principal source of revenue, are levied under the provisions of act 10 Vic. No. 7, (July 13, 1846,) which authorizes an *ad valorem* duty of fifteen per cent. on all merchandise of foreign produce or manufacture. By act 12 Vic. No. 8, (October 6, 1848,) wool, coal (for steam navigation), metallic ores, various seeds and plants, the produce of any British colony or possession, are exempt from the fifteen per cent. duty. By act 4 Wm. IV. No. 15, (Jan. 2, 1834,) the duty on British spirits is fixed at 9s. per proof gallon, and 12s. on foreign spirits. The duty on tobacco is 1s. 6d. per lb. There are also wharfage and warehouse dues on goods, and tonnage, pilotage, and light dues on shipping.

The receipts from the sale of crown lands would have been a productive source of revenue, if the high upset price of 12s., and subsequently of 20s. an acre had not been put on these lands. The proceeds of the land sales were, in 1832, £27,536; 1840, £50,894; 1841, £58,039; 1842, 14,332; 1843, £19,804; total, £270,605. 1844, £6,818; 1845, £1,610; 1846, £5,700; 1847, £2,806; 1848, £4,463; total, £21,397.

Here we trace the injurious effects of too high a price in hindering the purchase of land. The falling off in five years of the receipts amounted to £149,208.

The land revenue collected during the year 1848, with the charges thereon, was—

LAND REVENUE:—

Balance on 1st January, 1848	£10,800
Rent of crown lands	17,466
Sale of crown lands	4,463
Fees of survey department	1,076
Fees for surveys	440
Quit-rents and redemption	203
Sale of aborigines' stores	35
Fees on grant deeds	33

Total £34,519

CHARGES ON LAND REVENUE:—

Survey department	£4,318
Commissioners of titles	576
Aborigines' establishment	2,184
Surveying land, loan to Bridgewater } Commissioners, &c. }	3,164
Balance on 31st December, 1848	24,295

Total £34,519

DETAILS OF EXPENDITURE IN VAN DIEMEN'S ISLAND.

75

The Land Sales act having been repealed, as respects Van Diemen's Island, by the 8 and 9 Vict., c. 95, the Land Fund, in 1847, ceased to form part of the colonial revenue. THE EXPENDITURE for twelve years is thus stated by Sir W. Denison:—

Year.	Civil Establishments.	Police.	Public Works.	Judicial, including Gaols.	Ecclesiastical, and Schools.	Military.	Pensions.	Pauperism.	Miscellaneous.	Total.
1833	£25,261	£564	£11,731	£13,249	£8,050	£603	£1,565	—	£3,764	£74,425
1834	28,620	1,115	18,961	11,821	12,182	1,207	837	—	3,347	78,094
1835	28,954	1,853	17,780	13,135	13,172	518	840	—	3,641	79,895
1836	34,936	12,871	19,031	16,271	19,304	780	865	—	13,356	118,417
1837	34,577	24,138	24,088	18,503	22,260	1,216	876	—	2,006	127,667
1838	28,374	26,229	15,797	21,775	20,441	2,215	846	—	7,410	123,091
1843	28,826	29,881	17,634	19,401	25,464	240	992	3,125	24,930	150,497
1844	31,434	31,859	15,443	20,165	21,576	310	1,086	3,345	23,966	149,190
1845	33,948	33,582	10,370	20,992	18,667	298	1,249	2,796	9,739	131,644
1846	35,783	33,876	9,130	21,083	17,828	198	1,434	5,440	11,440	136,226
1847	28,617	31,776	9,582	17,470	16,094	254	986	3,486	24,677	135,057
1848	32,118	35,463	21,214	21,366	20,092	—	1,206	4,040	5,529	141,351

Note.—The returns of expense of civil establishments includes the salary of the lieutenant-governor.—The figures for 1848 are an estimate.

Loans borrowed and returned, Special Payments, and Aid from Home Government, from 1833 to 1848.

Year.	Loans borrowed during the year.	Loans returned during the year.	Special Payments.	Aid from Home Government for service of the year.	Amount of annual taxation.	Pop. exclusive of troops and convicts in pun- ishment gangs.	Amount of taxation per head.
1833	—	—	—	—	£74,425	33,204	£2 4 9
1834	—	—	—	—	78,094	36,622	2 2 7
1835	—	—	—	—	79,895	38,959	2 0 6
1836	—	—	£13,179	—	118,417	42,373	2 15 10
1837	—	—	—	—	127,667	41,689	3 1 0
1838	—	—	—	—	123,091	44,188	2 15 8
1843	—	—	14,381	—	150,497	57,420	2 12 5
1844	£55,000	£5,000	8,778	—	99,190	59,000	1 13 0
1845	32,000	—	—	—	99,644	61,000	1 12 8
1846	6,000	—	} 9,000	£20,250	115,976	63,000	1 16 9
1847	—	15,441		23,500	106,557	64,179	1 13 2
1848	—	—		28,500	112,851	66,000	1 14 2
Total					1,286,311	607,634	—

Note.—The figures for 1848 are an estimate.—In the year 1836 the amount under the head special payments was transferred to convict funds; in 1843 to the same, and to colonial agent; in 1844, and in 1846 and 1847, to convict funds. In the year 1846 the aid from home government was for police and gaols, three quarters of year, £18,750; post office, £1,500; and in the year 1847, for police and gaols, £25,000; lieutenant-governor's salary, £2,000; post office, £1,500.

The detail of the expenditure from the colonial treasury, during the year 1848, is thus given in a document transmitted to the Colonial Office, and signed by the auditor:—

The Lieutenant-governor,* £2,000. *Civil Establishment.*—Customs' department, £4,366; port officer, signal stations, and light-houses, £8,944; post-office, £5,579; government printing-office, £1,235; registrars of births, deaths, &c., £416; other civil departments, £8,050: total, £26,591. *Police Establishment.*—Judges, £2,739; supreme court and law officers, £6,958; courts of requests, &c., £3,750; sheriff, £2,373; gaols, £3,841; coroners' inquests, £494: total, £20,157. *Ecclesiastical.*—Church of

England, £9,301; church of Scotland, £2,936; church of Rome, £1,220; Wesleyan mission, £500; baptist mission, £150: total, 14,108. Day-schools, £5,622; pensions, £446; pauperism, £3,759; Mechanics' Institute and Van Diemen's Land Society, £600; interest on loans, £1,764; miscellaneous, including repayment of an advance by colonial agent to the amount of £4,500 = £9,200. Grand total, £136,193.

The total expenditure in the colony during 1848 was—civil establishment, £121,925; convict establishment, pay of officers, superintendents, and overseers, food and clothing of prisoners, £152,800; military guard and staff officers, including rations, £91,777. Total, £366,502.

The cause of this large expenditure is shewn in the number of free persons employed in the civil government, and in the

* The salary of the Lieutenant-governor is £4,000 a-year; the moiety is paid by the colony.

convict establishment of the colony in 1848:—

Nature of Office.	Civil Establishment.	Convict Establishment.	Total.
Officers, magistrates, &c.	128	141	269
Chaplains & School-masters	68	54	122
Medical men	19	29	48
Clerks	79	51	130
Tradesmen & seamen	42	83	125
Other free persons	111	218	329
Total	447	576	1,023

In order to shew the progressive taxation of the colony and its yearly expenditure, I subjoin a comparative table of the receipts and disbursements for colonial purposes since 1824; the figures between 1826 and 1847 I derive from an excellent almanac called the *Tasmanian Royal Kalendar* for 1847:—

Year.	Receipts.	Expenditure.	Year.	Receipts.	Expenditure.
1824	£32,126	£32,126	1837	£137,354	£141,442
1825	42,345	42,781	1838	127,709	133,680
1826	53,394	50,806	1839	154,789	142,524
1827	53,316	55,057	1840	183,171	154,501
1828	68,673	66,041	1841	185,803	160,974
1829	60,427	44,146	1842	143,712	184,885
1830	67,926	61,513	1843	135,257	166,600
1831	72,119	71,460	1844	164,341	160,585
1832	91,976	80,542	1845	136,983	138,753
1833	86,005	83,727	1846	123,199	122,776
1834	101,016	115,057	1847	150,474	142,497
1835	113,525	116,122	1848	129,545	136,193
1836	128,137	138,380	1849	—	—

Lord Stanley, in November, 1845, pointed out to the Lords of the Treasury the justice of the British exchequer contributing not less than two-thirds of the then existing expenditure of £36,000 per annum, in Van

Diemen's Island, for gaols and police, as at least one-half the population of the colony was composed of people who either were or had been convicts. The Lords of the Treasury, on the 2nd of February, 1846, agreed that £24,000 per annum should be appropriated from the parliamentary grant for convict purposes, towards defraying the expense of the colonial police and gaols; but, in consideration of this contribution, directed that the future proceeds of land sales, together with any other produce of the crown lands, or of the casual revenues which, previous to 1836, were customarily paid into the commissariat chest, and were applicable to convict expenditure, should again revert to that chest. Earl Grey has recently procured from the Lords of her Majesty's Treasury the release of the territorial fund from the commissariat chest, and directed it to be applied towards various public improvements in the colony.

COMMERCE.—The progress of the maritime trade of the colony will be seen by selecting a few years of the period between 1824 and 1848; it should however be premised that the large expenditure from the British treasury for the maintenance of convicts and troops, would necessarily cause the value of the imports to exceed that of the exports. The total value, however, of the imports, for the ten years ending in 1848, was £6,723,472; and of the exports for the same period, £5,899,831: the excess of imports being only £823,641. It will be observed that the value of the trade was much less in 1848 than in 1840, a period of greater speculation than any previous or subsequent year; indeed in 1844 the imports were only £442,988, exports £408,799. The returns do not shew what quantity of the exports had been previously imported.

Imports and Exports of the Colony in several years, from 1824 to 1848.

Countries.	1824.	1830.	1834.	1840.	1844.	1848.
IMPORTS FROM—						
Great Britain	£50,000	£153,478	£316,559	£737,251	£303,097	£460,244
British colonies	10,000	93,251	145,445	217,033	124,675	109,990
Foreign countries	2,000	8,569	14,613	34,072	15,216	23,920
Total	£62,000	£255,298	£476,617	£988,357	£443,988	£594,154
EXPORTS TO—						
Great Britain	£10,000	£52,031	£167,815	£334,156	£252,980	£255,027
British colonies	4,500	93,742	35,399	531,321	151,406	232,718
Foreign countries	—	207	308	1,530	4,413	2,536
Total	£14,500	£145,980	£203,522	£867,007	£408,799	£490,281
Number of tons inwards	11,116	26,582	33,441	—	73,756	91,983

The proportionate import trade of the two principal seaports is indicated in the customs, revenue, and charges collected in each port, year ending January 5th, 1849:—

Duties and Charges.	Hobart Town.	Launceston.
CUSTOM DUTIES—		
On spirits	£24,300	£13,381
" tobacco	10,582	6,966
Ad valorem	10,906	4,862
Total	£45,798	£25,109
CHARGES—		
Tonnage dues . . .	£1,221	£891
Light	831	511
Wharfage	2,325	1,222
Grand total . . .	£50,182	27,633

The export in quantity of some of the staple articles was, from each port, for the year ending January 5th, 1849:—

Articles.	Hobart Town.	Launceston.
Bark, tons	16	266
Barley and oats, bushels	22,312	35,138
Bran	5,670	9,785
Wheat	19,995	192,101
Flour, tons	1,211	1,834
Hay "	525	254
Potatoes "	349	1,570
Wool, bales	6,898	6,529
Cattle, number	—	25
Horses "	124	426
Sheep "	359	2,281
Horns	6,583	5,000
Hides and leather bales	695	161
TIMBER—		
Laths and shingles, number	6,789,000	191,990
Palings "	505,000	1,227,768
Pieces "	24,600	70,984
Trenails "	—	22,483
Staves, feet	210,000	500
Sawn, "	3,487,000	98,300
Oil, black whale, tuns	316	45
" sperm "	654	—
Whalebone, tons	10	1
Tallow, packages	161	123
Hops "	34	22
Malt liquor "	41	443
Fruits and preserves, packages	1820	3,243

The value of the staple exports in 1848 is thus stated in the official returns:—

Wool, £195,143; whalebone, £1,960; timber, £20,464; potatoes, £6,124; salt, £1,090; oil, black, £6,235; sperm oil, £41,074; flour, £32,038; grain, barley, £4,255; malt, £702; oats, £6,084; wheat, £50,863; biscuit, £660; fruits and preserves, £4,917; hay, £3,232; hops, £788; hides, skins, and leather, £9,629; horses, £7,500; sheep, £1,530; malt liquor, £4,265; copper, £2,100—copper ore, £148 = £2,248; boots and shoes, £2,005; beef and pork, £1,255; bark, £902; butter and cheese, £1,043; bags and canvass, £1,255.

It will be observed that wool forms an

important item in the staple exports. The quantity exported in 1814 was only forty bales; in 1824 nearly 1,000; in 1830 nearly 4,000; in 1840 more than 10,000; and in 1850 about 20,000 bales, or 5,600,000 lbs. weight. The value for ten years from 1839 to 1848 inclusive, was £194,647; £123,667; £254,853; £236,078; £193,746; £176,269; £178,647; £213,522; £247,240; £195,143; total, £2,118,812. The quantity exported year by year from 1814 to 1849, is given in the previous Division of this work in the account of the wool trade of the United Kingdom (pp. 618, 619.) The recent discovery of extensive pastoral tracts will probably cause a considerable augmentation in the wool trade of the colony. Agricultural products are next to wool in value; the value of the grain, flour, potatoes, and hay, exported in 1848, was upwards of £100,000. The timber trade is rapidly increasing, owing to the demand in the adjacent colonies, and in California. Potashes from the burnt timber are now being prepared, and it is calculated by Sir William Denison that ten hundred weight, valued at £15, may be obtained from each acre of timbered land. The eucalypti and acacia yield five parts of pure potassa to 1,000 parts of wood. As there is abundance of coal and wood in Van Diemen's Island, establishments for smelting copper ore from Adelaide have been established with success. It is probable, however, that ere long mineral wealth will be added to the property of Tasmania; it is said that a valuable ore of lead has been discovered in the mountain limestone ridge, which extends from Macquarie harbour to the territories of the Van Diemen's Land Agricultural Company. If this be so, copper most likely exists in the same vicinity.

BANKS.—There are three local banks, and the *Union Bank of Australia* and the *Bank of Australasia*, have each branches in the island. In 1823, the establishment of the first bank was effected by a joint stock company, and its issues were made in Spanish dollars at 5s. currency, as it was termed. Up to that time, such was the scarcity of money, that any person circulated at will his promissory notes for dollars, and the parts of a dollar, even so low as three-pence, and the consequent inconvenience, confusion, and loss to the holder, cannot be described. The bank issues, however, rapidly superseded those of individuals, except for the smallest denominations, and they were gradually displaced by the in-

roduction of British copper coin. In 1825 a Treasury order fixed the value of the Spanish dollar at 4s. 4d. sterling, in the king's possessions, where that coin was current for military purposes; and, in 1826, the Legislative Council abolished the currency denominations, and declared that all

transactions should be in pounds, shillings and pence.

The following statement shews the assets and liabilities of the several local Banks and branches of the London Institutions at the end of the year 1848, as extracted from the *Hobart Town Gazette* :—

Banks and Branch Banks.	Estab- lished.	Capital paid up.	Assets.		Liabilities.	
			Bullion.	Bills of Exchange, &c.	Notes and Bills in circulation.	Deposits.
Van Diemen's Island	1823	£80,000	£25,341	£132,667	£10,024	£54,487
Commercial	1829	100,000	29,544	189,105	13,306	90,995
Derwent	1827	120,000	—	—	—	—
Union Bank of Australia—Br.	1838	820,000	87,865	323,814	16,506	105,559
Australasia—Branch	1835	1,200,000	58,341	380,141	19,944	88,039
Totals		2,320,000	£201,093	£1,025,730	£59,780	£339,081

Note.—The Derwent Bank declines to allow a statement of its affairs to be published, as it is not a Bank of Issue. Returns from the Australasian Bank made up to 16th October, 1848.

The coin in the colony on the 31st December, 1848, was :—

In Commissariat chest	£37,000
" Union Bank of Australia	87,865
" Bank of Austral-Asia	58,341
" Commercial Bank	29,544
" Bank of Van Diemen's Land	25,341
" Derwent Bank	—
" circulation, about	10,000
	£248,095

Paper-money in circulation at the same period :—

Union Bank of Australia, Branch	£16,056
Bank of Austral-Asia	16,867
Commercial Bank	13,306
Bank of Van Diemen's Land	10,024
	£56,263

The coins in circulation are gold, silver,

and copper coins, from the British Mint, of every denomination. Spanish and Mexican dollars pass at 4s. each; the dollar with the piece cut out of the centre, for 3s.; the piece so cut out, called a *dump*, for 1s.; half, quarter, and eighth of a dollar, for 2s., 1s., and 6d.; sicca rupee, 2s.; other rupees, 1s. 6d.

These returns exhibit a sound monetary state—the proportion of coin to paper issues is large, and the deposits are of considerable amount. The *Bank of Australasia* is by its charter prohibited from holding mortgages; what proportion of this class of securities may be held by the other banks is not known.

There are three savings' banks, whose state on the 31st of December, 1848, is thus certified by the managers :—

Savings' Banks.	Estab- lished.	Depositors above £10.	Depositors below £10.	Total.	Amount of last Dividend, and when declared.
Derwent (Hobart Town)	1828	115	62	£6,167	4 per cent., Dec. 31, 1848.
Hobart Town	1845	544	775	22,017	4 per cent., Aug. 31, 1848.
Launceston	1835	406	358	15,452	3 per cent. interest added to the principal half-yearly.
Totals		1,065	1,195	£43,637	

Insurance Companies.

Names.	Estab- lished.	Capital.
Tasmanian Fire and Life	1835	£82,300 in 623 sh. of £100.
Hobart Town and Launceston Marine	1836	64,100 in 641 sh. of £100.
Derwent and Tamar Fire, Life, and Marine	1838	100,000 in 2,000 sh. of £50.
Corwall Fire and Marine	1841	10,000 in 5,000 sh. of £10.

There are also branches of the *Australasian Colonial and General Life Assurance*,

and of the London *Alliance, British and Foreign Life and Fire Assurance Company*.

Weights and Measures as in England.

The *Fisheries* at Hobart Town employed in 1848, 37 ships and 136 boats; the fish taken in 1848 numbered 69 *black* whales, giving 480 tons of oil, at £20 per ton = £9,600; 107 *sperm* whales, giving 643 tons of oil, at £63 per ton = £40,509. 210 cwts. of whalebone at £40 per ton = £1,155. Total

value of oil and bone, £51,264. At Great Swan Port, 14 boats were employed in 1848; 1,500,000 oysters were taken, valued at £2,000, and one black whale, valued at £70.

The number and tonnage of vessels *belonging* to the colony is considerable, and increasing; in 1824 Hobart Town had one vessel of 43 tons burthen, Launceston one, also of a like tonnage. On the 1st of January, 1842, there were belonging to the port of Hobart Town, vessels, 162; tonnage, 14,640; to Launceston, vessels, 47; tonnage, 3,772—total, vessels, 209; tonnage, 18,412. The vessels *built* in the colony during the year 1847, were, in number, 29; tonnage varying from 20 to 300 tons and upwards; this branch of business is annually increasing. The timber is adapted for naval architecture, the vessels built very creditable to their constructors, and the price does not exceed £8 per ton. The vessels employed in the fisheries in 1847, were in number, 29; tonnage, 6,081. The coasting-trade between Hobart Town and Launceston, during 1847, employed inwards, vessels, 20; tonnage, 2,136.

The trade of the colony is now in a sound and healthy state; the exports bear a fair proportion to the imports; the staple products are annually increasing, and New Zealand, California,* and other places, require all the food and timber which Tasmania can spare.

The annexed return, showing the number of persons who have declared themselves insolvent, or who have been declared insolvent, in Van Diemen's Land, during the year 1848, exhibits an amount of assets for which it would not be easy to find a parallel in the records of the Insolvent Court in the United Kingdom:—

Quantity of land cultivated, and produce of the principal crops.

Years.	Wheat.		Barley.		Oats.		Potatoes.		Hay	
	Acres.	Bushels.	Acres.	Bushels.	Acres.	Bushels.	Acres.	Tons.	Acres.	Tons.
1828	20,357	314,260	3,864	70,500	1,573	34,168	2,192	4,328	4,970	2,500
1838	41,749	550,189	13,495	182,140	21,575	236,768	3,532	11,501	17,687	15,915
1848	64,700	1,153,318	14,042	331,184	29,463	756,762	3,916	18,231	49,313	43,195

The wheat of Van Diemen's Island is of very superior quality, and brings a higher price in the London market than any other foreign grain; it will doubtless become a

* I may here note a grievance to which the Tasmanian, as well as the Australian colonists, are subjected in the ports of the United States. American meat, grain, and flour are received into British ports *free of duty*, but when our colonists send their pro-

—	Hobart Town.	Launceston.	Total.
Number who declared themselves insolvent . . .	57	33	90
Scheduled liabilities . . .	£55,751	£13,392	£69,144
Scheduled assets . . .	£41,163	£5,146	£46,310
Number declared insolvent by creditors . . .	2	2	4
Scheduled liabilities . . .	£4,732	£16,201	£20,933
Scheduled assets . . .	£4,147	£16,838	£20,986
Insolvencies superseded	2	3	5

POST OFFICE.—The postal arrangements of the colony for the year 1848, shew the active internal intercourse of the inhabitants. —Post-offices in the colony, 51; persons employed, 76; miles of post roads, 634; letters sent from Hobart Town, 125,785; newspapers sent from Hobart Town, 222,522; letters received, 161,571. Two-penny post-offices—franked letters—Hobart, 6,341; Launceston, 221. Total, 6,562. Other letters—Hobart, 9,556; Launceston, 4,757. Total, 14,313. Gross revenue, £7,004 5s. 6d.; gross expenditure, £6,397.

LAND AND PRODUCE.—The agriculture and live stock of the colony has largely increased, as shewn in the annexed table:—

Years.	Acres under Crop.	Horses.	Horned Cattle.	Sheep.	Goats.
1828	34,033	2,034	84,476	553,698	708
1834	69,041	7,115	74,075	766,552	1,070
1841	89,856	12,000	90,498	1,167,737	2,630
1848	171,640	17,196	85,485	1,752,963	2,902

The live stock, especially the horses, are of a good character, care having been taken to import from England thorough-bred animals. Steam navigation between British India and the Australian colonies would give rise to a valuable trade for the remounts of the horse artillery and cavalry of the Anglo-Indian army.

large article of export: the rate at which it may be introduced for sale in Mark-lane, is about 41s. per quarter of 70 lbs.; viz., cost at Hobart Town, 3s., freight, 2s., insurance and duce to the United States, it is met with prohibitory enactments; for example, Australian cured meat is taxed forty per cent. on its introduction into California, and other articles in proportion.

80 AREA, CULTIVATION, LIVE STOCK, &c., IN EACH DISTRICT.

interest on four months' voyage, 2d. = 5s. 2d. per bushel. Thus giving a profit of at least 10 per cent to the importers.

The area, cultivation, live stock, &c., in each district, were, on the 31st of December 1848, as follow:—

Police Districts.	Quantity of land.	Land in cultivation.	Granted or Sold Lands uncultivated.	Granted and sold to Settlers.	Horses.	Horned Cattle.	Sheep.	Goats.	Pigs.
	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.
Bothwell	299,520	4,214	148,994	153,208	685	4,161	193,980	4	770
Brighton	133,760	11,248	92,636	103,885	1,017	2,290	49,503	171	411
Campbell Town.	492,800	4,358	314,122	318,481	1,188	4,210	249,544	82	853
Fingal	1,807,360	4,500	117,027	122,128	892	3,889	154,865	128	1,068
George Town	792,320	659	55,915	56,575	245	1,681	53,170	64	244
Great Swanport	677,120	5,105	112,679	117,784	507	1,579	82,962	112	1,411
Hamilton	415,360	4,751	186,992	191,744	1,183	9,788	215,989	32	1,641
Hobart Town	688,160	4,915	94,283	99,199	1,806	3,041	9,811	845	3,307
Horton	2,574,000	5,548	344,452	350,000	273	* 2,639	10,322	170	402
Launceston	437,760	9,532	127,140	136,872	1,120	5,260	31,103	275	2,219
Longford	590,720	28,586	172,633	201,219	1,964	7,578	157,170	41	3,555
Morven	260,480	16,146	130,247	146,393	1,316	5,424	90,470	30	2,346
New Norfolk	125,440	6,854	62,524	68,378	628	1,747	32,902	53	1,387
Outlands	448,000	14,484	234,361	248,946	1,140	4,795	267,459	40	1,332
Port Sorell	561,920	2,064	9,846	11,910	133	1,655	4,554	86	351
Richmond	153,000	16,574	136,342	152,917	1,352	3,512	55,740	400	2,820
Sorell and Prosser's Plains	440,320	13,195	52,792	65,988	661	2,869	40,684	180	2,500
Southport	1,304,800	1,169	5,410	6,579	60	525	1,247	157	372
Westbury	571,520	18,633	150,907	169,540	1,036	19,092	61,488	32	2,978
Not yet marked off into Police Districts	1,707,932	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total	14,482,892	171,540	2,540,906	2,721,446	17,196	85,485	1,752,963	2,902	29,967

The total number of acres held under depasturing licences on the 31st of December, 1848, was 1,363,427, at a rental of £17,511. More than 11,000,000 acres remain ungranted in the colony.

The number of grants of land, in 1848, under 100 acres, was forty-nine—extent, 1,201 acres; the number above 100 acres, and not exceeding 500 acres, two—extent,

333 acres; the total purchase money, for 1,584 acres, £1,877.

In order to afford an idea of the extent of cultivation in each district, I subjoin a return of the number of acres in the growing crops not gathered in, and probable produce of each crop, in Van Diemen's Island, on the 31st of December, 1848:—

Police District.	Wheat.		Barley.		Oats.		Peas.		Beans.		Potatoes.		Turnips.	
	Acres.	Bushels.	Acres.	Bushels.	Acres.	Bushels.	Acres.	Bush.	Acres.	Bush.	Acres.	Tons.	Acres.	Tons.
Bothwell	1,016	21,514	744	20,425	712	21,925	3	30	1	15	38	125	452	1,564
Brighton	5,493	111,131	1,938	36,780	1,282	27,986	58	606	8	104	193	391	760	1,821
Campbell Town.	1,541	46,450	382	11,431	792	25,641	5	—	—	—	36	110	380	984
Fingal	1,803	39,079	454	12,870	680	9,974	2	42	—	—	75	260	333	1,031
George Town	447	7,180	44	959	77	1,240	2	5	—	—	28	58	33	116
Great Swan Port	2,866	68,180	230	5,423	267	7,500	13	280	1	30	121	613	555	4,019
Hamilton	1,380	20,703	1,090	27,262	552	16,567	21	420	1	25	71	285	456	6,840
Hobart	1,288	28,352	541	21,670	794	22,820	171	4,293	41	820	754	6,036	338	3,382
Horton	1,077	26,925	115	3,450	223	6,690	—	—	—	—	508	2,040	82	410
Launceston	5,395	91,716	317	6,157	1,507	32,419	38	524	10	129	271	774	279	1,546
Longford	11,148	96,690	1,000	13,104	4,497	41,473	8	110	12	220	80	275	771	738
Morven	8,067	154,776	788	20,295	1,793	45,256	36	608	4	78	89	220	481	1,726
New Norfolk	2,295	45,671	699	16,915	338	7,377	17	303	3	56	185	727	715	—
Outlands	1,979	41,679	889	17,780	9,618	337,450	22	365	7	65	73	177	749	4,497
Port Sorell	868	20,701	87	1,110	357	9,565	2	60	—	—	194	1,121	75	861
Richmond	6,366	99,110	2,326	55,121	1,032	23,404	96	1,519	22	105	402	1,321	1,107	5,984
Sorell and Prosser's Plains	4,370	62,689	1,840	45,393	940	24,359	101	1,866	18	98	95	315	491	1,786
South Port	300	6,013	41	693	41	1,026	42	884	—	—	528	2,496	40	234
Westbury	6,997	164,154	512	14,345	3,958	94,089	33	1,004	3	60	170	884	737	3,700
Total	64,700	1,153,313	14,042	331,184	29,493	756,762	674	12,900	132	1,805	3,916	18,231	8,836	41,239

Note.—The produce in stock or stores on 31st December, 1848, was:—wheat, 88,393; barley, 27,771; oats, 13,862; peas, 114; beans, 45 bushels; potatoes, 100; turnips, 21 tons.

The supplies required for the prisoners have certainly been a great stimulus to the agriculturists. The estimated consumption of the convict establishments, in 1849, of

articles the produce of the colony, deducting the quantities grown at the convict stations, was—fresh meat, 1,696,853 lbs.; salt beef, 264,990; salt pork, 7,166; suet

and 7,700; vegetables, 2,211; deer, 3,028; bread, 575,566; meat, 27,940; bran, 6,000; peas, 9,490; cattle, 9,954; wood, 7,985,026; straw, 82,175; milk, 174,281 pints; yeast, 2,269; oil, 13,909 gallons. Value £37,232.

The stock slaughtered for food must now be very large; the consumption of sheep and cattle, in the two chief towns, may be conjectured from the following statement:—

Years	Hobart Town.		Launceston.	
	Sheep.	Cattle.	Sheep.	Cattle.
1828	34,090	1,381	—	—
1841	54,391	2,387	—	—
1848	55,376	4,159	18,745	1,476

The price of land necessarily varies, according to fertility and position. The crown lands are put up to auction at 20s. per acre; but the sales are very small. The licence fee for depasturing stock on crown lands is at the rate of £10 per 1,000 acres. In the *Launceston Examiner* newspaper, for December, 1849, there is a list of small farms, of twenty to 350 acres, sold in the Launceston district, on which there was more or less building, clearing, and fencing, and the sale price varied from £4 to £10 per acre. In the Oatlands district, 7,674 acres of pasture land sold, in September, 1849, for 34s. to 40s. per acre.

In November, 1849, a farm at New Norfolk, of 441 acres, with house and other buildings on it, sold for £2 14s. 6d. per acre. At Clarence Plains, 663 acres, with house and other buildings, sold for £2 14s. per acre. In Hamilton district, 3,420 acres of pasture land, with house and other buildings, sold for 14s. 6d. an acre; same district, 4,840 acres pasture land, house and other buildings, 22s. an acre.

The soils are, generally speaking, well adapted for cultivation; and some have been cropped for twenty years successively, without manure. The injurious effect of this course of proceeding is self-evident; for the land, deprived of the mineral ingredients requisite for the food of plants, necessarily becomes exhausted. Professor Liebig, who has so successfully investigated the laws which govern organic and inorganic life, instances a plantation in Virginia, from which harvests of wheat and tobacco were annually obtained for a century without manure; but each year the crop became less and less, and the soil more and more

exhausted; for during this period 12,000 lbs. weight of alkalis, contained in straw, grain, and leaves, were abstracted from the impoverished land. Manuring and irrigation are now being more carefully attended to in Van Diemen's Island, and yield valuable results. Farms of the highest productive power in the island, without manuring or irrigation, yield forty bushels of wheat per acre, in return for a bushel and a-half sown; inferior lands yield from twenty to twenty-five bushels per acre.

Small tenant farmers are now increasing in Van Diemen's Island, and large landed proprietors find it their interest to clear and prepare agricultural allotments for the purpose. For some farms of 100 to 500 acres, partially cleared and fenced, the corn-rent paid is one to three bushels of wheat per acre; for others the money-rent is 9s. to 12s. 6d. per acre, on leases of seven to ten years. Plots of fifty acres are granted for two or three years rent-free, after which annually increasing payments, either in money or corn, are to be made.

The expense of managing a station of 20,000 sheep in Van Diemen's Island in 1849, was—ten shepherds at £16 each = £160; one principal shepherd, £50; five hut keepers, at £12 each = £60. Total, £270. Rations for sixteen men, at £12 each = 192; extra rations for washers, &c., £40 = £232; 200 woolbags, packing (2s. 6d. a bale), cartage, repairs, contingencies and rams, altogether, say £407; shearing, at 10s. per 100 sheep, £100; dressing and washing, £290; rent of 60,000 acres of crown pasture land, at £10 per 1,000 acres = £600. Thus, the total cost for leasing 60,000 acres, and tending, &c., 20,000 sheep, would be £1,810.

The cost for 20,000 sheep, at 5s. per head, is £5,000; if purchased with capital borrowed at 5 per cent = £250, which, added to £1,810, gives an annual outlay of £2,060. Estimating the average annual fleece of full grown Tasmanian sheep at 8 lbs. each = 60,000 lbs., worth all round, 1s. per lb. = £3,000. In addition to this net return of £940 on £2,060, there is the large yearly increase of the flock, say about one thousand, and the annual sale of wethers for market, say another thousand, at 5s. each = £250. It is not therefore surprising that sheep farming is more on the increase than tillage in Van Diemen's Island.

There is indeed no better field for the agriculturist and grazer; and in order to

facilitate the introduction and settlement of small capitalists and other persons capable of employing labourers, Earl Grey, on the 27th August, 1849, authorized purchasers of land of not less than 100 acres for £100, in addition to a credit available at the land sales in the colony, to be entitled to free passages to Hobart Town, for themselves, their families and servants, to the same amount as their deposit, according to the following scale: for a cabin passage, £50; an intermediate ditto, £25; a steerage ditto, £20; two children under fourteen reckoned as equal to one adult, and no charge for infants under one year. His lordship also proposed to assist persons going to Van Diemen's Island under these regulations, with regard to the preparation of land and houses, so as to mitigate the difficulties of a first settlement. Thus, for instance, a person depositing £100 in England, in addition to free passages of the above-named value, would obtain 100 acres of land, with assistance towards the clearing of the land and the erection of his house, to the value in labour and materials of £50 more.

With a view also to encourage emigration to the colony, Earl Grey has caused it to be notified that parties wishing to contribute towards enabling their relatives or friends to join them, may pay into the Colonial Military Chest, such sums as they desire, which will be forwarded to England, and the Lords of the Treasury will contribute a sum equal to that paid into the Military Chest; and with these sums the emigration commissioners will be directed to provide passages to Van Diemen's Island for the parties described in the lists.

Labour.—Tasmania, by means of a large introduction of convicts, has for several years possessed an abundant supply of labour, and furnished a large accession to the labouring classes of the neighbouring colonies; as many as 4,000 individuals having migrated in one year from Van Diemen's Island to the adjoining coast. The wages paid to mechanics in Van Diemen's Island, averaged for the year 1848, without board and lodging, per diem—bricklayers, 4s. 10d.; joiners, 5s.; carpenters, 4s. 8d.; masons, 4s. 10d.; plasterers, 4s. 6d.; painters, 4s. 11d.; plumbers, 5s. 6d.; quarrymen, 8s. 2d.

The prices of food during the same period were—fresh meat, 1½d. to 4d., averaging 2½d. per lb.; wheat, averaging 4s. 6d.

per bushel; flour, averaging £8. 10s. 6d. per ton; vegetables, averaging 5s. 0d. per 100 lbs.

An agricultural association for the promotion of emigration, and the improvement of live stock, called the *Van Diemen's Land Agricultural Company*, was established in London by act of parliament, and incorporated by royal charter in 1825, with a capital of £1,000,000, divided into 10,000 shares of £100 each.

Large tracts of land have been granted by the crown to the company; viz., at Woolnorth, in the north-west part of the island, 150,000 acres; at Circular Head and the coast adjoining, 20,000 acres; at Emu Bay and the Hampshire Hills, 60,000 acres; at Middlesex Plains, 10,000 acres; at the Surrey Hills, 150,000 acres, and in Trefoil, Walker and Robbin's Islands, about 10,000 acres. Total, 400,000 acres. The principal station is at Circular Head, where the commissioner for the company resides. (See residence on map). The Van Diemen's Land Agricultural Company have certainly made great and expensive efforts for several years to clear, improve, and cultivate the land thus granted; but the selections were in several respects unwisely made, and after sinking large sums of money in clearing forests, draining swamps, importing improved breeds of stock, and sending out a superior class of agricultural labourers and their families, the company, it is understood, are now abandoning efforts which gave no return to their shareholders, and directing attention to leasing their lands on favourable terms to tenants. The population on the estates of the company, 31st August, 1849, was stated to be 1,000; cleared land in cultivation by tenants, 2,487 acres; horses in their possession, 104; cattle, 364; sheep, 560; swine, 413. The company have about 1,200 acres of cleared land laid down in English grasses: 3,500 head of cattle, 10,000 sheep, 300 horses and 100 fallow-deer. The paid-up capital of the company is about £220,000, on which no dividend has been paid for several years. The £100 share is now scarcely negotiable.

VEGETABLE PRODUCTIONS.—The vegetation of Van Diemen's Island resembles in its general characteristics that of the adjacent coast. The first botanical investigation was made by Sir Joseph Banks and Dr. Solander, in 1770, and about 1,000 species were collected, principally by Sir Joseph Banks himself, during the first voyage of Captain Cook.

This list was subsequently increased, and when Mr. Robert Brown, the naturalist, engaged on the surveying expedition under the charge of Captain Flinders, commenced his researches, the number of ascertained Australian plants was about 1,300. The industry, talent, and zeal of this gentleman enabled him to add nearly 8,000 to those before known. Of the Australian Flora Brown found that upwards of 2,900 species were *dicotyledonous*,* and 860 *monocotyledonous*: to the last mentioned division 4,000 *acotyledonous* ferns are considered to belong. The *leguminosæ* (such as the pea) and *compositæ* (such as the sun-flower) comprehend one-fourth of all the dicotyledonous, and the grasses form a like proportion of the monocotyledonous plants, of which only one-tenth have been observed in other parts of the world. Of the *cryptogamic* plants (ferns, mosses, mushrooms, &c.) the greater number are to be found in Europe; some, however, are peculiar to Australia and to Van Diemen's Island. By his classification the whole Australian vegetation is divided into 120 natural orders. Since the period when the elaborate *Prodromus Floræ Novæ Hollandiæ et Insulæ* of Brown was published, about 2,000 additions have been made, principally by Cunningham, Ross, Gunn, Hooker, Backhouse, Mitchell, Stokes, and others; so that there are now about 6,000 known species of Australian plants. The greatest mass of vegetation belongs to the natural orders *proteaceæ*, *epacrideæ*, *myrtaceæ*, *leguminosæ*, and *compositæ*;—the most common genera are the *eucalyptæ* and *acaciæ*. According to Backhouse the eucalyptus is said to form seven-eighths of the vast Tasmanian forests. Upwards of 100 species have been discovered; many of them are remarkable for their vast height and enormous dimensions. The *eucalyptus globulus* was observed by Labillardière in Van Diemen's Island to attain a height of 150 feet, with a girth near the base of twenty-five to forty feet. Lieutenant Breton mentions one which he saw of a triangular form, the south-east face of which was 18 feet in length, that to the north 19½, and to the west, 22½; total, 60 feet in girth. The measurements of some large forest trees are given in chapter II., p. 52.

Of the *acaciæ* several of the leafless species have been discovered; the dilated

foliaceous footstalk performing the functions of the true compound leaf; of the genus *casuarina*, which have branches that appear jointed like the stem of an *equisetum*, thirteen species have been found; the *coniferæ* are few in number, but very fine; of the *palms* only six species have been discovered.

The *epacrideæ*, with its allied genera, are very numerous, the *orchidaceæ* diminish in number towards the colder regions. Among the *asphodeleæ* the chief genus is the *xanthorrhæa* (*grass-tree*), of which there are several varieties; of these the most beautiful, namely the broad-leaved *grass-tree*, *richea dracophylla*, is very abundant in certain localities, grows from ten to fifteen feet high, and has numerous branches terminated by spike-like panicles of white flowers, intermingled with broad bracteal leaves tinged with pink. The different species of *xanthorrhæa* are usually found on the poorest soil, and in very open situations.

All the trees are evergreens, and some of them, particularly the *acaciæ*, put forth very rich blossoms in spring; but the colour of nearly all of this description has been remarked to partake more or less of yellow. The foliage is usually of olive-green, varying between that and a browner tint; and the eye wanders over the wide expanse of dense forest, seeking in vain the variety afforded by the deciduous tribes.

Notwithstanding the uniformity of hue which gives something of monotony to their appearance, the forests of Tasmania are of unsurpassed grandeur: sometimes they present spots laid out by the hand of nature; in stately groves, free from underwood; sometimes opening on verdant glades, intersected with crystal rivulets; sometimes skirting an open country of hill and plain, carpeted with rich herbage, and ornamented with isolated groups of the graceful *casuarina*, pine, myrtle, sassafras, and fern trees. But not unfrequently the gigantic forest is rendered impenetrable by thickets of fern and other shrubs (some of which are of great beauty, and produce very elegant blossoms), interlaced by innumerable flowering creepers, presenting pictures such as Humboldt delighted to depict on the banks of the Orinoco.

Among the best known and most commonly used woods in the colony are the—

Stringy bark, which is used for various

* *Dicotyledon*, in botany, means a plant whose seeds are divided into two lobes. In *Monocotyledonous* plants there is but one seed lobe. The *acoty-*

ledonous plants may be said to be devoid of seed lobes, or they have none distinctly traceable. Orders are subdivided into *genera*, *species*, and *varieties*.

building purposes, and has been not unaptly termed the oak of Van Diemen's Island, as well on account of the appearance and durability of the wood, as of the uses to which it is applied. The immense size to which these trees occasionally attain has been previously noticed. Shingles split from them are used in the place of tiles and slates on the houses of the settlers. The bark is brown and cracked.

Iron bark, a name applied in New South Wales to more than one species of *eucalyptus* on account of the bark being exceedingly coarse, hard, and iron-like, is not frequent in Tasmania.

The *white*, *blue*, and *black-butt*ed gum, different varieties of the *eucalyptus*, are used in the colony by shipwrights, wheelwrights, and for fencing, building, &c.; considerable quantities of gum are obtained from these trees, the best is procured from the white gum, *eucalyptus resinifera*, whose bark contrasts with that of the stringy-bark, being smooth, and of a greyish hue.

Among the *casuarinæ* the *she oak* or beef-wood is the most common, and is used for firewood; occasionally the *swamp oak* is, I believe, employed for cabinet work, and also the forest oak.

The *Huon pine* ranks high, both in beauty and value. It is supposed by Backhouse to be a species of *dacrydium*, and attains a height of about 100 feet, and a circumference of twenty-five feet. It is of a pyramidal form, the trunk branches commence about thirty feet from the ground, the others run generally about six feet apart, growing out horizontally until they droop slightly from their own weight; they are clothed with numerous slender pendant scaly green branches, like those of the cypress and *arbor vitæ*, which serve the purpose of leaves. The wood has an aromatic smell; is of a light mottled yellow colour, closer grained and more durable than white American pine; it is much valued for ship and house building, ornamental cabinet work, picture-frames, and general purposes. It derives its name from having been first found in the neighbourhood of the Huon river; it abounds also in the vicinity of Macquarie harbour.

The *Norfolk Island pine* will be described under the head of the locality from which it takes its name.

A species of pine called the *callitris pyramidalis*, is a cypress-like tree, which attains to seventy feet in height, and affords

narrow planks and small timbers, which is useful in building, but not easy to work, being liable to splinter; the wood is of a rich yellow hue, very compact, and possessed of a cedar-like perfume. It is a distinguishing feature of the forests in the vicinity of Oyster bay. The *celery-topped pine* (*thalamici asplenifolia*), is so called from its resemblance at the summit to the well-known esculent of the same name; it attains a height of fifty feet, and two and a half feet in diameter, and is well calculated for the construction of masts.

The *sassafras* (*atherosperma moschata*) is a beautiful tree; it occasionally attains a height of 130 feet, and a circumference of six to seven feet; like many of the *coniferae*, it is conical, and has all its branches of the same year's growth, radiating from one point on the trunk. It is chiefly used for flooring. A decoction of the bark taken with milk has a pleasant taste.

The *myrtle forests* (*fagus Cunninghamii*) in the vicinity of the Hampshire hills have been previously noticed. Backhouse mentions two of these trees as being respectively thirty-two and forty-five feet in girth, and about 150 feet high; but these are exceptional instances, as they rarely in that locality exceed thirty feet in circumference. The myrtle is allied to beech, but has leaves like the dwarf birch; it is suited for the keels of vessels, and is also used for house-work.

The *tea-tree* (*leptospermum lanigerum*, and *melaleuca linarifolia*) is of the myrtle family, it is ordinarily a shrub of about ten feet in height, but in certain localities attains to eighty feet; the leaves are occasionally used as a substitute for tea, but they are too highly aromatic to be agreeable to most palates.

The dark and pale varieties of *Light Wood* (*acaciæ*), so called from its floating in water, while all the other Van Diemen's Island woods generally sink, except that of the pines—is a fine timber, and its roots are much valued for veneering.

The *black and silver wattle* (*acaciæ*) are the gayest of the forest trees when in bloom: their barks contain a large quantity of tannin, which is employed in the preparation of leather; the former yields a gum adapted for sizing silk goods.

Cedar is much used by cabinet-makers, as also those woods locally called the *cotton-tree*, *musk*, *silver-wood*, *plum-tree* and *yellow-wood*. Mill cogs are made of *lignumvita*; boat timbers of red and white *honeysuckle*,

different species of *banksia*, resembling a fir in growth, but having foliage more like a holly. Shingles are sometimes made of *peppermint*, the leaves of which contain a pungent oleaginous substance; gun-stocks of *pink-wood* (*carpodontos lucida*), and the *cypress* or *native cherry* (*exocarpus cupressiformis*) which grows to the height of about sixteen feet, in the form of a cone of bright green colour, bearing a small, red, oval-shaped fruit of a sweet taste, the seed or stone being on the outside. The bark of the *pepper-tree* (*Tasmania fragrans*) contains important medicinal qualities.

Among the handsomest shrubs is the *tulip-tree* (*telopea truncata*), a laurel-like shrub, bearing heads four inches across, of brilliant, scarlet, wiry, flowers, abounding in honey, which is easily extracted by means of the slender tubular stems of grass.

The variety and beauty of the *ferns* and *tree-ferns*, and the extraordinary size to which the latter attain, has been frequently alluded to; the black substance forming part of their stems is used for reeding in inlaying, for which purpose it is superior to ebony; the roots and heart of several descriptions were formerly roasted and eaten by the aborigines; the inner leaves of the grass-tree also serve as food, and there are some wild fruits, but mostly with a thin fleshy pulp, and of an acid quality: the common mushroom abounds. There is an esculent fungus, called "*native bread*," a species of tuber attaining the size of a child's head, and resembling in taste boiled rice: cooking produces little change in its character. The natives say that the bread is found in a rotten tree. An edible fungus is found in clusters, from the size of a marble to that of a walnut, upon swollen branches of the myrtle: when young, its colour is pale and covered with a thin skin that is easily taken off: in this state its taste is like that of cold cow-heel. When matured, the skin splits and exhibits a net-work of a yellowish colour. The *native potato* is obtained from a plant of the orchis tribe, which is brown, leafless, one-and-a-half feet high, with dingy white tubular flowers; it grows among decayed vegetable matter, and has a root like a series of kidney potatoes, terminating in a branched thick moss of coral fibres. The *mesembryanthemum* is the most widely-diffused plant in Austral-Asia, being found on all the coasts; the berry has a sweetish alkaline taste.

The *geranium*, as at the Cape of Good

Hope, grows into a bushy shrub, and is used for hedge-rows. The *castor oil plant* yields the well-known medicine. Some of the low shrubs and creeping plants are of extreme beauty; among them I may notice several species of *epacris*, which resemble heath, bearing white, pink, or crimson flowers, and edible fruit, the *pomaderris elliptica*, with large clusters of small sulphur-coloured blossoms; the *comesperma volubilis*, a climber, the flowers of which, in spring, hang in blue festoons among the bushes, in all parts of the island, and many others too numerous to name.* The climate is in some places too cold for grapes and cucumbers, but apples, pears, quinces, mulberries, and walnuts succeed better than in England. Oaks, ashes, and sycamores raised from English seed attain to three or four feet the first year. There are several native grasses, of which that called Kangaroo grass (*anthistiria Australis*) affords the best pasturage, and is less affected by drought than those of Europe: it grows in bunches, and bears a white convolvulus-shaped flower.

ZOOLOGY.—The animals of Van Diemen's Island closely resemble those of Australia, and are, like them, few in number. (See Division IV., p. 734.) The dingo or native dog, is however, not found in Tasmania, but in its place there is an animal popularly called a hyena or tiger, supposed to be an undescribed variety of *dasyurus*, which, though it flies from man with the timidity of a hare, is very destructive among flocks. It sometimes measures six feet from the snout to the tail. It is striped with black and white on the back, and the belly and sides are of a grey colour. Its mouth resembles that of a wolf, with huge jaws, opening almost to the ears. The legs are short in proportion to the body, and it has a sluggish appearance; but in running it bounds like a kangaroo, though not with equal speed. It belongs to the *marsupial* order, the female carrying its young in a pouch, like most of the other quadrupeds of the country.

The *dasyurus ursinus*, popularly called the devil, is another animal of the same species. It is extremely ugly, with a head somewhat resembling an otter's, but disproportionate to the size of the body; the mouth is supplied with three rows of teeth; the legs short, with feet like the feline race; the tail short and thick, and the skin of a sable colour. When provoked, it gnashes

* See Backhouse's *Visit to the Australian Colonies*, p. 23, and Appendix.

its teeth with great violence, making at the same time a noise not unlike that of a bear: it can exist a long time without food, and is perfectly untameable. It frequents rocky hills, whence it issues at night in search of its prey. The only other carnivorous animals are several sorts of wild cats in the woods, one of which is called the tiger-cat, from its general resemblance to that animal; others partake of the nature of the pole-cat and weazel, in appearance and mode of life, and are between the two in size, being a little larger than the ferret, and not unlike it in shape; they are all great enemies to the poultry yard, and occasionally also to young lambs.

Of the kangaroo (*macropus*), the chief varieties are the *forester*, (which is the largest,) the *brush*, and the *wallabi*. The bound of the kangaroo is prodigious, sometimes exceeding twenty paces, and this can be kept up for some time, so as to outstrip the fleetest greyhound. The abdominal pouch, which this singular animal possesses, is well known; the young attach themselves to the mother's nipple from the earliest instant of their birth, and I have found them adhering to it, when totally devoid of hair—scarcely indeed formed, and without sign of life. Nature seems to have designed the marsupial pouch as a substitute for a burrow or nest; and within its precincts, the careful mother shelters her helpless young, letting them out when they become capable of motion, to graze on the tender herbage, or carefully conveying them across rivers, and through forests, when pursued by her enemies, until they are able to provide for their own sustenance and safety. The kangaroo has rarely more than two at a birth, is extremely timid, unless when hard pressed for life, when it will set its back against a tree—boldly await the dogs—and rip them up with its hind claws, or give them a formidable squeeze with its fore arms, until the blood gushes from the hound's nostrils; sometimes the poor creature will take to the water, and seizing the heads of the dogs as they approach, hold them under water until they are drowned: their tails are of immense strength and thickness. They are extremely docile; I had one for sometime as a pet, which followed me about the house and garden like a dog, eat out of my hand, sat behind my chair at meals, giving me an occasional kick when I forgot to help him as well as myself. This beautiful ani-

mal, which may be considered as peculiar to Australia, is, I regret to say, fast disappearing before the abodes of civilized man; for, as the aborigines say, "where white man sit down, kangaroo go away." Their skins are tanned for leather, and are used with the hair on for making rugs.

The kangaroo rat and the kangaroo mouse are two varieties of the same species; the former is about the size of a rabbit, and the latter is considerably smaller; they have also the ventral sack or pouch on the lower part of the stomach, the short fore paws, and the long hind legs; but the ears resemble those of the mouse. They are night animals, sleeping during the whole day, even when domesticated.

There are two or three kinds of opossums, which usually take up their abode in the hollows of decayed gum trees, and feed on the leaves or branches: they are valued in the colony on account of their skins, which, however, are seldom preserved so as to be valuable as an article of export.

There are two kinds of moles, called the rat and rabbit bandicoot, which burrow underground, and live on roots; both kinds are mischievous visitors to potato grounds, using their snouts to turn up the roots, which they afterwards devour. The flesh of the rabbit bandicoot is considered delicate. There is also an opossum mouse, a pretty miniature of the opossum; it is easily tamed, and lives on a substance called manna.

The wombat (*phascognomys*), is a very singular animal, which, when full grown, weighs nearly forty-three pounds, the largest measure about thirty-two inches in length, and twenty-six inches in circumference. The head is large and flat, the neck thick and short, and the back arches to the loins. The fur is thick, strong, and of a light sandy or dark grey colour. The legs are extremely short; the ears sharp and erect; the eyes small and sunken, but lively; the feet are formed like those of a badger, and the mouth resembles that of a rabbit. The flesh has the flavour of that of the kangaroo, but is far more delicate. The food of the wombat consists principally of leaves and grass; its movements are awkward, hobbling or shuffling: it burrows, is mild and gentle in disposition, but bites hard when provoked, and, in common with many quadrupeds of this island, is a night animal.

The native porcupine (*ornithorynchus hystrix*), in size resembles the common hedgehog, but the spines are ranged in

patches, having one longer than the others protruding from each of the centres; it is perfectly harmless; its natural food is ant eggs. That strange creature called the platypus (*ornithorhynchus paradoxus*), is found here, as in Australia. (See p. 735, Div. iv.)

Of domestic animals I need only observe, that all those of England have been introduced into the colony and thrive well; the breed of horses is excellent, and the condition of the horned cattle and sheep attest the salubrity of the climate, and the richness of the pasturage.

ORNITHOLOGY.—The feathered tribes are numerous, some of them are very handsome, but few can be considered melodious. The largest is the emu, which stands from four to six feet high, and is nearly allied to the ostrich in form and habits; differing from it, however, in some important respects, its covering having more the appearance of hair, or rather, thin strips of whalebone, than feathers; its wings are also much shorter, and as well as the tail, are entirely destitute of those beautiful feathers with which the ostrich is adorned; it is now fast disappearing. Parrots of various kinds, cockatoos, herons, swans, pelicans, &c., are very numerous, as will be seen in the subjoined enumeration of the birds of Van Diemen's Island, derived from the carefully prepared list given by the Rev. T. J. Ewing, in the *Tasmanian Journal of Science*:

Raptores.—The wedge-tail eagle; eagle hawk, and the sea-eagle. The fish-hawk, or white-headed eagle; the peregrine falcon of Tasmania (a rare bird); the little falcon; the lizard hawk; brown hawk; sparrow hawk (the most common species); the white and swamp hawk; the Boobook owl, and the little spotted owl.

Insectivores — *Dentirostres*.—Whistling Dick, the native swallow, the summer bird, the mountain thrush, the spotted thrush or ground dove, the miner, the black-throated robin or ground-chat, the red-throated robin, the pink-breasted robin, the dusky robin, the superb warbler, the emu wren, the brown tail, the yellow tail, the mouse bird or bush sparrow, the silver eye or green linnet, the titlark, the red or green lark, the brown wren (very rare), the thick head or black-crown thrush, the native thrush, the crimson-rumped diamond bird, the striped-headed diamond bird, the forty spot, the fan tail, and the satin fly-catcher. *Conirostres*.—The crow, the white magpie, the black magpie, the pied magpie, the butcher bird, and the fire-tail. *Scansores*.—The musk or forest parakeet, the blue mountain parakeet, the rose hill parakeet, the mountain or green parrot, the swift and the ground parakeet, the swamp and the orange-bellied parakeet, the white and the black cockatoo, the rose-crested cockatoo, and the grey, the brown, and the bronze cuckoo. *Tenuirostres*.—The Jew bird, the sawyer, honey-sucker, the wattle, and little wattle bird; the yellow-throat, the yellow-crowned honey-sucker, the black-cap, the cherry-picker, and the cobblers'

awl. *Fissirostres*.—The three-toed king-fisher, the more-pork (so called from its cry), the little goat-sucker, the wire-tailed swift, the swallow, and the martin. *Rasores*.—The brown, the stubble, and the painted quail; the emu, the bronze-winged, and the little bronze-winged pigeon.

Grallatores.—The heron, the bittern, the pied, and the black oyster-catcher; the bald sultan, the rail, land-rails, the snipe, the godwit, the sand-piper, the avoset, the curlew, the hooded, and the banded doturel; the large-billed doturel, the golden plover, and the spur-winged plover.

Natatores.—The black swan, the Cape Barren goose, the Australian pintail, the mountain, and the musk duck; the teal, the shoveler, the little, and the eared grebe; the large, the little, and the yellow-tufted penguin; the black and the white-bellied shag; the pelican, the southern gannet, the black-backed, and the silver gull; the Cape petrel, or pigeon, the wandering, and the sooty albatross; and four species of *thalassidroma*, whose names have not been made out.

In the above list, the wattle bird, which is about the size of a snipe, and considered a great delicacy, is the only one peculiar to Tasmania.

ICHTHYOLOGY.—The seas around Van Diemen's Island abound with whales and seals; and its shores with shell-fish, particularly muscles — these last literally covering the rocks on its coasts, and in its bays, creeks, and harbours, where various descriptions adapted for food are readily procurable. Fishing, however, is a pursuit little followed in Tasmania, and, consequently, instead of a cheap and plentiful supply, but little is brought to market. The trumpeter is one of the most admired; the other kinds are, salmon* (so called in the colony, but in reality a very poor fish), perch, rock-cod, bream, mullet, whittings, flat-heads, leather-jackets, taylors, parrots, guard-fish, cray-fish (nearly as good as lobsters), oysters (good and plentiful), eels, skate, and shrimps. Some years ago mackarel of a very small species were caught, but latterly they have not been known to approach the island. Black fish are plentiful in the Mersey, and generally weigh from five to fifteen pounds; they have no scales.

The rivers and lakes in the interior abound with very fine eels; but the other freshwater fish are worth little, except the mullet, of which a considerable quantity is annually caught near the falls at New Norfolk. They are in perfection from November to March, and afford sport to the angler, as they readily rise to the fly.

A fish found in the bays and on the shores of the island, and supposed to be a

* The true salmon is not found, I believe, south of the equator; the spawn might be conveyed to Van Diemen's Island in an egg-shell, hermetically sealed, and hatched under a hen, after the manner of the Chinese.

species of toad-fish, is a strong poison. This fish seldom exceeds five inches in length, which is disproportionate to its thickness; the back is spotted like tortoise-shell and of the same colour, the belly is white, resembling kid-skin.

The REPTILES and INSECTS are nearly similar to those of Australia (see Div. iv., p. 736); among the former are several descriptions of snakes, some of which are very venomous; the most common kinds being a large black snake, the diamond snake, and a smaller brown sort. A native brought to me, in Australia, a snake which measured fourteen feet; it resembled somewhat the boa-constrictor I had seen in Ceylon. The colour was very beautiful, chang-

ing rapidly as the reptile became irritated. After carefully securing it, I tried the effect of various poisons; some produced no effect—an infusion of tobacco made it very sick, but large doses of calomel soon destroyed life. The guanas and lizards are common, and considered perfectly innoxious; among the insects are centipedes of two sorts, scorpions and tarantulas; the latter may often be met with in rotten wood. There are also many curious and beautiful varieties of the beetle; three or four sorts of ants, some of which are an inch long, and sting sharply; and a variety of spiders. Bees introduced from England have multiplied with extraordinary rapidity, several swarms having been produced in one year from a single hive.

CHAPTER VI.

TRANSPORTATION—DIFFERENT MODES OF PENAL DISCIPLINE—PRESENT TREATMENT OF CONVICTS—SPIRITUAL AND SCHOLASTIC INSTRUCTION—PUBLIC EXPENDITURE ON CRIME—EFFORTS FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF EFFECTIVE SECONDARY PUNISHMENTS.

If in the progress of time it should be decreed in the infinite wisdom of the Omnipotent Ruler of nations, that the wide-spread, and to human eyes, deeply-rooted power of England, should, like that of Babylon and Nineveh, Tyre and Sidon, Rome and Athens, crumble into dust, her future historian may seek among the state archives, the evidences of her extensive dominion and commercial importance, or illustrate from the relics of the fine arts, the scientific acquirements and intellectual cultivation of her children; but if he be a christian, his inquiries will not stop there. Taught by Sacred Writ that "righteousness alone exalteth a nation," he will seek memorials of the "good works," which alike, in a State or an individual, are its legitimate fruits,—and ask, have the hungry been fed, the naked clothed, the sick succoured, and the poor had the gospel preached to them? What efforts, and in a worldly sense, what sacrifices has Britain made to instruct the ignorant—to protect infancy—to guard youth from pollution, and to sustain the feeble steps of age? Has she strenuously and consistently endeavoured to use the ten talents entrusted to her charge for the ad-

vancement, at home and abroad, of Christian civilization? Yet another question remains on a subject of extreme difficulty and vital importance, whether to a heathen or Christian state, but involving in the case of the latter, most solemn responsibilities, and affording a searching test of how far her practical legislation accords with her religious profession.

We know that "offences must come;"—that no human government can wholly prevent the commission of even heinous sin, although it may and does, by ordinances and penalties, impose upon it a salutary check. In what manner crime is to be dealt with, becomes therefore a necessary consideration; how on the one hand, society may be protected from its fearful inroads, and the evil-doer be made an example for the weak, the inexperienced, or the tempted, to shun and not imitate; how on the other, the miserable and misguided sinner himself may best be taught the foolishness of sin, and while enduring the sentence inflicted by the laws which he has violated, may be induced to seek for pardon from a far higher tribunal than that of man.

No surer test can be applied to the reli-

gious principles of an individual or of a nation, than the degree in which they lead to the overcoming evil with good; and the public who have so generously supported this extensive work from its very commencement, will not, I trust, deem time or space mis-spent or misemployed in the enquiry how far England has said to her very outcasts,—“Repent and turn yourselves from all your transgressions, so iniquity shall not be your ruin: cast away from you all your transgressions whereby ye have transgressed, and make you a new heart and a new spirit.”*

Desiring to offer on this important subject somewhat fuller details than would be otherwise consistent with the limits of this work, the following preliminary statements are given in small type :—

In the preceding volume, (Book II., New South Wales, ch. 1, p. 402), I have stated briefly the origin of transportation during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and likewise the objects which the government of King George the Third had in view when directing the formation of a penal settlement at Botany Bay, in 1788. Previous to this period, the only object of transportation seems to have been to get rid of criminals;—whether they perished at sea, or were sold into slavery, or became a curse and a plague wherever they landed, was equally immaterial to the authorities in England. Indeed, in the report of the select committee of the House of Commons on transportation, in 1838 (p. 1), it is stated that under the statute of 4 Geo. 1, c. 11, “offenders were put up to auction, and sold by the persons who undertook to transport them as bondsmen for the period of their sentences.”

The philanthropist Howard, when sheriff of Bedfordshire in 1773, found the prisons similar to those of China at the present moment, of whose condition some idea may be formed from the fact of the same word in the Chinese language signifying *gaol* and *hell*. His examinations of the prisons and Bridewells of England, revealed a dreadful state of neglect and a vast amount of human suffering. Many who entered them in health, were in a few months reduced to emaciation; some were seen expiring on the floors, of pestilential diseases and confluent small-pox, and the loathsome cells became the hot-beds of a fearful distemper termed the “gaol fever,” which slew thousands. Most of the prisons were scantily provided, and some almost destitute of the necessities of life; without a supply of water within their walls; devoid of bedding or straw; the windows closed up to evade the window tax, while the prisoners, who ought to have been set to work, and who had means of their own, spent their time in sloth, debauchery, and all sorts of vice. There was no distinction of classes, the murderer, the misdemeanant, the debtor, the hoary-headed villain, the profligate and the destitute woman, the comparatively pure and innocent youth, were all thrust into the same den, to “rot or starve,” according to the caprice or interest of the

gaolers of the several county prisons, to whom the unhappy and neglected wretches were generally “farmed out,” at so much per head. Whoever wishes to contrast the period most erroneously termed the *good old times* with the present, need hardly desire a more striking illustration than the conduct pursued by our ancestors, with regard to criminals, affords to the present system, which however is comparatively of recent introduction; the reformation in prisons and prison discipline having been mainly effected within the memory of the existing generation. On this point, the testimony of Mr. Serjeant Adams is very forcible. This able exponent of criminal law, stated before the select committee of the House of Lords, 12th March, 1847, that he “was old enough to remember the condemned cells in Warwick gaol, where prisoners were thrust after sentence to drag out the remnant of their earthly existence in darkness and terror. Imprisonment at that time was accompanied with every species of aggravation and cruelty; in dungeons and darkness, with chains, starvation and torture, terror was the ruling principle; moral influence was unheard of.”

The earliest symptoms of an awakening sense of this important and too long neglected duty, was manifested by an examination of the gaols throughout the kingdom, and by a declaration in 1786, of the objects for which a penal colony was to be founded in Australia, namely, “to provide for the *progressive and ultimate reformation*, as well as the safe custody and punishment of the criminals.

This official declaration was, however, not accompanied by the practical efforts necessary to the accomplishment of its benevolent purport; and I have shewn in the New South Wales division of this work (pp. 409—417), the neglect evinced by the home authorities to the moral and spiritual wants of the convicts sent to New South Wales and to Van Diemen’s Island.

To the credit of several gentlemen in Australia, among whom may be mentioned Archdeacon (now Bishop) Broughton; Judge Burton; the Rev. Mr. Ullathorne, the Roman catholic vicar-general; Sir R. Bourke, the governor of New South Wales, and Sir G. Arthur, the lieutenant-governor of Van Diemen’s Island, strenuous endeavours were made to awaken the home government to a sense of its duties. These efforts were at length successful,—Lord Glenelg and Mr. (now Sir James) Stephen, her Majesty’s secretary and under-secretary of state for the colonies, commenced a series of efficient measures, which have been since then unremittingly pursued by their successors, in these arduous and responsible offices.

It is necessary to remark that the governors of New South Wales and the lieutenant-governors of Van Diemen’s Island, from the period of the formation of these colonies as penal settlements, never received from the government at home any body of instructions for their guidance with regard to the discipline and treatment of convicts, until Lord Stanley, in November, 1842, framed his system, and forwarded it to Sir John Franklin, then lieutenant-governor of Van Diemen’s Island. The reason assigned for this strange neglect of a matter of the highest importance, is that although it devolved upon the secretaries of state for the colonial and home departments, it was not regarded as properly belonging to either, the Secretary of State for the Home Department, declining the attempt to control the conduct of officers with whom he did not correspond, and who were not subject to

* Ezekiel xviii., 27—32.

his authority; the Secretary of State for the Colonies in the same manner refusing to direct or initiate measures on a subject affecting British rather than Colonial interests, and therefore foreign to his duties as head of the colonial department. There was necessarily no stability of purpose whatever in convict management: it was left to the discretion of successive governors, and it seldom happened that during his tenure of office any governor adopted the measures of his immediate predecessor. All the varying plans for the treatment of convicts were of local origin, had mostly for their object local interests, and were executed wholly at the expense of the British Treasury, on whom enormous charges consequently devolved.

This absence of any known and permanent system was among the leading causes of the serious evils, respecting which much misconception and many erroneous statements prevailed in this country. The Archbishop of Dublin in the House of Peers, and Sir William Molesworth in the House of Commons, having directed the attention of the legislature to the subject, a select committee in 1837-8, elicited most distressing facts of a peculiar nature; but it is much to be regretted that the decided bias of the committee against transportation induced them to decline receiving evidence demonstrative of the good that had most certainly been thereby produced; led them to place on record one-sided statements calculated to affix a stigma on the character of the free population, and to adopt the following somewhat summary recommendations:—

1. That transportation to New South Wales, and to the settled districts of Van Diemen's Land, should be discontinued as soon as practicable.

2. That crimes now punishable by transportation should in future be punished by confinement with hard labour, at home or abroad, for periods varying from two to fifteen years.

3. That for the purpose of effectually maintaining discipline and subordination among the convicts sentenced to confinement abroad, of promoting the legitimate ends for which punishment is inflicted, and also of preventing a recurrence of those social evils which have been found by experience to result from transportation as hitherto conducted, the penitentiaries or houses of confinement that may be established abroad, shall (so far as possible) be strictly limited to those places wherein there are at present no free settlers, and wherein effectual security can be taken against the future resort of such settlers.

4. That rules should be established by which the existing practice of abridging the periods of punishment of convicts in consequence of their good conduct, may be brought under stricter regulation, and rendered less vague and arbitrary.

5. That on account of the difficulty which a convict finds in this country in procuring the means of honest livelihood after the expiration of his sentence, and on account of the temptations to which he is thereby exposed, it would be advantageous to establish a plan by which a convict might receive encouragement to leave the country with the prospect of supporting himself by regular industry, and ultimately regaining the place in society which he had forfeited by crime. That if such encouragement were limited to convicts who should have conducted themselves uniformly well during their confinement, it might at the same time operate as an encouragement to good behaviour during confinement, and might considerably diminish the prejudice which

must to a certain degree attach to any person known to have been convicted of a serious offence.

6. That the convicts who have been punished abroad should be compelled to leave the settlement in which they have been punished within a limited period after the expiration of their sentences, and that means should be afforded them by the government for this purpose.

In addition to these specific points the committee urged that "in order to give this experiment a fair chance of success, *much more ample provision* for moral and religious instruction should likewise be made than has been possible for convicts scattered over the extensive surface of New South Wales and Van Diemen's Island."

The partial testimony received and promulgated by the select committee of the House of Commons on transportation in 1837-8, and the refusal of that committee to hear counter-evidence, which would have set forth the whole truth, produced in Van Diemen's Island "serious and heart-felt grief, mixed with honest indignation," such as I have stated in the previous volume (p. 418) to have been excited in New South Wales. A public meeting was immediately called by the free inhabitants, who declared that "the statements set forth by the select committee were without foundation," and they implored their lieutenant-governor, Sir John Franklin, who had then (7th Sept., 1838,) been eighteen months among them, to "do them justice, and make public his opinion of their social, moral, and religious character, so far as the originally free population was concerned." Sir John Franklin promptly responded to this appeal, and gave his high testimony strongly in favour of the "moral and intellectual respectability of the community, whose interests had become his own," and declared that the "free community of Van Diemen's Island need not shrink from a comparison with any population in Great Britain."

In order that the system pursued in Van Diemen's Island and New South Wales at the period of the report of the parliamentary committee of 1838 may be understood and contrasted with that now in operation, I subjoin an outline of the plan then in operation. All male and female convicts on arriving in Van Diemen's Island, without reference to previous circumstances, were either assigned as servants to private individuals, under stipulated regulations, or if there were no demand for their services, they were fed, clothed, and lodged in barracks at the cost of the crown until such demand arose. The assigned were required to live under the roof of their employers; they received no wages for their labour, could not work for themselves, be out at night, or go any where without a pass; were liable to be flogged or imprisoned on the complaint of their master, who on his part was bound to provide his assigned servants annually with two suits of apparel (that of the females not to exceed £7 in value), with proper bedding, and to allow the *males* 10½ lbs. meat, 10½ lbs. flour, 7 oz. sugar, 3½ oz. soap, and 2 oz. salt; and the *females* 8½ lbs. flour, 5½ lbs. meat, 2 oz. tea, 8 oz. sugar, 2 oz. soap, and 1½ oz. salt. The prisoners not assigned were divided into six classes; the first might sleep out of barracks and work for themselves the whole of each Saturday; the second must sleep in barracks, but were likewise allowed to work for themselves on each Saturday; the third, employed on the public works, were released from labour every Saturday at noon, subject to the condition of good behaviour; the fourth class consisted of refractory

or disorderly characters, and were worked in irons either in the towns or on the roads under the sentence of a magistrate; the fifth, a still more degraded class, were also worked in irons and kept entirely separate from other prisoners; the sixth were removed to the penal settlements at Macquarie Harbour or Port Arthur for a definite term, and there classified and worked at the discretion of the commandant, generally a military officer; none but the prisoners and their guards were suffered to remain at these settlements, the labour of the convicts was of the severest description, in cutting timber, &c., and they were subjected to the most severe coercion. A prisoner might ascend or descend through these six classes: if he conducted himself ill, the dreaded seclusion, and punishment of a purely penal settlement were inevitable; if on the other hand his character was marked by progressive improvement, he became eligible for petty employment in the post-office, police, &c., and continued good behaviour would obtain for him the much-prized boon of a "ticket-of-leave," and eventually a conditional or unconditional pardon. A convict sentenced to seven years' transportation could not receive a ticket of leave until he had been *four* years in the colony; if for fourteen years, *six*; if for life, *eight* years. Pardons or emancipations might be attained by those transported for fourteen years, at the end of two-thirds of their sentence; by those under life sentences at the termination of twelve years' good conduct; but one single record of misbehaviour, no matter how slight its nature, would forfeit his claim, and throw back the period of his pardon to an indefinite time.

In 1833, the number of convicts in Van Diemen's Island, subject to this course of treatment, was 15,700; of these, 11,021 were in private service, assigned to various individuals, and supported without charge to the government; 4,679 were supported by government, and of these 478 were at penal settlements, 741 in chain-gangs, 999 on roads, 372 in houses of correction. The average expense of each convict in the colony was £4 6s. 1d.; of each convict maintained by government, including provisions, buildings, clothing, superintendence, &c., £14 9s. According to the payments from the Military Chest for 1833, the average charge to each convict, £8 10s. 4d. In 1835, the average expense of each convict in the island was, £6 1s. 10d.; and of those maintained by government, £18 7s. 8d., the increase being caused by the higher price of meat and flour.

It will be perceived, that under the system explained, the evil of mutual contamination was to a great extent avoided; an assigned convict was cut off from his former evil associates, and if a man of good disposition, he had every prospect of learning industrial habits, and of building up, as it were, a new character. The prospect of a ticket of leave depended on the favourable report of his master, and self-interest as well as right feeling, combined to urge him onwards in a career of reformation. Whatever may be alleged in theory against the system which made the penalties of crime to consist in transportation across the seas, long years of unrewarded labour, accom-

panied by rigid penal surveillance, and the fear of aggravated punishment in the event of aggravated crime, the practical experience of more than half a century in New South Wales and in Van Diemen's Island, demonstrates among its results, that thousands of convicted felons have been thereby reclaimed, enabled to commence a new career, and ultimately to become good citizens, and the fathers of respectable families.

Having now explained the past system, I shall endeavour to place before my readers, in chronological order, the successive changes which have been made in the penal discipline of Van Diemen's Island.

The examination, by the committee of the House of Commons, of the whole subject of transportation, led Sir John Franklin, as lieutenant-governor of Van Diemen's Island, to suggest to Lord Glenelg, then his Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies, several alterations in the existing policy, viz.—1st. That the assignment of convicts to be employed for purposes of luxury, or as domestic servants, should be discontinued. 2nd. That all convicts, before being assigned, should be coerced in gangs, under the immediate control of the local government: these gangs to be kept separate from the twice-convicted or punishment gangs. 3rd. A division of the ticket-of-leave prisoners into two classes; the first to be entitled to a certain maximum amount of wages, and to choose their own master, subject to the approval of the chief police magistrate; the second class to be enabled to hold property, real or personal, to attend only the annual muster, to change their residence at their own option, and not to be liable to lose their tickets-of-leave, unless by sentence of the supreme court. These suggestions were approved by Lord Glenelg, on the 6th of July, 1838, and carried into effect on the 17th of January, 1839.

On the 15th of February, 1839, Sir John Franklin stated his reasons for opposing the entire abandonment of the assignment system; and urged some farther modifications of the penal discipline, of which the chief were—the distribution of the convicts, on their arrival in Van Diemen's Island, into isolated, primary or probationary gangs, of about 300 men each, to be conducted as much as possible on the separate system, and employed, at a distance from the settled districts, in clearing and draining, and opening communications to, lands for sale; each gang to be superintended by a half-pay

officer and six overseers, attended by a clergyman, and regularly visited by a magistrate. The conduct of every man to be daily recorded, and the balance of good and bad days to be struck every week, and posted in a ledger. Whenever this record should shew that a convict had to his credit as many good days or weeks as might be equal to one-tenth of the whole term of his sentence (a life sentence being counted as twenty years), he was to be permitted to go into service; to choose a master, qualified by the quarter sessions record with reference to character or the possession of land; and to receive, besides rations, wages; not, however, to exceed £12 per annum. In the event of misconduct, to be dealt with as a convict; but in the case of continued good behaviour for two, three, or four years, to receive, successively, the first and second tickets of leave, before mentioned. If unable to obtain or to retain employment, to return to his gang, or to a separate gang, consisting of other candidates for private service, working within a convenient distance of the settled districts. In this despatch, as also in others, Sir John Franklin, while advocating the propriety of inspiring the mind of the convict with the motives for outward improvement, by making good conduct the sure means of bettering his temporal position, did not omit to express his conviction, that it was undoubtedly the duty of the government to aim at higher results; "for the criminal is, equally with others, within the reach of the gracious designs of Providence; and motives deduced from the gospel, therefore, should be assiduously impressed upon his mind, and cultivated there."* In another place, the lieutenant-governor says—"I am convinced, that were £2,000 per annum expended by her Majesty's government in supporting ten pious and zealous ministers, to be employed, in the interior of this colony, in preaching daily, not in churches, but to the convicts in the houses of the settlers, the benefit to be derived from such a measure would be very great."

The subject was, meanwhile, much discussed at home. On the 23rd of November, 1838, Viscount Howick (now Earl Grey) set forth, in a "Memorandum," his opinions on what he assumed to be the object then in view, namely—"gradually to substitute the punishment of well-regulated imprisonment, at home or abroad, for that of trans-

portation, as now (then) conducted." The bias of mind evinced therein is evidently in favour of a modified system of transportation, as the penalty of heinous offences; but even in extreme cases, his lordship entirely condemned the practice of leaving "the transport for life no prospect but that of wearing out a miserable existence in the most cruel and hopeless bondage;" and therefore recommends the hope of "some termination to their punishment being held out to the most heinous offenders," as an incitement to good conduct.

The leading propositions stated in the memorandum were—1st, the "construction of penitentiaries at home; say, one in England for 1,000 prisoners; one in Ireland for 600 prisoners, and one in Scotland for 400 prisoners: 2nd, the number of convicts sent to the hulks, at home and at Bermuda, to be increased: 3rd, due preparations for the reception of an increased number of convicts of the worst class to be immediately made in Norfolk Island; the system there pursued to be materially altered, prisoners being no longer to be sent there for life, but even the worst class to be recommended for pardon at the expiration of not more than fifteen years; those sentenced for less serious crimes to obtain their pardon in proportionally shorter periods, but none of those sent to this island in a less time than five or six years;" and lastly, that the practice of assigning convicts should be discontinued as far as possible, and a system of discipline introduced in the management of the road and chain-gangs, which should render the labour of the convicts, more productive, and mitigate the evils of their unrestrained intercourse with each other, where such intercourse should be unavoidable.

In January, 1839, Lord John Russell, then secretary of state for the home department, took into consideration the changes proposed by the transportation committee in 1838 (see p. 90), but deemed the subject of such magnitude, that he did not think it advisable to adopt alterations so extensive, without calling the attention of the government to the existing evils, and to their proposed remedy. His lordship therefore drew up "a note on transportation and secondary punishment," for the consideration of his colleagues; the substance of this note (now before me) was to the following effect:—His lordship, began by stating, that the changes made, both in the law and in the

* Despatch to Lord Glenelg, March 11, 1839.

practice, with respect to capital crimes, by which the great mass of offenders were left liable to penalties only short of death, rendered the question of secondary punishment one of very great importance; for instance seventeen executions had taken place in England and Wales in 1836; eight in 1837, and in 1838, only six. Without assenting to the justice of all the representations contained in the House of Commons' committee report, transportation was liable to the objections,—1st, that crime was not punished as crime; 2nd, that assignment like slavery varied according to the temper and character of the master to whom the convict might be assigned, and was therefore unequal as a punishment; 3rd, that the good fortune of many of the convicts destroyed the dread of transportation among habitual and hardened criminals; and 4th, that "while such was the negative effect at home, the positive effect in the penal colonies was most injurious; the masters of slaves imbibing the vices belonging to that condition, the slaves themselves losing all self-respect, and a society contaminated in its infancy, and fed with new streams of pollution in its progress, was created by the express acts of the British Parliament, and carried into effect by the executive government. Lord John Russell then proceeds in this "Note" to quote the declarations of the bishop and of the chief-justice of New South Wales, in which they deny the correctness of the picture of the state of society in the penal colonies, presented in the House of Commons' report; but he frankly avows that these declarations "exhibit in a striking light the total forgetfulness of religion, which existed in the original settlement of the colony, and the culpable negligence of the British government until the last twelve or fifteen years." (See p. 412, Div. iii.) The noble writer then examines with his usual ability, the economical part of the subject, and the comparative cost of keeping the convicts at home, or sending them abroad; deciding in favour of the latter; and after a clear and impartial summary of the opinions of different authorities, his lordship, with "much diffidence and hesitation," proceeds to give an outline of the measures proposed; namely, that convicts sentenced to seven years, should be employed in the hulks and at Bermuda, to undergo two years' confinement certain, at the most irksome description of labour, their conduct to be ascertained, and recorded daily by marks; after

these two years, a period of probation to be entered on, the character of each one to be then composed of three recorded facts,—1st, their crime; 2nd, character previous to conviction; 3rd, conduct during punishment: the probationary period to be alleviated by the mitigation of coercion, or a lighter species of labour, and in some cases, a part of the convict's earnings to be saved and placed to his account until further good conduct might justify an extension of mercy to his case. The same principle to be adopted with convicts transported for more than seven years, but their punishment to be undergone in Norfolk Island or Tasman's peninsula, or in a new colony to be formed in Australia; their periods of probation to be passed either at those stations, or in public works in New South Wales and Van Diemen's Island.

A penitentiary to be built in some part of the United Kingdom for 500 or 1,000 prisoners, on the separate system, for which many convicts would be proper subjects, who from age, or infirmity, might be unable to undergo the fatigues consequent on a long voyage, and yet were not fit objects of mercy.

After grave and long-continued consideration, her Majesty's ministers determined upon the construction of a prison at Pentonville, adapted for the purposes of isolated confinement, and its supervision was placed under the control of a commission, consisting of several distinguished members of the legislature, and other gentlemen who were known to have paid much attention to the difficult question of secondary punishments.

In May, 1839, the Marquess of Normanby, then Secretary of State for the Colonies, officially informed the governor of New South Wales, and the Lieutenant-governor of Van Diemen's Island, of the intentions of her Majesty's government in several important respects, namely, the gradual abolition of assignment with a view to its ultimate abandonment; a diminution for the future in the number of prisoners to be transported, of whom as large a portion as could be received were to be sent to Norfolk Island, a fixed period of imprisonment to be allotted in the first instance as the punishment of crime, but the actual term to be liable to a subsequent abridgment, according to the previous character, nature of crime, and conduct of criminals during punishment; no prisoner to be detained in Norfolk Island longer than fifteen years,

and when allowed to leave to enjoy advantages at least equal to those involved in a ticket of leave; and the "opposite faults of over-severity and over-indulgence to be carefully avoided as alike destructive of any good effect on the prisoners."

In September, 1840, Lord John Russell, then her Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies, wrote to Sir John Franklin, informing him (in conformity with an order of the Queen in council, dated 22nd May, 1840,) that transportation to New South Wales was at an end, and that Norfolk Island, Tasman's Peninsula, in Van Diemen's Island, and Bermuda, were the places abroad in which confinement was hereafter to take place. Tickets of leave were to be divided into *several stages*; the convicts under probation to be worked in parties and receive wages for clearing lands, making roads, fencing, draining, &c.; in the first and second stages they were to deposit in the colonial savings' banks a portion of their earnings, to be returned when they arrived at their highest stage.

In June, 1841, Mr. M. Forster, the director of the probation system, laid down certain rules and regulations for the government of the probation gangs, in accordance with which, agreeably to the instructions received from Lord J. Russell, the practice of employing convict overseers was to be discontinued; each probation gang to have a religious instructor as well as a working superintendent, and to be divided into three classes, of which the one composed of the worst characters was to be conducted wholly on the separate system; convicts comprised in the others to be "huttet" in parties of ten to twenty each, but even with them complete separation to be adopted as quickly as possible; watching, cooking, hut-keeping, &c., to be performed by all the men of the gang in turns.

In November, 1842, Lord Stanley, having succeeded Lord John Russell in the colonial department,* assumed for the reasons before

stated (p. 89) the entire superintendence and responsibility of the penal settlements, the pardons of convicts were nevertheless still to be referred to the Secretary of State for the Home Department, and alterations in the general scheme of prison discipline in the colonies were to be concerted between the two secretaries of state.

On 25th November, 1842, Lord Stanley communicated to Sir J. Franklin the views of Sir Robert Peel and her Majesty's ministers, respecting the system of convict discipline to be forthwith adopted, which may be summarily stated to consist in requiring each convict to pass through five distinct stages, from the commencement of his sentence to the attainment of a pardon, namely—1. Detention at Norfolk Island; 2. Probation gang at Van Diemen's Island; 3. Probation pass; 4. Ticket of leave; 5. Pardon, either conditional or absolute. The probation gangs were to be established in different parts of the island; mitigation of toil and petty indulgences to be awarded to the convict according to his conduct in this stage of punishment, from which he might attain comparative freedom as a passholder, becoming thereby entitled to hire himself out in private service, under legal contract made with his employer by the comptroller-general of convicts, as his guardian. This grade to be divided into three classes;—the lowest to pay all their wages into the convict department; the second class, a third part of their wages; and the third class to be permitted to retain the whole of their wages. The money thus paid into the convict department might be forfeited if the conduct of the depositor should cause him to be returned to the probation gangs; otherwise, it would be refunded to him on his obtaining the further indulgence of a ticket-of-leave, whereby he would become a free man, as regarded the community at large—could hold property, and maintain, in his own person, suits at law;† could hire himself to whom he pleased, without con-

* The date of accession to office of the several successive Secretaries of State for the Colonies, since the formation of the Colonial Department, are as follows:—Lord Hobart, 1801; Marquis Camden, May 14, 1804; Viscount Castlereagh, July 10, 1805; Right Hon. Wm. Wyndham, February 5, 1806; Viscount Castlereagh, March 25, 1807; Earl of Liverpool, October 11, 1809; Earl Bathurst, June 11, 1812; Viscount Goderich, April 30, 1827; Right Hon. Wm. Huskisson, September 3, 1827; Sir George Murray, May 30, 1828; Viscount Goderich, May 22, 1830; Right Hon. E. G. Stanley (now Lord Stanley), April 3, 1833; Right Hon. T. S. Rice (now

Lord Monteagle), June 5, 1834; Earl of Aberdeen, December 20, 1834; Right Hon. C. Grant (now Lord Glenelg), April 18, 1835; Marquis of Normanby, February 20, 1839; Lord John Russell, September 20, 1839; Lord Stanley, September 3, 1841; Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, December 23, 1845; Earl Grey, July 6, 1846.

† By act 2 & 3 Wm. IV., c. 62, whereby provision is made for the abolition of the punishment of death in certain cases, and the substitution of a lesser punishment in its stead, it was among other things enacted that the governors of a penal settlement could not give a pardon or ticket-of-leave until the

trol or limitation : but should he commit any crime or offence deemed deserving of such punishment, the government could throw him back on the previous stages of either a passholder or probation man. Each probation gang to have a clergyman or a schoolmaster attached; reading and writing to be taught to the convicts after work; a rigid system of discipline to be maintained; religious instruction carefully attended to; and the whole placed under the direct management of a comptroller-general.

No convict was to obtain a ticket-of-leave before half the term of his original sentence had expired; and in case of persons sentenced for life, that indefinite term was to be counted as *twenty-four years*. No conditional pardon was to be granted to a ticket-of-leave holder, unless he had held it for three months, eight months, one year, or two years, according as his original sentence might have been for seven, ten, fifteen years, or for life. Under the operation of this rule, a convict sentenced for seven years was compelled to serve four years and nine months; if for ten years, six years and eight months; if for fifteen years, ten years; and if sentenced for life, fifteen years must elapse before he could receive the final indulgence of a pardon for good conduct. To these periods about one year would be added before the authority of the crown could be received for the issue of the pardon.

The desired effect of the whole scheme was to impose a very formidable punishment at the commencement of a convict's sentence, which should gradually relax in severity with the lapse of time, each successive mitigation being expedited by good conduct, or retarded by bad. The probation gangs were deemed the pivot of the system, as all would necessarily, in passing through them, be observed, closely superintended, and

person, if transported for seven years, should have served four years; if for fourteen years, six years; if for life, eight years of labour; and that no such person shall be capable of acquiring or holding any property, or of bringing any action for the recovery of any property until he should have obtained a pardon. By act 6 Vict., c. 7 (3rd of April, 1843), the power delegated by the crown to governors of granting pardons was revoked, and they could only recommend such persons as were deemed worthy of that boon, the decision of her Majesty being conveyed through one of the secretaries of state. The enactment by which ticket-of-leave prisoners were disqualified from acquiring or holding personal property, or of maintaining an action for the recovery of the same, was also revoked, it being deemed "just that they should be protected in their persons and in the

brought within the reach of moral and religious influences. To this primary stage, from which all would be anxious to emerge, the incorrigible and refractory might be sent back—a punishment the most easily inflicted, the most formidable, and which was expected to prove the most effective. The working of the system was divisible into six heads, and information was expected on the following points:—1. Condition of the convicts; 2. Working of the system; 3. Results of experience in detecting errors; 4. Best means of correcting them; 5. State, efficiency, and expense of each department; 6. Most effectual method of promoting economy and efficiency in this branch of the service.

It seems scarcely possible to have devised a plan more theoretically complete; yet, in its practical working, it fostered the most fearful social evils; for there is abundant, and very painful evidence, that great immorality and crime took place among the convicts thus herded together in gangs. The documents laid before parliament, and the facts collected by the Rev. H. P. Fry, A.B., prove this beyond dispute.*

In addition to the rapid influx of convicts in 1842, '3, '4, '5, rendering it difficult for the existing amount of free labour in the colony to find remunerative employment, the island suffered pecuniarily by commercial embarrassment, and by the check which its prosperity received from the high price put upon the sale of the crown lands, which completely stopped free emigration. The convicts who went into the interior to procure work, were therefore obliged to return to the "hiring depôts," where the government was bound to support them. The state of the colony became more and more alarming; transportation was suspended to Van Diemen's Island; and towards the close of 1845, Lord Stanley

possession of such property as they might acquire by their industry, while holding such tickets of leave;" but whenever such ticket-of-leave should be revoked, all property so acquired by any such felon shall vest absolutely in her Majesty, and be disposed of at the discretion of the governor, subject to instructions from the secretary of state." By this act a ticket-of-leave holder is nevertheless declared incapable of holding real property—i. e., "of acquiring or holding any estate in lands or tenements, other than as tenant for years."

* I am unwilling to do more than refer to these documents, for the details they contain are loathsome and repulsive in the extreme, and the crimes of which they treat are quite unfit subjects for discussion in a work written for the many, not the few.

expressed his conviction, that it became an indispensable duty promptly to make some effective provision for relieving Van Diemen's Island from the constant and increasing pressure of the large body of pardoned convicts who were vainly seeking the means of an independent and honest subsistence: he, therefore, proposed to found a new colony on the east coast of Australia, of which the southern boundary should be the 26th degree of latitude; the settlement to be called *North Australia*, to be chiefly, but not exclusively, a receptacle and place of refuge for liberated convicts or "exiles," male and female, with a local government on a very frugal scale; the prisoners, on landing, to receive pardons, and for one year after arrival to be provided with rations, clothing, tools, seats, bedding, and tents for immediate shelter; such allowances to terminate three years after the foundation of the colony. The exiles receiving rations to be bound to work, not only in preparing their own habitations, but also in effecting such public works as might be deemed absolutely necessary. The despatches dated September and 21st November, 1845, in which the views and policy of Lord Stanley are expounded, are masterly state papers, especially the former, which received the strongly-expressed encomium of Sir James Graham, then her Majesty's Secretary of State for the home department, who concurred in the opinions therein expressed.

Mr. Gladstone, who succeeded Lord Stanley in the Colonial Department, prepared in May, 1846, to carry out his views with respect to the planting of the North Australian colony by "exiles," at Wide or Hervey Bay, for which the assent of the Lords of the Treasury was obtained on the 2nd of February, 1846, and letters patent were accordingly issued by the crown. The male "exiles" were to receive each, allotments of five to ten acres of land, to be paid for after the lapse of three years, by regular instalments; purchasers of twenty to forty acres were to spread their half-yearly payments over a period of ten years. While these and other measures were in progress, the ministry to which the right honourable gentleman belonged was terminated by the retirement of Sir Robert Peel, and the accession of Lord John Russell. Mr. Gladstone was, however, long enough in office to evince an anxious desire to follow out the just and liberal views of his predecessor, and the despatches which he

transmitted to the colonies bear strong testimony to the opinions he had uniformly expressed concerning the necessity of making the spiritual condition of the provinces a primary consideration.

Earl Grey succeeded Mr. Gladstone. I have previously shown, that when Viscount Howick, his lordship had acquired a considerable knowledge of colonial affairs, had sat as a member of the House of Commons' transportation committee, in 1837-8, and from the commencement of his public life had devoted high faculties, great energy, and untiring business habits, to all subjects affecting the poor and suffering classes of society. On assuming the seals of office, Earl Grey concurred with Lord Stanley in the necessity of suspending transportation to Van Diemen's Island, and declared the intention of her Majesty to do so altogether for two years; but on the 15th of November, 1846, his lordship announced the dissent of the new ministry to the design proposed by Lord Stanley, and partially carried into operation, of establishing the settlement of North Australia, as being an "impolitic and needless measure;" the letters patent, which had been issued were, therefore, under the advice of her Majesty's confidential advisers, revoked. The "probationary system" having proved (in some respects) so deeply injurious, the difficult question of secondary punishments seemed more perplexed than ever; at length, the following changes were resolved upon:—1st. That penal labour should be inflicted at home, previous to deportation, because a more vigilant and careful superintendence could be carried out in England, than was possible in a distant colony. 2nd. That penal labour should be preceded by separate confinement in properly constructed prisons for a limited period. 3rd. That after prisoners had endured the separate confinement and hard labour, they should not be sent out as convicts, but as "exiles." A bill in conformity with these intentions was therefore laid before parliament in 1847; objections to it were taken in both houses of the legislature, and a select committee was appointed by the Lords, for the better understanding of the subject. In the meantime, public opinion in the colonies pronounced against the plan, unless tried with various modifications.

In 1848 it was decided that convicts, after suffering a certain degree of punishment at home, should be sent to the colo-

nies; and, in order to provide the means of inflicting this sufficient degree of punishment, by a system of separate imprisonment, her Majesty's government, in 1850, introduced and carried through parliament a "Convict Prisons' bill," for the purpose of placing Pentonville, Parkhurst (the gaol for juvenile offenders), Millbank, and the Portland Island hulks and establishment, under the control of commissioners appointed by the Secretary of State for the Home Department.* These four prisons contained about 5,500 convicts sentenced to various periods of transportation, and the necessity became evident, that they should be governed on a uniform system. By means of solitary cells in these gaols, and by arrangements with several of the county prisons, whereby about 2,000 additional cells were placed at the disposal of her Majesty's government, it was determined to subject each convict under sentence of transportation, to twelve or eighteen months' solitary confinement. There are satisfactory grounds for believing that the seclusion of a criminal for a limited period, is the most efficacious reformatory discipline to which he can be subjected; this is indicated by the small number of re-committals of persons who have endured it, in comparison with those who have suffered other descriptions of secondary punishment. Shakspeare has well said, that "conscience doth make cowards of us all;" and the convicted criminal certainly forms no exception to the axiom placed by him in the mouth of the guilty Macbeth, for there is conclusive evidence that a felon would

* It may be necessary here to state, that of late years the condition of the gaols in the United Kingdom has engaged the attention of Parliament more than any other subject. In 1822 a committee of the House of Commons was appointed to inquire into the state of prisoners and prison discipline in England and Wales, and in 1823 an act (4 Geo. IV. c. 64) was brought into Parliament by the late Sir Robert Peel, which declared that "due classification, inspection, separation, regular labour, employment, and religious and moral instruction, are essential to the discipline of a prison, and for the reformation of offenders; and that the laws ought to be so amended as would uniformly and strictly carry into effect such a system." By this legislative enactment, all the previous acts relating to prisons were consolidated or amended. In 1835 a comprehensive report of the House of Lords on prison discipline, strongly insisted upon the necessity of hard labour, religious instruction, and separation, with a view to prevent contamination. The act 5 & 6 Wm. IV., c. 36 (1835), gave power to the Secretary of State to lay down rules for the management of prisons, and to appoint inspectors. By

DIV. V.

far prefer the scanty food, the sloth, the filth, the vermin, of such a place as Newgate, where he might gamble for his supper, learn new tricks, instruct the novice, sing, play, and quarrel, by turns, in the night-room, to the wholesome diet, cleanliness, and comparative comfort, of a prison, in which he would be separated from all his fellow-criminals, and left to his own reflections.

After undergoing solitary confinement for twelve or eighteen months—which appears to be the longest period any man is capable of sustaining it, without serious and permanent injury to his mental and corporeal system—the convict is to be employed at public works, such as the Harbour of Refuge at Portland, on the south coast of England, where, under the excellent superintendence of Captain Whitty, upwards of one thousand male prisoners have been occupied during the past year.

Another feature of what, for the sake of clearness, I may term the newly-adopted system for punishing and reforming convicts at home, is, I believe, to keep a considerable number, at Dartmoor, where the French prisoners were confined during the last war. The existing prisons are large, and capable of subdivision, so that prisoners may be classified and separated. The area of Dartmoor is about 100 miles square; its mean height above the level of the sea, 1,200 feet. A large part of the surface consists of peat bogs, varying in depth from two to twenty feet, and minerals are said to abound; ancient shafts are not unfrequently exposed. It is proposed to reclaim Dartmoor, by draining and divesting it of the act 2 & 3 Vict., c. 56 (1839), individual separation is permitted in prisons, when a certificate of the general fitness of the cells shall have been obtained from the Secretary of State. Between 1822 and 1850, there have been several committees of both houses of Parliament, and the general views expressed may be summed up in the words of the report of the committee of the House of Commons, dated the 29th of July, 1850, namely, that "a great majority of convicted prisoners are open to the same good motives and good impulses which influence other human beings, and therefore that a system of encouragement to good conduct and endeavours to inspire feelings of self-respect, self-reliance, and hopefulness for the future, which have been tried in some of our largest establishments, ought to be adopted, so far as it is practicable, without impairing the penal and deterring character essential to any system of imprisonment." And the committee further declared their opinion, "that under any system of discipline, the best practicable arrangements should be made for the instruction of all prisoners in their religious and moral duties."

C

the superincumbent peat-moss. The labour of the prisoners may thus be rendered useful, and the convicts, by continuous agricultural industry, weaned from criminal habits, and so instructed as to be enabled to procure eventually an honest livelihood in the distant agricultural possessions of the crown. The project is good in principle, and likely to prove efficient in practice; for there appears no better prospect of a man of vicious habits being reclaimed, and the moral energies necessary for the conquest of his evil passions, called into existence and strengthened, than by some employment connected with the tillage of the soil, where the wonderful designs of his Maker are continually manifested, where seed time and harvest have their appointed seasons, and where the merciful provision for human wants, hidden in the bosom of this fruitful earth, testifies the will of the Creator, that man should eat bread by the sweat of his brow. The monotonous labour of quarrying stones, and rolling them into the sea for a breakwater, affords far less opportunity for influences of this nature.

To return—prisoners who prove incorrigible in the gaols of the United Kingdom, or during employment on public works at home, at Gibraltar, or at Bermuda, are sent to Norfolk Island; those male convicts in Van Diemen's Island, who become too refractory for the probation gangs, or commit fresh crimes, are forwarded to Port Arthur, and subjected to severe discipline and hard work; should this fail in reforming them, they also are dispatched to Norfolk Island, a description of which will be given in a subsequent part of this work. The latest detailed account which I have received of the system pursued in Van Diemen's Island (but which probably even now is undergoing alteration), may be thus summarily stated. On the arrival of a convict ship in the colony, a registrar of convicts takes a correct description of every individual before landing, records his general character and conduct during the voyage, and classifies the whole according to crime, registering the offences they have respectively committed. The prisoners are then distributed in gangs of not less than 110 men; each gang available for employment in the construction or repair of cross roads, or such other public works as may be approved by the Lieutenant-governor, provided that the public bodies, or private individual, applying for the services of such gangs furnish proper

quarters for the officers and convicts, supply the requisite tools, and pay into the commissariat chest the cost of the superintendence, which is estimated at the rate of £4 10s. per annum for each convict, if the supply of labour be guaranteed by the government for twelve or eighteen months; if not guaranteed for any certain period, then from £2 10s. to £3 10s. per man.

The system of task-work is carried out with satisfactory results in the probation gangs; the men are divided according to their capacities or physical powers into three classes; to each individual a specific task is assigned, calculated so as to allow a man by actual hard labour to perform half as much again as is allotted to him for his daily task, the non-performance of which subjects him to be put on low diet, confined in a solitary cell, or otherwise punished; but whatever surplus labour be done above the daily task the prisoner gets the credit of it; for instance, a man sentenced to hard labour for three months may earn his release in two months, and continued good conduct tells in diminution of the duration of his punishment. At the end of each month, the whole of the convicts are publicly informed of the amount of their credit for extra labour. Small quantities of tobacco and other petty indulgencies are granted to well-conducted men. As an inducement to learn to read and write, the prisoners are informed that until they can do so, the government will not permit them to enter the second or passholder stage of probation.

The daily routine of duties at the convict stations is very minutely regulated; the following abstract of the rules will indicate the care bestowed:—First bell, at a quarter before five or six, A.M., according to the season, summons the convict to rise, dress, and fold bedding; second bell (fifteen minutes later), to turn out, form on muster-ground, and proceed in messes of ten men each to washing places, under supervision of an officer; at the expiration of another fifteen minutes, third bell,—muster and minute inspection, prayers are read, working parties formed, and marched off to labour under their respective overseers. Eight, A.M., breakfast; quarter to nine, again to work. At noon, dinner; one P.M. again to work, until five P.M. After labour convicts wash as in the morning, then proceed to supper; afterwards, at six P.M. to school in the mess-room, where, in addition to the schoolmaster, an officer and a constable are

on duty. Eight P.M., school-books collected, religious service for the evening read by the chaplain, the men proceed to their wards, are mustered, and prepare to retire to rest, when upon the "silence bell" being rung, and a signal of warning given, the prisoners unite in singing the "Evening Hymn," which closes the day. Perfect silence is then enforced until morning. Constables, and watchmen (furnished with slippers) perambulate the wards during the night, taking care that the lights are kept properly burning, and that the strictest order is maintained; an officer also visits the dormitories during the night, and his reports are recorded in a book kept by the watchman on duty, to be examined in the morning by the superintendent of the station, and by the visiting magistrate. On Saturday evening there is no school, and the prisoners are employed in repairing their clothing, during which time public reading is kept up in each ward. Every individual is furnished with a bible and a prayer-book, and there is a library of instructive and moral books, which are lent to the more deserving. On Sundays there is Divine service in the morning and in the afternoon, and in the evening the whole of the prisoners are formed into school-classes, as on the week days, with monitors, when the Scriptures are read by the convicts, and then explained by the minister. The other details for the preservation of order, of cleanliness, and of punctuality, are admirable, and it would appear to be difficult for the most idle, careless, or indolent, long to resist the beneficial influence of such wholesome and steadily-enforced discipline.

The next stage above the probation gangs comprises the pass-holders, who are protected by regulations enforced by the local government, since September, 1847, which in substance are to the following effect. Their *employers*, who must be authorized by the lieutenant-governor, cannot hire them for less than one month, at such wages as may be agreed upon; must provide suitable lodging and bedding, free of charge, and daily rations of 1 lb. meat, 1½ lb. bread, or 1 lb. bread, and 2 lbs. vegetables; 1 oz. roasted wheat (as a substitute for coffee), or ¼ oz. tea, 1 oz. sugar, ½ oz. soap, and ¼ oz. salt. Wages to be paid monthly or quarterly, but not for periods of misconduct or sickness; the master's rights not to be transferable, but the servant to be returned to the nearest hiring depôt, if his services be

no longer required, or he may be withdrawn in a summary manner by the lieutenant-governor, on a substantiated complaint. As regards the *employed*, no pass-holder can refuse entering an eligible service at reasonable wages, but the engagement is cancelled by his obtaining a ticket-of-leave; he is to be provided with medicines and medical attendance when ill, or sent to a general or station hospital, his employer guaranteeing the payment of one shilling a day; must attend divine service, at least, once in every Sunday, in accordance with his professed creed; cannot be at large or work for his own benefit, and is amenable only to convict law. The stage above that of pass-holders is the ticket-of-leave holder; the nature of the privilege thereby conferred, has been stated in the previous pages, and in the history of New South Wales, p. 414. This boon may be granted for good conduct in prison, and on the public works at home, or in Bermuda, or Gibraltar, so that the convict, on landing in Van Diemen's Island, would at once receive this indulgence; or it may be the result of meritorious conduct in the colony. Conformable to instructions from the Secretary of State, all ticket-of-leave holders arriving in Van Diemen's Island, after the 1st of January, 1849, are required to pay a certain sum towards the cost of their conveyance to the colony. For instance, if under a sentence of seven years, he will be required to have paid £7 10s.; if under a sentence of fifteen years, £11 5s.; and if under a sentence of life, the whole amount of £15, before he can be recommended for a conditional pardon. A fund will thus be provided, by means of which the wives and families of ticket-of-leave holders, of the class above referred to, will be sent out to them, when half the cost of doing so has been paid by themselves, their friends, or their parishes in the United Kingdom. It is, however, doubtful whether it will be found advisable to enforce these payments.

The convict women, on their arrival in Van Diemen's Island, had been, under the previous arrangements, required to pass the first stage of their probation, for six months, on board a hulk, termed the *Anson*, where they were taught needlework, straw plaiting, &c.; but here also the herding together of all grades had been fraught with serious evils; the younger and less depraved being speedily reduced, by their associates, to the same fearful state of demoralization. Prisoners misconducting themselves on board

100 NUMBER AND CLASSIFICATION OF CONVICTS IN V. D. ISLAND.

the *Anson* were ordered to be sent to a female house of correction; and when they had there finished this second or intermediate sentence, they were sent back again to complete the required six months' probation. The *Anson* hulk is, I believe, now abandoned; and the convict women are classified in the Factory, near Hobart Town, which I have before spoken of, as admirably constructed for the purpose.

I now proceed to shew the number, classification, and other facts connected with the convicts in Van Diemen's Island, according to the latest returns transmitted to her Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies.

The classification of the convicts in Van Diemen's Island, for 1848, is thus shewn:—

	Males.	Females.	Total.
Ticket-of-leave Holders:			
On their own hands	8,807	1,108	9,915
Under magisterial sentence	186	34	220
In hospitals	104	5	109
Total	9,097	1,147	10,244
Pass-holders:			
In private service	6,878	1,389	8,267
In hiring depots	1,091	197	1,288
Under sentence	1,553	632	2,185
In hospitals	361	61	422
Total	9,883	2,279	12,162
Under probation or sentence:			
Under probation	1,355	478	1,833
In gaols	10	—	10
In hospitals	196	61	257
Under second conviction	292	—	292
Re-convicted men under orders for removal to Norfolk Island	661	—	661
Total	2,514	539	3,053
Total number of Convicts in the colony on the 31st of December, 1848	21,494	3,965	25,459

Note.—There were granted, in 1848, 1,946 certificates of freedom to convicts who had served their sentences; 1,242 absolute and conditional pardons; 3,682 tickets-of-leave, deducting those which were cancelled. The number of convicts who became free in 1848, but who did not apply for certificates of their freedom, was 1,145. Total number of deaths reported, 244.

The actual number of males on probation or under sentence, on the 1st of December, 1848, was—on Tasman's Peninsula, 1,963; Maria Island, 554; Norfolk Island, 661: total, 3,178.

Assuming the average number of pass-holders employed and supported by private individuals is 8,000, and estimating the number of ticket-of-leave holders earning their own subsistence at 9,000, this would give a total of 17,000 convicts maintained without cost to the British treasury.

The different stations, male and female, in Van Diemen's Island, and in Norfolk Island, and the number of Protestants and Roman Catholics at each station and establishment, on the 15th of April, 1848, are shewn in the following table:—

Stations.	Protestants.	Roman Catholics.	Total.
MALES.			
Port Arthur	466	172	638
South Port	79	47	126
Bridgewater	101	29	130
Tunbridge	128	53	181
Fingal	57	30	87
Cascades	283	36	319
Point Pier	182	89	271
Coal Mines	290	36	326
Lymington	122	33	155
Darlington	200	185	385
Long Point	106	28	134
Parsons Pass	29	22	51
Rocky Hills	93	47	140
Jericho	150	23	173
Impression Bay	351	20	371
Salt Water River	244	49	293
Spring Hill	6	27	33
Antill Ponds	61	37	98
Hiring Depôt, Launceston	92	15	107
Royal Engineer Party, New Norfolk	7	5	12
Bagdad	38	8	46
Oatlands	108	30	138
Glenorchy	131	47	178
Prisoners' barracks, Hobart	691	67	758
" " Launceston	157	38	195
Perth Depôt	26	12	38
Campbell Town	16	12	28
Pontville	55	16	71
New Town Farm	27	14	41
Invalid Depôt, New Norfolk	45	36	81
Hamilton	54	28	82
Jerusalem	100	58	158
Ross	14	12	26
Avoca Bridge	3	43	46
Brown's River	3	2	5
Norfolk Island on March 31, 1848	354	212	566
Total Males	4,869	1,618	6,487
FEMALES.			
Factory, Cascades	288	222	510
" " Launceston	65	62	127
Brickfields	21	26	47
Anson	179	112	291
Nursery, Dynnyrne House	44	9	53
Hiring Depôt, Launceston	17	5	22
Ross	10	13	23
Total Females	624	449	1,073

Note.—SUMMARY: Protestant convicts, males, 4,869; females, 624; total, 5,493; religious instructors, 20, or 1 instructor to 274 Protestants. Roman catholic convicts, males, 1,618; females, 449; total, 2,067; religious instructors, including new arrivals, 9, or 1 instructor to 229 Roman catholics.

The free persons employed in the convict department, during the year 1848, were—of the class of educated persons, 141 officers, superintendents, magistrates, &c., 54 chaplains, catechists, and schoolmasters, 29 medical men, and 51 clerks; of the class not required to be educated, 83 tradesmen and seamen, and 218 other free persons; the whole number being 576.

The expenditure in the colony on account of pay of officers, and food and clothing for convicts, was, in 1848, £152,800; and, on account of pay of military guard and staff officers, including rations, in 1848, £91,777.

The estimated consumption, in 1849, of

articles the produce of the colony, deducting the quantities grown at stations, was—meat, 1,696,853 lbs.; salt beef, 264,990; salt pork, 7,166; suet, 60; lard, 1,050; flour, 3,628,316; bread, 575,566; biscuit, 37,960; bran, 6,000; vegetables, 823,921; milk, 174,281 pints; yeast, 2,269 gallons; peas, 9,490 lbs.; straw, 32,175; oil, 13,909 galls.; candles, 9,954 lbs.; wood, 7,665,026;—valued at £37,222.

The attention paid to the instruction of the prisoners may be gathered from the following return, shewing the state of schools at the various convict stations on the 31st December, 1848:—

Stations in Van Diemen's Island.	No. of Cor victs.	Of whom can			Of whom have learned, since arrival in the Colony, to			No. who have learned during last six months, to		No. Learning to		
		Read.	Write.	Cipher.	Read.	Write.	Cipher.	Read.	Write.	Read.	Write.	Cipher.
Male convicts:												
Salt Water River . . .	294	242	182	37	83	97	18	44	61	46	34	32
Impression Bay . . .	546	406	308	202	6	13	—	6	13	21	50	40
Cascades	325	226	164	76	40	36	24	28	33	99	68	88
Darlington	368	345	200	81	88	94	65	26	26	90	110	68
Long Point	159	114	92	59	17	10	12	7	8	28	23	27
Point Puer	160	112	112	112	74	95	100	36	39	50	50	50
Port Arthur	503	423	332	229	36	28	19	13	18	44	26	107
Old Wharf	199	164	156	133	97	101	85	97	101	27	17	20
Total . . .	2,554	2,032	1,546	929	441	474	323	257	299	405	378	432
Female convicts:												
Anson	523	228	140	46	36	30	25	24	26	277	365	217
Cascade Factory . . .	445	300	163	34	10	18	12	3	8	171	148	122
Factory, Launceston . .	101	51	8	4	17	12	2	4	10	50	17	6
Hiring Depot, ditto . .	13	7	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	6	5	2
Factory, Ross	62	45	33	11	21	17	7	9	14	23	19	5
Total . . .	1,144	631	346	97	85	78	47	41	59	527	554	352
General Total . .	3,698	2,663	1,892	1,026	526	552	370	298	358	932	932	784

On the 1st of July, 1846, the number of convicts at large was estimated at 599 males, and 145 females = 744. On the 1st of July, 1848, the numbers were, 480 males, 117 females = 597. This, however, includes all who have absconded since the year 1823, many of whom, it is believed, have made their escape from the colony, some must now be dead, and the term of imprisonment and degradation allotted to others has elapsed.

The careful manner in which the convicts have been conveyed to their place of exile is evidenced by the following parliamentary return, (No. 166, House of Commons, April 4th, 1843):—The number of hired convict ships and transport vessels employed by the Admiralty between 1816 and 1842 inclusive, has been—convict ships, 548; transport vessels, 870. Total, 1,418 ships. *Not one of these vessels foundered at sea; but during the same period fifty-nine ships of war and ten government packets foundered*

at sea, or have not been heard of since. Although there have been many attempts at escape among the convicts during their voyage, I believe the only successful instance was that of a *female* convict-ship, when the seamen co-operated with the prisoners, and navigated the vessel to Valparaiso, where I understand the principal inn is now kept by the woman who planned the mutiny.

In a *financial* point of view the subject is of the first importance; the disbursements for the criminals of the United Kingdom, the cost of military guards, &c., averaging *nearly three thousand guineas every day throughout the year.** The expense to be defrayed from the British Treasury for convict establishments in the colonies for the

* The number of prisoners committed in 1849, was—in England and Wales, 27,816; in Ireland, 41,989; in Scotland, 4,357 = 74,062; the average expense of each committal, reckoned at £14, gives a total of upwards of £1,000,000 sterling.

year ending 31st March, 1851, is estimated at £200,146; of this there is apportioned to Van Diemen's Island (convicts 5,206, and children 675), £125,642; to New South Wales, £7,712; to Western Australia, £11,778; to Bermuda (convicts 1750), £40,670; to Gibraltar, (convicts 910), £14,344. The number of convicts for which this estimate is made at New South Wales and at Western Australia, is not stated; as regards New South Wales, the sum of £7,712 must refer rather to the remnant of the establishments in that former penal colony than to any prisoners now in the service of the crown.

In Van Diemen's Island the estimate for £125,642 includes salaries and allowances for superintendence to the amount of £30,354; police, gaols, and witnesses, £25,000; provisions for healthy convicts and establishment, £21,000; clothing and bedding, £10,000; salaries and allowances for religious instruction, £6,960; salaries and allowances for medical treatment, £8,024; naval stores, repairs of hulks, boats, buildings, and repairs of buildings, £6,416; transport of provisions, £5,907; fuel and light, £4,991; postage, printing, books, &c., £2,000; preventive guard and capture of runaways, £1,250; provisions for sick convicts and establishments, £1,355; special commission to Norfolk island, £500; pensions, £532; sundries, £1,250. Taking the whole number at 5,881 prisoners, the cost for each during the year is £21 7s. In this statement there is no deduction for the earnings of the prisoners.

The cost of the principal prisons where the convicts are confined previous to transportation, according to the parliamentary estimates for the current year, is shown in a tabular form on the next column.

The gross total is £247,250; of this the salaries of chief officers and clerks amounts to £23,786; wages of inferior officers and servants, £35,695; manufacturing departments, £6,979; rations for officers or allowances in lieu, £6,378; diet for prisoners, £79,934; clothing and bedding, £19,654; fuel and light, £8,656; furniture and fittings, £5,779; buildings and hulks, about £45,000; contingencies, about £10,000; medicines and medical comforts, £4,200.

The expense per head for one year, taking the total number of prisoners at 9,828, and the net charge at £237,224 is upwards of £24, which is more than a convict would cost in Van Diemen's Island. The actual

outlay incurred in deporting the prisoners I do not exactly know; that office belongs to the Admiralty department. Estimating that 80,000 convicts have been conveyed from the United Kingdom to New South Wales and Van Diemen's Island, and that the average cost for the whole period has been £30 per head, this gives a sum of £2,400,000. The expense is now possibly from £20 to £25 per head.

Establishments.	No. of Prisoners.	Est'd. Val. of Productive Labour.	Net Charge to Country.	Ann'l. Cost per head.
Hulk, England . . .	1,800 or 2,200	—	£56,863	£28
Millbank " . . .	1,300	£2,700	32,200	25
Parkhurst " . . .	680	1,331	14,452	21
Pentonville " . . .	608	1,782	12,826	25
Portland " . . .	840	—	23,052	27
Inval. Dep't. " . . .	700	—	23,371	33
Perth, Scotland . . .	450	1,155	14,613	32
Grange-Gorman, Irel.	250	225	2,650	10
Kilmainham, " . . .	100	10	1,730	17
Mountjoy " . . .	550	250	14,113	26
Newgate " . . .	100	130	1,475	14
Richmond " . . .	250	144	4,037	16
Smithfield " . . .	3,000	605	4,706	—
Spike Island " . . .	2,000	1,168	30,507	6
Total . . .	9,828	£9,499	£237,224	£24

Note.—£527 8s. are subtracted on account of house-rent, to be paid by officers provided with residences on the premises. The annual cost per head is an average.

The lieutenant-governor, on whom devolves the twofold duty of administering the affairs of an extensive colony, and carrying into effect the instructions from England relative to 30,000 criminals, must necessarily be entrusted with a large discretionary power: the officer on whom this heavy measure of responsibility now rests, was thus spoken of by Earl Grey, on the 15th of March, 1850, in the Chamber of Peers, when, after rightly claiming credit on behalf of her Majesty's government, for having done the best to meet difficulties of no ordinary description, his lordship added,—“The arrangements made by Sir William Denison cannot fail to be attended with the best effects: in the measures he has adopted we have evidence of full information, sound judgment, an earnest wish to perform all his duties to the utmost, and the presence also, on his part, of strong religious feelings, the influence of which cannot be over-estimated in the management of such a colony as that entrusted to his charge.”

I have now entered as fully as my limits permit, into the past and present state of

penal discipline; on the practical working of the existing system, it would be premature to express a decided opinion; but it is, I fear, only too certain that, under any system, however well devised, and conscientiously carried into execution, transportation or the imprisonment of large bodies of criminals, must inevitably bring with it evils which no human prudence or precaution can prevent. One satisfactory conclusion I have at least arrived at by a careful perusal of the voluminous documents which have been written and printed on this painful subject, and that is with regard to the conduct of the various members of her Majesty's government, of every party, during the last twenty years, who do appear to have sincerely, and to a considerable extent, successfully endeavoured to make "the law a terror to evil-doers," and yet to enable a "wicked man to turn away from his wickedness and live." Whether these desirable ends can more effectively be promoted by solitary confinement in England, subsequent hard labour in probation gangs, and finally by deportation under the designation of "exiles," than by a well-ordered system of assignment, remains to be proved.

But, whatever system may be deemed preferable, the transportation of criminals is a positive duty to society, and the best means of rescuing the misguided beings themselves from a career of infamy. By such expatriation, former habits are broken, early associations altered, a new scene is opened to view, where labour is in demand, where independence may be obtained, and the stain on tarnished character, to a great extent obliterated, by a career of honest industry and honourable conduct. There are now in Australia about 50,000 *free persons*, some of them living in opulence, most of them in comfortable circumstances, who arrived there as convicted felons. It is fair to presume that all, or nearly all of these 50,000 adults are, to a greater or less extent, reformed characters, otherwise the state of society which I have described in my volume on New South Wales, and in the present book, could not exist. What would, however, have been the condition of these 50,000 persons, if after confinement in a gaol or in hulks in England, Ireland, or Scotland, they had returned to the contaminating haunts of their former evil deeds? to the pernicious influences of those who had for a time escaped the meshes of the law, or the gripe of the police officer? What, it may further

be asked, would be the extent of increased pollution they would bring to the associates to whom they returned, reeking with the concentrated vice, and branded with the damning infamy of a gaol?

In France, the evil resulting from the want of a system of transportation has become of alarming magnitude; the *forçats* have corrupted thousands, who would otherwise probably have never been made acquainted with vice; each disbanded or discharged convict becoming the centre of a circle composed of the idle, thoughtless, and evil-disposed; socialism, red-republicanism, and other destructive principles become familiarized to the multitude; unceasing efforts are made for the overthrow of order, and a disturbing influence is ever at work: those who have completed their servitude in the chain-gangs and galleys of Brest, Cherbourg, Toulon, &c., constructing fortresses against external foes, occupying themselves far more actively in multiplying internal enemies, who, unless checked in their career, must, sooner or later, vitiate the body politic, and overthrow the institutions of the state.

But it is not only in France that this serious evil is attaining an alarming height; in Vienna, in Rome, in Berlin, in New York, New Orleans, and Philadelphia—in all the large cities of continental Europe and America, statesmen and moralists know there are regularly-organized masses living on plunder and in vice—whose operations are ordinarily carried on in isolation and darkness; but who, on the outbreak of any popular tumult, combine their demoniac efforts, appear in open day in the public thoroughfares, and horrify peaceable citizens with their barbarian aspect—their ruffianly proceedings, and savage deeds. Such were the wretches who committed the recent cowardly murders at Frankfort, at Vienna, and at Rome—such the diabolical agents of Robespierre and Marat; and they have left the traces of their crimes on nearly every capital in Europe. England has, however, not only avoided the injurious consequences of criminals returning into society, and corrupting it to the core, but has converted an apparently unmixed evil into the source of positive good.

During the debate in the House of Lords on the *Convict Prisons Bill*, 13th April, 1850, Earl Grey, when speaking of the beneficial effect of transportation, both as regards the removal of criminals from this had passed through the sentence of trans-

portation, and were now honestly earning their own subsistence in the Australian colonies," emphatically exclaimed—"But in the memory of men now alive, what a nation has been created! And was it not the creation of a system of transportation? (hear, hear.) By no other means could they have formed, in so short a space of time, infant communities of equal prosperity and magnitude. It might be said, that South Australia and Port Phillip were not indebted to the convict system; but that was a mistake: for those places could not have risen to anything like their present importance, but for the neighbourhood of the convict colonies." (Hear.) Lord John Russell, also, in his minute on convict discipline, of January, 1839, quotes a French author who, dilating on the peculiar origin of the penal colonies in Australia, says—"Never was there a more conspicuous example of the omnipotence of laws and institutions over the character of individuals: to convert the most hardened villains—the most daring robbers into honest and peaceable citizens, or industrious agriculturists; then to operate the like revolution in the vilest prostitutes—to change them, by infallible means, to faithful wives and excellent mothers. Next, to watch over the rising population; to preserve them, by the most assiduous care, from the contagion of their parents; and thus breed up a generation more virtuous than the race from which it sprang. Such is the impressive picture which the English colonies in Australia present."

Whether any more convicts be sent to Van Diemen's Island will probably depend on the number of prisoners sentenced to transportation, and to the impossibility of providing for them in Western Australia, or in other colonies. It was the wish of her Majesty's government to send prisoners who have passed through the stages of solitary confinement and hard work, to the Cape of Good Hope and New South Wales. The colonists, however, objected to receive them; and Earl Grey says, in his speech of 15th March, 1850—"Her Majesty's ministers did not think themselves at liberty to overrule that reluctance in colonies which were not founded as convict settlements; and as a pledge had been given, in 1840, that New South Wales should be treated as a free colony, and many free persons had gone there since that period, it would be scarcely fair to re-establish it again as a penal colony." With regard to Van Diemen's Island, to

which the free inhabitants have gone with their eyes open, her Majesty's government declare that the British public has a right to consider it as a colony fitted to receive convicts sentenced to transportation; but should any more be sent thither, "the practice shall be continued with the least possible loss, injury, or expense to the colony." Of late years, the local revenues were expected to contribute 6*d.* a day towards the support of each convict employed on public works; the colonists were unable to do so. Now, no more is asked than payment for the tools used, and for the superintendence; by which means several great lines of roads have been opened, and other useful objects carried into effect.

The principal works in the colony have been constructed by the labour of convicts: Among these may be included government-house, barracks, forts, commissariat stores, wharfs, churches, school-houses, gaols, police offices, roads, causeways, and bridges. These unproductive works have not resulted from the capital of the free immigrants, few of whom, on their landing, had much beyond the means of existence for a limited period: they have been created by an annual expenditure averaging about £100,000 for the last thirty years—say three million sterling—and by an abundance of cheap convict labour.

I cannot better conclude the description of this colony, than by the expression of the hearty respect and sympathy which, I believe, the free inhabitants of Van Diemen's Island deserve from their fellow-citizens in the United Kingdom. Their numerous and well-attended places of worship, and their societies for the promotion of christian knowledge, attest the importance attached by them to the promulgation of religion, and the due observance of its holy ordinances; their public and private academies evidence as forcibly their strong and almost universal desire, as parents, to bestow on their children a sound English education; these, together with their hospitals and other charitable institutions, their libraries, literary and scientific societies, their mechanics' institutes and lecture halls, supported as they are by a free population, including women and children, of less than fifty thousand, do indeed prove, in the emphatic words of the address to Earl Grey, read at the Launceston public meeting, December, 1849, "*that as a community, they are patriotic and enterprising, earnest and energetic, industrious and self-denying.*"



Engraved by H.T. Ryall.

AUGUSTUS, VISCOUNT KEPPEL.

OIL 1786.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS, IN THE COLLECTION OF
HIS GRACE, THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

BOOK II.—NORFOLK ISLAND.

POSITION, AREA, ASPECT, OCCUPATION AND DEGREE OF CULTIVATION, AND CONDITION AS A PENAL SETTLEMENT.

NORFOLK ISLAND, in 29° S. lat., 168° E. long., was discovered by Cook during his second voyage, at daybreak, on the 10th of October, 1774, and received from him its present name in honour of the noble family of Howard. Cook landed on the same day, and says, "we found it uninhabited, and were undoubtedly the first that ever set foot on it." About two hundred yards from the shore the ground was covered so thick with shrubs and plants as hardly to be penetrated further inland by the explorers; and after noting the magnificent pine, which, he says, differed somewhat from that which grows in New Zealand and in New Caledonia,—and remarking that many trees, plants, and birds on the island were similar to those on New Zealand, Cook sailed on the ensuing morning to the southward.

The island, is about seven miles long by three to four miles broad. The superficies are estimated at 8,960 acres, of which 1,080 acres are cleared for agricultural purposes, and about 1,000 acres for pasturage.

The surface resembles the sea during a gale of wind, being composed of long, narrow, and very steep ranges of hills, with deep gulches, which are in most places extremely narrow. The coast is nearly everywhere iron-bound, and landing is frequently dangerous. *Anson's Bay*, on the west, and *Bull's Bay*, on the east, afford some protection when the winds are not blowing in that direction.

Mount Pitt, 1,200 feet above the sea, on the northern side, is the highest eminence in the island, and from its summit every valley and farm may be viewed as if delineated on a map. The majestic Norfolk Island pine with its sombre foliage, the fern-tree with its softer green, the orange and lemon groves, and numerous graceful trees and flowering shrubs entwined with parasitic plants of extreme beauty, are scattered over the varied surface, appearing yet more lovely from the contrast they afford to the high and rugged

shores against which the thundering surf of the Pacific rolls unceasingly.

There is an excellent road across the island from the landing place, called the Cascade, to the principal station. The road is carried along a very narrow slip of table-land or ridge, in nearly a straight line, and on either side there are occasional glimpses of beautiful scenery. At the edge of this slip of table-land a steep and tortuous road, with a descent of about 200 feet, leads to the settlement; on the left are the new barracks, consisting of one square building, two stories high, with a verandah on the ground-floor; contiguous to this there is a detached building of the same height, with verandahs to both stories—it is used as an hospital; on the right is a similar building for the officers' quarters and mess room; the whole surrounded by a wall flanked with towers at the corners, and loop-holed for musquetry. Close by is the parade-ground, a fine piece of turf, three acres in extent, with a narrow valley at the back, watered by an ever-flowing rivulet; where the productive gardens of the soldiers and of civil and military officers are situated. The residences of the civil officers and staff, consist of a succession of white cottages of one story, surrounded with green verandahs, each on its own lawn or shrubbery, ornamented with variegated flowers, one above the other, about twenty yards apart, and presenting a very picturesque view. The government-house, a comfortable structure, is built on a mound at some distance from the road-side opposite the old barracks. The farms are scattered in different parts of the island, wherever the land is available for cultivation.

Nepean Island, a bald-faced rock near the south-eastern part of Norfolk Island, and *Phillip Island*, another desolate rock, constitute the only objects within sight.

GEOLOGY.—A small portion of the south side is limestone; to the east of this there is a still smaller portion of coarse siliceous

sandstone; the remainder of the island is basaltic. The *soil* is generally good.

Vegetation.—When we first occupied the island, it was entirely covered with fine trees; Captain Hunter, R.N., mentions some pines 150 to 200 feet high, 28 to 30 feet in circumference, free from branches 40 to 60 feet above the ground, and “with a very noble appearance.” J. Backhouse, who visited it on a Christian mission in 1835, describes the upper portions of the valleys and the higher parts of the hills, being then covered with wood. The Norfolk Island pine (*Altingia excelsa*) towers 100 feet above the rest of the forest; it also grows in clumps, and singly on the grassy parts of the island, to the very verge of the sea, where its roots are washed by the high tides. In figure this fine tree resembles the Norway spruce, but the tiers of its branches are more distant. A remarkable fern-tree (*Alsophila excelsa*), forming a striking object in the landscape, is found near some water-courses with a trunk 50 feet in height, and fronds 7 to 12 feet in length. A *pandanea*, or screw pine, called Norfolk Island grass-tree, is another remarkable production; its stem is marked by rings, where the old leaves have fallen off, and is an inch and-a-half in diameter; it lies on the ground, climbs like ivy, or winds round the trunks of trees. The branches are crowned with crests of broad sedge-like leaves. From the centre of these arise clusters of three or four oblong red, pulpy fruit, four inches in length, and as much in circumference. While the plant is in flower the leaves are scarlet, and when twined round the splendid fern-tree, the effect is very gorgeous. The thick forest is overrun with luxuriant climbers, among them a wisteria, with pea flowers of purple and green, hangs in festoons of twenty to thirty feet in length; and the *Ipomicea pendula*, with its fingered foliage and rosy pink flowers, climbs from tree to tree. The Norfolk Island cabbage-tree attains a height of twenty feet. The New Zealand flax abounds. The apple-fruited guava and the lemon, have overrun the island; oranges, grapes, figs, olives, pomegranates, strawberries, loquats, melons, and bananas, are cultivated successfully. The *climate* is

salubrious, but too warm to admit of the labour of Europeans at mid-day in the open air, during the summer months. This is an objection to the place as a penal settlement.

The island was occupied in 1790 by the government of New South Wales (see previous vol., p. 404), as a place where food might be cultivated for the then famishing colony at Sydney. Several convicts and some free settlers were sent to the place, who declared it to be inadequate even for the maintenance of its own population, and the settlers and prisoners were removed to Van Diemen's Island, where they formed the township of New Norfolk. During the administration of General Darling, the island was re-occupied as a place of punishment and safe-keeping for desperate offenders, and for persons convicted in New South Wales; and it has since remained as a receptacle for the worst class of offenders—men of desperate and almost irreclaimable character, who on several occasions have mutinied and murdered their overseers.* On these and other painful and revolting subjects, it is not my intention to dilate.

The buildings on the island in March, 1848, were a new gaol, prisoners' barracks, enclosed lumber yard, with mess-room, convict hospital, old and new military barracks, commissariat stores, civil officers' quarters, detached workshops, stores, and a protestant and Roman catholic chapels. In the new gaol there are 124 cells; viz., eighty-two, 6 feet by 5; two, 6 by 12, and forty, 8 by 6; height, 10 feet, 9 inches. The prisoners' barracks consist of a three-story stone building, with a centre and two wings, with ample accommodation for 700 prisoners. The military barracks, an excellent building completely protected against any attack from the convicts, has quarters for 200 men.

Sir William Denison states that there are nearly 9,000 acres of excellent land in the island; if so, there would appear to have been mismanagement in its not having been cultivated for the support of the numerous convicts, who have from time to time been stationed there. There are 1,200 acres of arable land, cleared, and 4,000 more might be profitably brought under cultivation; but, on the 30th of June, 1848, the whole extent producing crops was 8 acres, employed in the

* In July, 1846, the prisoners during a mutiny murdered and wounded several overseers. For this offence twelve of the convicts were executed on the 13th of October, 1846, after a trial which lasted eight days; two more were subsequently executed.

I can find no return of prisoners executed at Norfolk Island for a series of years; such a statement would be useful; I am however of opinion, that the extreme penalty of the law is not often inflicted in Norfolk Island.

growth of *arrow-root*; hospital garden, 3 acres; sweet potatoes, 65 acres; fallow land, 20 acres; oats, 46 acres; barley, 22 acres; rye 10 acres. Total, 174 acres. Five acres were then preparing for tobacco, and 84 had English grasses, making only 263 acres of ground broken up after more than twenty years' constant occupation. Maize, when the crop succeeds, has been grown to the extent of sufficient for the supply of 700 men for three months. In October, 1848, there were 190 working oxen, 68 horses, and about 507 pigs, of which 300 were sows. There is an abundance of good water.

It has been proposed several times to remove all the convicts from Norfolk Island, on account of the immoralities produced by congregating together a large number of prisoners; but a better system of discipline having now been enforced, Earl Grey signified to the lieutenant-governor of Van Diemen's Island, on the 4th of December, 1849, that her Majesty's government had determined on retaining Norfolk Island as a place of punishment for those prisoners who prove incorrigible in the hulks and in gaol, as experience had shewn it to be indispensable to have some ulterior plan of punishment for such desperate offenders as defy all authority, and endanger both the lives of their officers and the peace of the establishments in which they are detained. Her Majesty's government were well aware of the evils connected with the settlement, some of which were of an adventitious character, and have since been remedied,* but the advantages of the

* Dr. Hampton, comptroller-general of convicts in Van Diemen's Island, was sent to Norfolk Island, to report specially on its condition, and the advisability of retaining it as an *ultra*-penal settlement. The opinion of this able officer, dated the 10th of March, 1848, is decidedly in favour of keeping this place, as the severest punishment, short of death, for any criminal. Great and much-needed reforms had been made previous to the arrival of the comptroller-general: each of the chain-gang was lodged in a roomy, secure, well-ventilated, stone cell; and 328 convicts could each be locked up in a separate apartment at night. The spiritual instruction was improved, by the substitution of more efficient Protestant and Roman Catholic ministers; and an efficient commandant had checked the open vice and insubordination resulting from previous lax discipline. The results of this beneficial change are thus shewn in the report of Dr. Hampton:—

"It is only the restraining influence of strict discipline, aided by separate cells, want of confidence in each other, and the dread they all evidently feel of the present commandant's thorough knowledge of convict habits and character, which render men

place for restraining a limited number (500 to 700) of the worst offenders, who dread the idea of being sent thither, are stated by her Majesty's government, to be its remote and lonely situation, at a distance from any inhabited land, by which all hope of escape is cut off; the cultivation of the soil (about 9,000 acres) in a salubrious climate, affording eligible employment for the convicts, thus effectually precluding the formidable crimes which are liable to be committed by bush-rangers and runaways in Australia, or in Van Diemen's Island. The policy carried out partially by Captain Maconochie, of enabling a prisoner to work out his period of servitude, which should be for an unlimited period, by earning a certain number of good marks individually, or in gangs of six or more persons, has been abandoned, and a more rigid coercion is now enforced. It is to be hoped that by an attention to the spiritual improvement of the prisoners, and by actively employing them in the cultivation of the soil, a reform may be looked for even among the worst characters transported for life to this secluded island.

The administration of affairs is confided to the Lieutenant-governor of Van Diemen's Island; the prisoners are under the supervision of the Comptroller-general of convicts at Hobart Town; the military guard is provided by the regiment stationed in the Tasmanian command; and the expenditure is annually voted by the Imperial Parliament, under the head of *convict services*.

quiet, orderly, and obedient, who were formerly insolent, turbulent, and violent in the highest degree. But it is an important step in advance, to have been able, with such a class of convicts, to enforce subordination, and outward decency of conduct and language; and, if this is properly followed up, much more satisfactory results may yet be produced.

"Crimes of magnitude, and even trifling breaches of discipline, are now very rarely committed; and I may here observe, the magisterial records shew that issuing tobacco to the prisoners has, in a most striking manner, lessened the amount of petty offences, and otherwise caused very beneficial effects.

"The prisoners in general looked healthy and robust; and although they must now be much more comfortable than under the former relaxed state of discipline, nearly all with whom I conversed expressed such an extreme anxiety to be removed from the island, that they evidently feel more than the usual longing for change so prevalent amongst convicts everywhere, and attributable at Norfolk Island, I have no doubt, to the complete isolation, the hopelessness of escape, the nature of their food, and the strict discipline to which they are subjected."

BOOK III.—NEW ZEALAND.

CHAPTER I.

DISCOVERY AND HISTORY.

By whom—in what manner—and at what period, the group of islands known to us as New Zealand were originally discovered and occupied, are questions which have given rise to various conjectures and ingenious theories, founded chiefly on the personal appearance, language, and customs of the race or races by whom they were inhabited when first visited by Europeans. The account given by these people amounts to little more than that their ancestors, whom some of the chiefs are said to be able to trace back for sixteen generations, fled thither, in canoes, from an island called Hawiki (probably Hawaii, or Owhyhee, one of the Sandwich Islands), in consequence of having been defeated by another tribe with which they were at war, bringing with them their dogs, the kumera, or sweet potato, and a root called taro, the two last being their chief articles of food.

Among European* navigators, the claims of De Gonville to the discovery of New Zealand, are asserted by the French; while some writers uphold those of Juan Fernandez. This question is, however, of little importance, since it is generally acknowledged, that the first authentic information made public concerning it, was derived from the famous voyage of discovery undertaken by Tasman, in 1642, by the direction of the Dutch East India Company. From the journal kept by him during the expedition, we learn, that he left Van Diemen's Land (see p. 1, Div. v.) on the 5th of December, 1642, purposing to sail "precisely eastward," in the hope of making further discoveries. On the 13th, land was seen, bearing south-south-east; next day, the vessels anchored

two miles off the shore; on the following, proceeded along the coast to the northward; and at sunset on the 18th, anchored in a bay at the entrance of the strait which divides the northern from the middle island. Tasman would probably have discovered the strait, especially as he was desirous of making his way to the opposite coast, had he not been deterred from pursuing his explorations in this locality by foul weather, and likewise by the hostility evinced by the natives, which, according to Tasman, was totally unprovoked. From his statement, it would appear, that seeing "the savages venturing on board the *Heemskerk*, to trade with that vessel, and fearing they might attempt to take it by surprise, he sent seven men in a shallop, from his own ship, the *Zeechaan*, to put the people in the *Heemskerk* upon their guard." The boat was intercepted by the natives, and its crew being unarmed, three of them were killed, and the other four forced to swim for their lives. The canoes then paddled swiftly to the shore, escaping the fire immediately opened upon them by the Dutch, who were prevented from pursuing them, and taking a "severe revenge," by a very strong west wind. Tasman termed the scene of this disaster *Murderers' (Moordenaers) Bay*, (Massacre Bay, in the map); and proceeded thence along the western coast, until he reached the low, bleak promontory constituting the northern extremity of New Zealand, to which he gave the name of her whom he delighted to honour, *Maria Van Diemen*.

After sailing round a small island, called the *Three Kings* (to the north-west of Cape Maria), Tasman, on the 6th of January, shores are laid down in Spanish charts of a date previous to the explorations of Cook; the other, that some of the New Zealanders declare that their forefathers did not bring the dog with them, but that it was introduced from a ship which visited their shores. This tradition is corroborated by the name frequently applied by them to that animal, being the identical word used by the Spanish (*perro*), and having evidently no connection with the Maori language.

* I have had occasion, in a previous portion of this work (Div. iii., p. 363) to advert to the geographical knowledge which there appears reason to suppose must have been acquired by the early Portuguese, Spanish, and Dutch navigators, but which the narrow and selfish policy of their respective governments prevented them from making public. This opinion is supported by two striking facts connected with New Zealand, one of which is the correctness with which Dusky Bay and other portions of the south-west



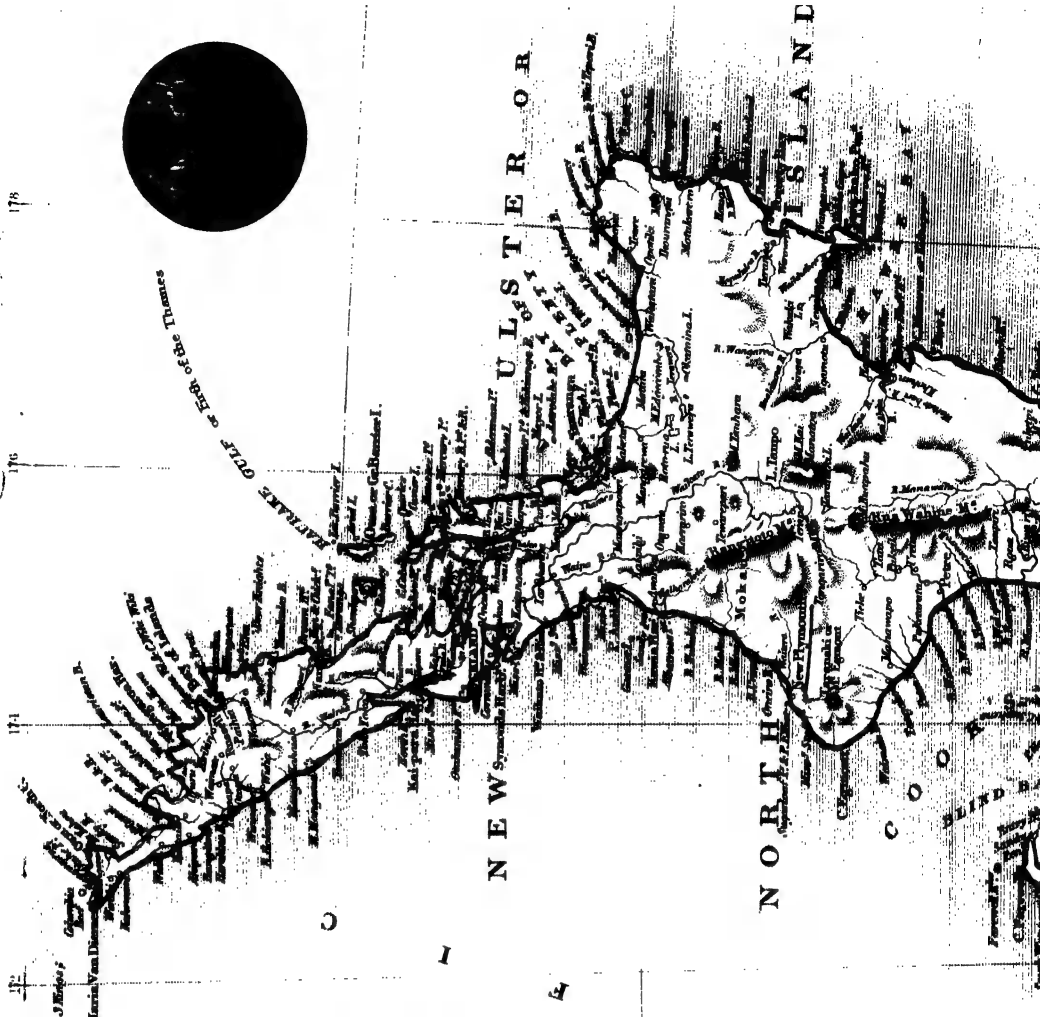
SIR JOSEPH BANKS, BAR. K.B. P.R.S.

OH. 1820.

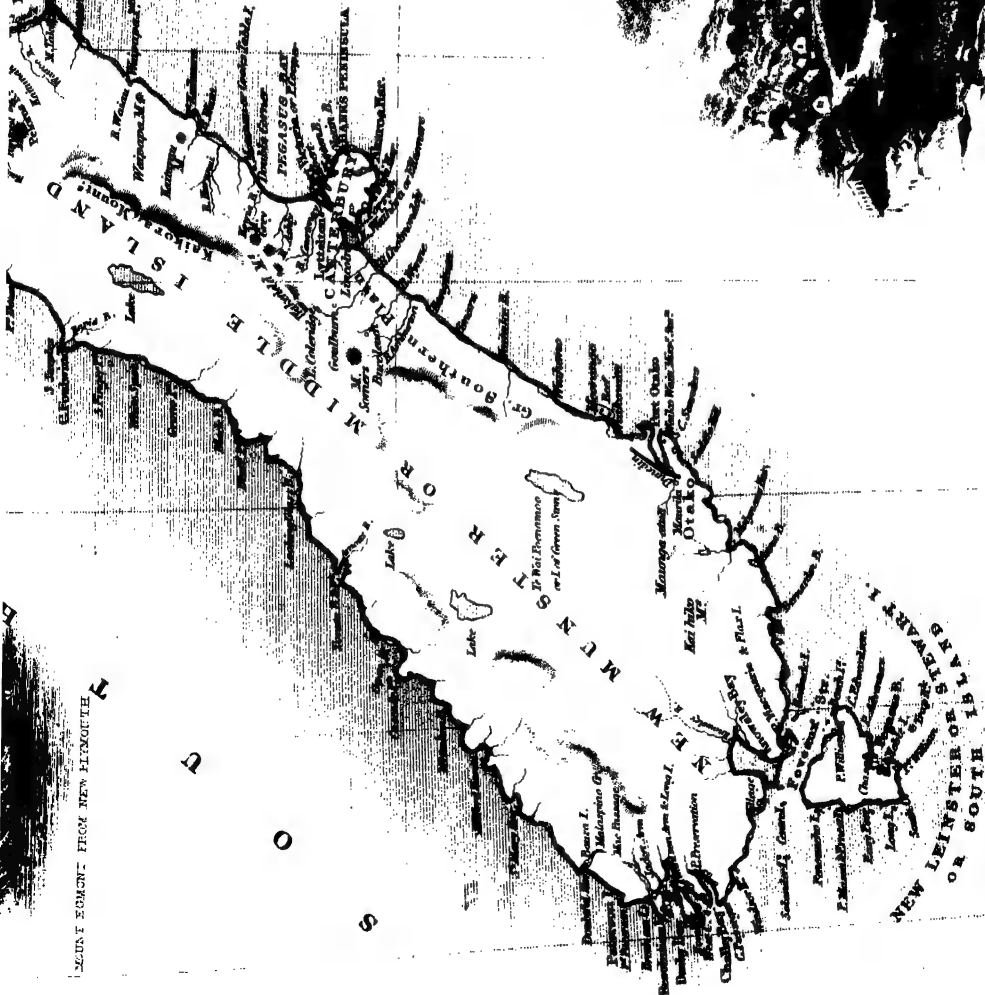
FROM THE ORIGINAL OF SIR THOMAS LAWRENCE IN

THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

NEW ZEALAND



SCULPTURE FROM NEW ELMOUTH



SCALE



Longitude 172 East from 14 Greenwich

172

172

172

1643, quitted New Zealand, having "never set foot on its shores," and returned to Batavia.* In communicating the results of his expedition, he speaks of the land which he had discovered as being probably a portion of the *Great Southern Continent*, whose existence was then a prevailing opinion among geographers, and a small portion of whose extensive outline Le Maire and Schouten were supposed to have sighted in 1614. Believing, therefore, the shores explored during his recent voyage to adjoin the coast previously described, and called *Staaten Land*, Tasman applied the same name to his own discovery; but a few months after his return, Heindric Brouwer, having ascertained that the *Staaten Land* of Le Maire and Schouten was merely an island of inconsiderable size, (off *Terra del Fuego*), the designation of *Nova Zeelandia* was given to the new-found and more important territory;—a singular choice, considering the contrast presented by its high and rugged surface, to the low, swampy flats of its European namesake.

Tasman did not revisit New Zealand; and, from the date of his voyage to that performed by our illustrious circumnavigator in 1769, no account exists of any vessel having sighted its shores, although there appears reason to believe that a European ship touched on the western coast no long time before the first visit of Captain Cook, who himself alludes to the statements made to him on the subject by the islanders. New Zealand continued to be viewed as part of the Great South Land, during the long interval of 127 years before alluded to, towards the close of which a new era commenced in the history of English maritime discovery.

George III. succeeded to the throne of Great Britain in 1760, and speedily manifested a strong desire for the acquisition of geographical and scientific knowledge. The voyages of Byron, and of Wallis and Carteret, were undertaken under the immediate auspices of the king, and the discoveries made by them when sailing homeward from the South Pacific, through the strait of Magellan, and across the Pacific Ocean, out of the track of former voyagers, strongly stimulated the public curiosity respecting the *Terra Australis Incognita*. At this time, an

expedition was projected for the purpose of noting a phenomenon of great importance to navigation, which it was confidently hoped would answer the double object of solving a geographical, as well as astronomical problem.

In 1767, the Royal Society resolved that it would be proper to send duly qualified persons into some part of the South Sea, to observe the transit of the planet Venus over the sun's disk, which it was calculated would happen in the year 1769; but having no means of defraying the expenses of such an expedition, they communicated their resolution to his Majesty, requesting his aid in carrying it into execution. The King immediately directed that a vessel should be fitted out, and a strong barge of 370 tons was selected, which being built for a collier, possessed the necessary qualifications for the present undertaking, of strength, roomy stowage, and an adaptation for safely taking the ground. She was named the *Endeavour*, and the command of her given to Lieutenant Cook, who was considered, with good reason, to be specially qualified for the service, having previously distinguished himself in Canada, and while engaged in surveying the coast of Newfoundland.

The island of Otaheite, or more properly Tahiti, which had recently been discovered by Captain Wallis, and called by him George the Third's Island, was deemed the fittest place for the observation. On its conclusion, Cook was instructed to explore the South Pacific Ocean as far as 40° lat., and if he found no land, to proceed westward between 40° and 35°, until he fell in with New Zealand, which he was directed to examine. Mr. C. Green, assistant to Dr. Bradley at the Royal Observatory, was associated with Lieutenant Cook to observe the transit. Mr. (afterwards Sir Joseph) Banks, then a young man, devoting an ample fortune and considerable talent to the scientific pursuits, which through life he so assiduously followed, and Dr. Solander, a pupil of Linnæus, accompanied the expedition, which, exclusive of the above-named, comprised eighty-four individuals, namely, two lieutenants, a master and boatswain, with each two mates; a surgeon and carpenter, with each one mate; a gunner, a cook, a clerk and steward, two quarter-masters, an armourer, a sail-maker, three midshipmen, forty-one able seamen, twelve marines, and nine servants. The *Endeavour* was victualled for eighteen months, and

* The chart of Tasman's route is to be found in Thevenot's Voyages, 1696, entitled *Route d'Abel Tasman autour de la Terre Australe, avec le Découverte de la Terre Australe et de la Terre de Van Dieman*. Tome ii.

provided with ten carriage and twelve swivel guns.

Cook sailed from Plymouth on the 26th of August, 1768; on the 14th of November he anchored in the harbour of Rio de Janeiro, where he met with but an inhospitable reception from the viceroy of the King of Portugal, to whom our navigator essayed to explain the scientific object of his mission, but in vain, for of the transit of the planet Venus, his excellency could form no other conception, than that it was the passing of the north star through the south pole,* and could not be persuaded, but that some scheme of illicit trading was the true cause of a voyage for which so unintelligible a pretext was adduced. The viceroy, however, suffered Cook to purchase provisions for the ship, on condition of one of his own people being employed as factor.

On the 11th of January, 1769, the *Endeavour* passed Falkland's Islands, and sighted the coast of Terra del Fuego; on the 14th she entered the Strait of Le Maire, (see map of Falkland Islands, in sixth Division), and on the 13th of April, anchored at Tahiti. An observatory, with a small fort for its protection, was erected on the shore, in $17^{\circ}29'15''$ S. lat., $149^{\circ}32'30''$ W. long., and on the 3rd of June, the whole passage of the planet over the sun's disk was observed to great advantage, the sky being cloudless from sun-rise to sun-set. The first appearance of Venus on the sun was perceived at 9h. 25m. 42s. A.M., and at 3h. 32m. 10s. P.M., the planet had completed its long looked-for transit.

This primary duty being satisfactorily accomplished, Cook proceeded to carry out the remainder of his instructions. After leaving Tahiti he discovered the Society Islands and Oheteroa (see map of Polynesia), and then sailed to the southward. On the 6th of October, land was seen from the mast-head, and the following day, four or five ranges of hills rising one over the other, with a chain of mountains above all, which appeared of immense height, were distinctly perceptible. The newly reached shores, which the general opinion on board pronounced to appertain to the long looked-for southern continent, were those of New Zealand; Cook having made land about midway on the eastern coast of the northern island, along whose western coast Tasman had sailed in 1642.

On the 8th of October, at four P.M., Cook

* Cook's First Voyage, p. 11.

cast anchor in the Bay of Turanga before the entrance of a small river ($38^{\circ}42'$ S. lat., $181^{\circ}36'$ W. long.), and in the evening went on shore, accompanied by Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander, and a party of men. The natives who had assembled on the bank of the river, ran away on seeing them land. Cook and his companions were, nevertheless, proceeding towards some huts erected near the water-side, when four men, armed with long lances rushed out of the woods to attack the boats. The coxswain, who had been left in charge, fired two muskets over their heads, but finding this did not deter them, he shot the foremost through the heart. His three companions stood for some minutes motionless, as if petrified with horror; then retreated, dragging after them the dead body, which, however, they soon abandoned, finding it greatly incumbent their flight.

On the following morning Captain Cook again landed, accompanied by a Tahitian named Tupia, who addressed the assembled natives in his own language (which was perfectly intelligible to them), offering iron and beads in exchange for provisions and water. The New Zealanders appeared quite willing to trade, provided they could do so profitably, but caring very little for beads, and being unable to comprehend the uses of iron, they steadfastly refused to give anything in return for either article, except a few feathers. They were, however, very desirous to exchange weapons with their new acquaintances, which being, of course, refused, they endeavoured to seize upon them by force. The hanger of Mr. Green was snatched from him by a native, who drew back, waving it above his head exultingly, the rest became extremely insolent, and others were seen coming to join from the opposite side of the river. Mr. Banks fired at the man who had taken the hanger with small shot; but though wounded, he still continued to retreat, upon which Mr. Monkhouse took aim with ball, and killed him on the spot. Upon this the natives, of whom the main body had retired to a rock in the middle of the river, again approached, but on being fired upon with small shot, by which two or three of them were wounded, they swam to the shore, and retreated slowly up the country.

The English re-embarked and proceeded in three boats round the head of the bay in search of fresh water, that of the river being salt. It was while thus engaged that the distressing transaction occurred which af-

fixed so deep a stain on the fair fame of our illustrious circumnavigator, who has himself described the circumstances of the affair.

Two canoes were seen coming in from seaward, one under sail, the other worked with paddles. Cook "thought this a good opportunity to get some of the natives into his possession," and resolved to intercept the canoes, one of which perceiving his intention, made for the nearest point of land and so escaped; the other sailed on, without discerning it, till she was in the midst of the English boats. Nothing daunted, however, on discovering their position, the natives on board of her instantly struck their sail, and commenced paddling so briskly that she outran the boat, Tupia meanwhile calling out to them to come alongside, and assuring them they would receive no hurt.

"They chose, however," says Cook, "rather to trust to their paddles than our promises, and continued to make from us with all their power. I then ordered a musket to be fired over their heads, as the least exceptional expedient, hoping it would either make them surrender or leap into the water." The natives, seven in number, did neither, but immediately stripped, as is their custom when preparing to fight, and on their assailants coming up with them, they defended themselves so vigorously with their paddles, and with stones and other offensive weapons, that according to Cook, the English "were obliged to fire upon them. Four were killed, and the other three, who were boys, instantly leaped into the water." The eldest, who appeared about nineteen years of age, swam strongly, and was with difficulty overpowered; the other two, of whom the younger was about eleven years old, were more easily captured. Once in the boat, every endeavour was made to soothe them; they were loaded with presents of food and clothing, and the next day put on shore.

The conduct of Cook in first endeavouring to seize by force seven unoffending natives, and then because they bravely resisted his unlawful attempt, ordering his men to fire upon them, thereby rendering himself guilty of the death of four of his fellow-creatures, admits no palliation. In commenting upon this painful subject, he says, "I am conscious that the feeling of every reader of humanity will censure me for having fired upon these unhappy people; and it is impossible that upon a calm

reflection I should approve it myself. They certainly did not deserve death for not choosing to confide in my promises, or not consenting to come on board my boat, even if they had apprehended no danger; but the *nature of my service required me* to obtain a knowledge of the country, which I could no otherwise effect than by forcing my way into it in a hostile manner, or gaining admission through the confidence and goodwill of the people." He further adds in extenuation, that though in the contest, "which he had *not the least reason* to expect, the victory might have been complete without *so great an expense of life*, yet in such situations when the command to fire has been given, *no man can restrain its excess, or prescribe its effect*." Surely the most zealous advocate of universal peace could scarcely utter in its behalf language more forcible than these last few words! yet it is evident from the preceding sentence that Cook but faintly understood the twofold guilt that man incurs who sheds innocent blood in a quarrel he has himself provoked. I have dwelt on this distressing incident, not simply on account of its marked bearing upon our early intercourse with the New Zealanders, but because, however harsh it may seem to many, I cannot avoid viewing the subsequent fate of Cook at Owhyhee as a striking fulfilment of the divine decree, that "whoso sheddeth man's blood by man shall his blood be shed." I know the danger of rashly interpreting the ways of God to man, but there are cases, and I believe this to be one of them, which offer warnings that ought not to be overlooked, and cannot be misunderstood.

To resume the narrative, Cook, after landing the three poor youths, left the scene or their misfortunes, which he named *Poverty Bay* (see Map), and sailed to the southward; on the following day, as the vessel lay becalmed, a canoe came fearlessly alongside, containing among others one of the people whom the English had seen during their first visit to the shore. The desire of trading conquered alike the fears and revengeful feeling of the natives—seven other canoes speedily approached, and a friendly traffic commenced. At Cape Kidnapper another unhappy affray occurred; the natives, while trading with the ship's crew, suddenly attempted to carry off Tupia's son, probably supposing him to be a New Zealand child. Cook fired on them, and killed several, before the boy, (who

leaped out of the canoe) was recovered. After sailing as far south as $40^{\circ} 34'$, in long. $182^{\circ} 55'$ west, eighteen leagues S.S.W. from Cape Kidnapper, called by Cook *Cape Turnagain*, he changed his direction and sailed to the northward, touching at various points along the coast, and holding amicable communication with the natives, who were found engaged in the cultivation of the kumera or sweet potato, the cocco or edda (well known in the East and West Indies), and some gourds, in ground well broken, evenly tilled, and neatly fenced in.

At *Mercury Bay*, Cook landed to observe the transit of the planet Mercury, and took possession of the country in the name of his sovereign, a ceremony which he repeated in *Queen Charlotte's Sound*, and several other places; then rounding North Cape, he proceeded down the east coast, saw *Taranaki*, which he named *Mount Egmont*, and sailing through the strait since distinguished by his name, demonstrated the insularity of the northern portion of New Zealand. He then followed down the eastern coasts of the Middle and Southern islands, without however discovering the channel by which they are separated, turned South Cape, and traced the opposite shores back to Cook's Strait. Giving to the north-west extremity of Middle Island the name of *Cape Farewell*, he took his departure from thence on the 31st of March, 1770, resolving—since the season of the year and the character of his vessel forbade his attempting to return to England by Cape Horn, and so finally determine whether there was or was not a southern continent—to steer westward, and visit the Australian coast on his homeward route. (See Div. iii. p. 366.)

He afterwards remarks, that this voyage had swept away at least three-fourths of the positions upon which the notion of its existence was founded, having demonstrated that the land seen by "Tasman, Juan Fernandez, Hermite, the commander of a Dutch squadron, Quiros, and Roggewein, and supposed to be part of a continent, was not so, and likewise refuted the theoretical arguments which asserted the necessity of their being a continent of sufficient size to preserve an equilibrium between the two hemispheres; for upon that principle the extent proved to be water would render the southern hemisphere too light."

While the *Endeavour* was engaged in tracing the northern coasts of New Zealand, a singular coincidence occurred, the same

inlet being sighted in the same day by two vessels, each unconscious of the vicinity of the other.

Doubtless, or Lauriston Bay, received its former appellation from Cook, who passed it on the morning of the 12th of December, 1769; the latter was given to it by M. de Surville, who in the evening arrived off these shores in command of the *St. Jean Baptiste*, a French vessel, which had sailed from India in March, 1769, in search of a marvellous island abounding in gold, which it was rumoured the English had discovered, situated some seven hundred leagues from the southern point of America.

The French were well received by the islanders, and a boat containing the invalids of De Surville's crew being prevented by a violent gale from rejoining their vessel, and detained on shore two days, the men treated with much hospitality by Naginui the chief of the district, who on their leaving would accept of no remuneration. De Surville returned this kindness by the most base ingratitude, for, enraged by the loss of a small boat which he had missed during the storm, and suspecting the natives of having stolen it, he treacherously invited Naginui on board, and made him a prisoner. He then burned to the ground the village in which his men had found shelter in their need, weighed anchor, and sailed for South America, bearing with him the unhappy chief, who pined away, and died after three months' captivity. His persecutor survived him only twelve days, meeting his death in a hasty attempt to land at Callao, the port of Peru, during the flood-tide.* Crime in all ages and among all nations begets crime. Even among Christian communities the retaliation, not the forgiveness of injuries, would seem to be the leading principle of action. What wonder, then, that these poor New Zealanders, who had never heard that vengeance belongeth unto the Lord, should, while standing beside the ashes of their desolated homes, or gazing, heart-sick, on the moving prison into which their chief had been inveigled, have felt their spirits stirred with an intense desire to avenge in blood his wrongs and theirs; not, it is true, on the head of the guilty author of all this misery, for he was already far beyond their reach, but on the first of his tribe who should come within it. They well knew that the Europeans possessed weapons com-

* See *Voyages aux Indes Orientales*. Tom. iii. Par l'Abbé Rochon.

pared with which their stone hatchets and wooden lances, were as the toys of children; open warfare it would consequently be madness to wage; in their turn, therefore, they must follow the example of treachery and ingratitude they had just received—inspire confidence,—and betray it, as theirs had been betrayed.

An opportunity for putting their cruel resolve in execution occurred while the atrocities that had provoked it were yet fresh in their remembrance.

Captain Marion du Fresne, the unhappy results of whose visit to Van Diemen's Island have been related, reached the western shores of New Zealand in March, 1772, and after doubling Cape Maria Van Diemen, sailed past Lauriston Bay, and anchored in the Bay of Islands. The natives came alongside in their canoes, and having been with much persuasion induced to go on board, they ate the food and accepted the presents offered to them, appearing delighted with their reception; several even remaining all night in the ship. The only part of their conduct calculated to excite the slightest suspicion in the minds of their new acquaintances was, that on returning to the shore, they were observed to strip themselves of the clothes which had been newly given to them, and resume their old ones; in every other respect they behaved to all appearance, with the utmost cordiality. This intercourse was rendered more easy, by the discovery of the resemblance between the language of the New Zealanders and that of the Tahitians, of which the French had a vocabulary on board: gradually all reserve seemed to vanish in mutual confidence, the officers and the crew visited, and even slept in the villages of the natives, shared their meals, and made excursions into the interior, accompanied by certain individuals, who had more especially attached themselves to the Europeans. Marion himself, whom the New Zealanders speedily perceived to be invested with supreme authority over his associates, was treated by them with every mark of enthusiastic affection; while he, on his part, unsuspecting of the horrible design concealed beneath so much fair seeming, went freely among them, avowing openly his entire confidence in their sincerity. The first lieutenant of the *Mascarin*, M. Crozet, from whose papers the Abbé Rochon compiled the account of the voyage from which these statements are derived, declares that

he vainly remonstrated with his commander on the imprudence of his conduct, and that he likewise warned his brother officers, but equally without effect.

Days and even weeks passed away, until the 8th of June arrived, without anything having occurred to justify the misgivings entertained by Crozet. On that day Marion went on shore, and was received with more than ordinary demonstrations of honour by the natives, who thronging round him, fastened on his head the four white feathers which form among them the insignia of chieftainship; probably thereby designing to render their intended victim, in some sort, the equal of the hapless Naginui. The French commander returned to his ship, delighted with the attention shewn him, and more confident than ever in the kind feeling of the islanders; but it was afterwards remembered that a youth, who had been on board all that day would eat nothing, refused any remuneration for some trifles he had brought with him, and departed in the evening apparently overwhelmed by sadness, and from that time neither he nor any other native revisited the vessel.

On the morning of the 12th, Marion again went on shore on a fishing excursion, accompanied by four officers and twelve men. The natives came to welcome the party, and proffered to carry them from the boat on their shoulders, to save them the inconvenience of stepping in the water. On landing, Marion and the officers went their way, and the seamen dispersed, as they were accustomed to do, to gather wood for the boat; while thus separated, the islanders surrounded them in overwhelming numbers, and on a given signal, fell upon them and beat out their brains with their stone hatchets. Of the twelve sailors one only escaped, he having been attacked by a smaller number of assailants, contrived, though wounded, to escape from them, and concealed himself in some thick underwood. From his hiding-place he saw the dead bodies of his messmates cut open and divided by their murderers, who at length left the spot, each one bearing away his portion of the horrid spoil; the fugitive then fled to the water, and the next morning swam to his ship. On hearing his sickening story, grief and indignation for the fate of the men was almost lost in anxiety—not so much for their captain and the officers who had accompanied him, for there was little room

for hope or fear on their account, but for a body of sixty men under the command of Lieutenant Crozet, who had been for some time occupied in cutting down trees, at a distance from the spot where the cruel massacre had been perpetrated. The long-boat of the *Mascarin* was immediately sent off with a strong party well armed, to communicate with Crozet; who, by a stratagem practised by Cook on a previous occasion on one of the islands of this very bay, succeeded in safely embarking his whole party. The natives followed them in crowds to the water-side, shrieking in their ears with savage triumph, and declaring that Tacouri (their chief) had killed and eaten Marion; but made no attempt to attack them, until they beheld them making preparations to enter the boat. At this sight their savage fury appeared about to break every bond, when Crozet, seizing his musket, commanded them to stand back, and drawing a line on the ground, threatened to shoot the first man who should overstep it. He then desired them to sit down, and instantly the whole of the natives, amounting to fully a thousand men, obeyed him, and remained seated until the last European had stepped into the boat; then, rising at once with a loud shout, as if released from a spell, they hurled a shower of stones and spears after the retreating party, who now able to retaliate, poured in volley after volley of musketry on the wretched multitude, who, stupefied with terror, actually stood still to be shot at. According to Crozet, they would all have been destroyed, had he not at length restrained his men from the further prosecution of their murderous work, and proceeded to the small island of Motu Roa, to remove the sick stationed there. This duty having been safely performed, it became necessary to procure a supply of wood and water before putting to sea; in accomplishing this object, a village in the above-named island (whose population at that period was estimated at about three hundred individuals), was attacked by the French, in consequence of its inhabitants evidencing some disposition to interrupt them. In this affair a great many of the natives were killed, but with such determination did they resist every attempt to capture them, that no prisoners could be secured: their children and women had been previously removed in anticipation of this conflict. Before the *Mascarin* and her companion vessel the *Marquis de Castries*

quitted the country, which they did on the 14th of July, 1772, Crozet, who succeeded Marion in the command, took possession of it in the name of his sovereign, calling it France Australe, and made a last attempt to set at rest any lingering doubt that might remain concerning the fate of Marion and his companions, by sending an armed party on the shore to make every possible search and inquiry. On arriving at the pah or village belonging to Tacouri, they found it deserted, except by a few old men, but were just in time to see the chief himself escaping, dressed in the cloth mantle of their unfortunate commander. In Tacouri's dwelling, they found several pieces of human flesh, some raw, and others roasted: in another hut they picked up part of a shirt, marked with Marion's name; and traced various other evidences of the horrible tragedy, doubtless enacted in this vicinity. They set fire to the pah, and also to another at a little distance, whose inhabitants had likewise sought safety in flight.

Thus terminated this ill-fated expedition, by which little additional information was acquired respecting New Zealand, for the French, during the four months they spent on its shores, visited only a portion of the coast line of the Northern island, which had previously been circumnavigated and described by Cook. On the minds of the natives, a deep and lasting impression remains of the fearful massacre by which their treachery was requited; and they continue, to the present time, to manifest a strong aversion to the Wee Wee's (oui oui), or "tribe of Marion." Nine months after the departure of the French vessels, New Zealand was revisited by Cook, who, having completed his first voyage round the world, and returned to England in July, 1771, had been shortly after appointed to lead another expedition, designed for the further exploration of the southern hemisphere.

Two ships (built for the coal trade), were purchased and equipped, the larger, named the *Resolution*, with a complement of 112 men, being placed under the command of Cook; the smaller, named the *Adventure*, with eighty-one men, being entrusted to Captain Tobias Furneaux. The vessels sailed from Plymouth on the 13th of July, 1772. Happily, the spirits of the voyagers were unsaddened by a knowledge of the calamities which had befallen the last adventurers in New Zealand, and the heavy hearts with which the survivors were then preparing to

leave its shores, their depression being, it is to be hoped, rendered deeper by the recollection of the savage butchery by which they had, in their turn, gratified that most blind, headlong, and cruel passion—revenge.

On the 30th of October, the *Resolution* and *Adventure* reached the Cape of Good Hope. On the 17th of January, 1773, they crossed the Antarctic circle, in $39^{\circ} 35' E.$ long., and proceeded south, until they attained to $67^{\circ} 15' S.$ lat., where their further progress was barred by immense masses of ice, among which Captain Cook deemed it imprudent, if indeed, it were not impracticable, to attempt a passage. He then changed his direction, and, after some further search for a southern continent, between the meridian of the Cape of Good Hope and New Zealand, during which the two ships became separated in a thick fog, he resolved to quit the high southern latitudes, and proceed to the latter place, hoping, on his way, to be enabled to visit the east coast of Van Diemen's Land, and ascertain whether it joined the coast of Australia. This he was prevented from doing by the wind continuing between north and west; he, therefore, shaped his course for New Zealand, whose western shore he sighted on the 25th of March, and, on the following day, anchored in Dusky bay (Middle Island), having been 117 days at sea, and sailed nearly 11,000 miles, without having once descried land. Here he remained till the 11th of May, the few inhabitants whom he found in this locality being easily conciliated. It is, however, but just to state, that Cook, on first meeting them, introduced himself in a manner which proved that he had profited by dear-bought experience. Instead of going on shore, as he had done on a previous occasion, accompanied by an armed party, and thus exciting the fears and suspicions of the natives; Cook, on perceiving a man standing upon the point of a rock, with a club in his hand, and attended by two women, each bearing a spear, threw towards them some trifling presents, such as medals, beads, &c., then landed alone, went up to the man, embraced him, and thus at once dissipated his alarm. Presently, the women joined them, and likewise some of the English from the boat: a friendly, but unfortunately not very intelligible conversation ensued, during which the volubility of the younger of the two females drew from one of the seamen the blunt remark, that "women did not want for tongue in any

part of the world." The intercourse thus auspiciously commenced was uninterrupted by any disagreement, and the voyagers pursued their explorations inland without any molestation. From Dusky bay, the *Resolution* proceeded northward along the coast to Cook's strait, and, on the 18th, joined the *Adventure* in Ship cove, where she had lain at anchor since the 7th of April. The vessels were visited by the natives, who made many inquiries concerning Tupia, the Tahitian who had accompanied Cook on his previous expedition, and appeared concerned when informed of his death at Batavia. Gardens were laid out on shore, stocked with various seeds; potatoes, turnips, carrots, and parsnips planted; and no animal, except the dog, being known to exist on any part of New Zealand, a ewe and ram, pigs, and goats were left for breeding. The ewe and ram, brought from the Cape of Good Hope, and preserved thus far with so much care, died the morning after they were landed, having, it is supposed, eaten of some poisonous plant.

The two ships continued here until the 7th of June, and then set sail to explore between the latitudes of 41° and 46° south, until they should arrive in the longitude of 140° or 135° west, purposing, in the event of no land being discovered, to proceed to Otaheite. This portion of their voyage bears no relation to our present subject, but it may be well to say that Cook so far accomplished his mission as to demonstrate, that if any southern continent existed, it must at least be situated in a very high latitude (as it really is, being within the antarctic circle.) On the 21st of October, 1773, the *Resolution* and *Adventure* again made the land of New Zealand, Table Cape (Northern Island) being first visible. In sailing along the east coast the two ships finally parted company during a heavy gale. Cook then proceeded to Queen Charlotte's Sound, and there for three weeks vainly awaited the arrival of Captain Furneaux. He found the gardens in a flourishing state, and everything he had planted untouched, except the potatoes, most of which had been dug up. Of the live stock only one sow remained. Cook had brought several hogs, and likewise fowls, from the Society Islands. Some of these he gave to the New Zealanders, while others he landed without their knowledge. During this visit Cook speaks of the people as certainly in some state of civilization. "Their behaviour to

us," he says, "was manly and mild, showing on all occasions a readiness to oblige. They have some arts among them which they execute with judgment and unwearied patience; they are far less addicted to thieving than the other islanders of the South Sea, and I believe those in the same tribe, or such as are at peace with one another, are strictly honest among themselves." Notwithstanding these favourable statements, Cook positively affirms his belief in their cannibalism, but declares that they eat no other human flesh than that of their enemies slain in battle. On this much disputed point, very revolting evidence was obtained. Returning on board after a brief absence, he found the quarter-deck crowded with natives, and was informed that one of his officers having brought from the shore the mangled head of a youth recently killed, had given a portion of the flesh to a native, who had broiled and eaten it with surprising avidity. This loathsome act was repeated by the order and in the presence of Cook; several seamen became sick at the horrid sight, and Oodidee, a youth who had joined the *Resolution* during her visit to the Society Isles, manifested the most passionate indignation, calling the English "vile men" for having permitted it, and vehemently upbraiding the individual, or, as Cook calls him, the *gentleman* who had cut off the flesh, refusing to accept or even touch the knife with which it had been done.

Despairing of the coming of her consort, the *Resolution* set sail once again upon a fruitless search for a South Pacific continent. In the garden laid out on Ship Cove, a bottle containing instructions for Captain Furneaux was buried underneath the stump of a tree, on which was cut the words "Look underneath." Eight days after the departure of Cook, the *Adventure* arrived, having been detained by adverse winds in Tologa Bay, and found the directions left for her guidance. Having refreshed and refitted, Captain Furneaux, previous to starting, sent a cutter with two officers and eight men to Grass Cove, there to gather wild greens (a kind of spinach) for the ship's company. The boat not returning, the *launch*, under the command of Lieutenant (afterwards Admiral) Burney, well manned, and accompanied by ten marines, was dispatched in search of her. The result was the discovery that another fearful massacre had been committed; not, however, in the opinion of Captain Furneaux himself, in pursuance of

any premeditated plan on the part of the natives, but occasioned by some sudden quarrel which had been decided on the spot. Lieutenant Burney, on reaching a small beach adjoining Grass Cove, saw a very large double canoe just hauled up, with two men, who on perceiving the launch immediately ran to the woods. On the shore were about twenty provision baskets, some of which were filled with fern-root (used by the natives for bread), others with the roasted flesh of the missing seamen. A hand was recognized as having belonged to Thomas Hill, one of the fore-castle men, the initials T. H. having been tattooed upon it at Otaheite; several shoes were likewise found, among others those of Mr. Wodehouse (a midshipman). At Grass Cove large numbers of the islanders were assembled, who hallooed to the English, and made signs to them to land, but they were soon dispersed by volleys from the marines, whose fire was not very destructive, for their muskets having got wet, several of them missed fire. While seeking for the lost cutter, along the back of the beach, a shocking scene presented itself—the heads, hearts, and lungs of the murdered men being found on the ground, while at a little distance the dogs were gnawing their entrails. The mangled remains were collected and placed in the launch, which then returned to the ship, Lieutenant Burney and Mr. Fannin being of opinion that it was useless to incur danger by proceeding, as they "could expect to reap no other advantage than the poor satisfaction of killing some more of the savages."*

Captain Furneaux was compelled by the state of the wind to remain in the *Sound* four days after this horrible transaction, during which time none of the inhabitants made their appearance; he then proceeded to England, *via* the Cape of Good Hope, without seeing any more of Cook, who meanwhile traversed the Southern Pacific, and returned to his old anchorage in Ship Cove, in October, 1774. The natives did not approach the vessel, and nothing was seen of them until one day, Cook, unsuspecting of their just cause of alarm, proceeded in search of them. When he and his companions were recognised, joy immediately took place of fear; those who had fled to the woods hurried from their hiding-places

* Cook was informed by the natives, in 1777, that not one shot fired by Lieutenant Burney's party had taken effect, so as to kill or even to hurt a single person.

to join in welcoming the visitors, leaping and skipping about like madmen. From their vague and contradictory statements, when questioned concerning the *Adventure*, Cook could gain little information beyond the fact of her having anchored in the Cove during his absence, which he had already conjectured from having observed that several trees had been recently cut down with saws and axes, together with other indications of a similar nature. On the 11th of November, Cook sailed from New Zealand, taking his departure a third time from Cape Palliser; touching at the Cape of Good Hope on his homeward route, he there received a letter left for him by Captain Furneaux, containing an account of the loss of the cutter and her crew. On the 30th of July, 1775, he reached England, after an absence of three years and eight months, having during this arduous expedition lost but four men, and only one of them by sickness.

In 1777, our skilful navigator paid his fifth and last visit to New Zealand, while performing his third voyage round the world in the *Resolution*, accompanied by the *Discovery*. The first land made was Rocky Point, on the west coast of Middle Island; thence, Cook proceeded to his old moorings in Queen Charlotte's Sound, where he had not lain long before the inhabitants, apparently recognising his ship, came alongside; but on seeing Omai, a native of the Society Isles, who had been on board the *Adventure* at the time of the massacre, they drew back, fearing that Cook having become acquainted with their guilt, intended to avenge his countrymen. On being assured that he entertained no hostile intention, they readily laid aside distrust, and the English having formed an encampment on shore, a great number of families came from different parts of the coast, and took up their residence close to them. When all alarm as to its consequences was removed, they spoke freely of the fate of the crew of the cutter, pointing out the place where the butchery had been committed. However cross-questioned, they constantly affirmed that (as Captain Furneaux surmised) it had been wholly unpremeditated, but differed in their accounts of the originating cause. Some stated that while the boat's crew were sitting at dinner, a native brought a stone hatchet to barter; the sailor to whom it was offered took it, and would neither return or give anything

in exchange, on which the owner of it snatched up some bread as an equivalent, and then a quarrel ensued, in which two New Zealanders were shot dead by the only two muskets fired; for before the English had time to discharge a third, they were overpowered by numbers, and immediately put to death. Others described the affray to have arisen between the natives and a black servant belonging to Captain Furneaux, who had been left in charge of the boat. Both statements may be true, as they agree in point of time, for it is very possible that some of the natives may have been endeavouring to rob the boat, while others (with or without the excuse assigned), were taking some liberties with the property of the people on shore, which being too hastily resented, led to a fearful result.*

Within a fortnight the ships again put to sea, and Captain Cook took his final leave of New Zealand. The kindness which, during this and the three preceding visits he had manifested to the natives, and the confidence which he had reposed in them had entirely obliterated the painful impression created by his early conduct, and they long retained an affectionate remembrance of him, and neglected no opportunity of making enquires concerning him, appearing grieved and indignant when informed of his untimely fate.

New Zealand remained unvisited by any European ships from 1777 to 1791, when Captain Vancouver touched at Dusky Bay, while engaged on an expedition to survey and explore the north-west coast of America. About this time an intercourse sprang up with the newly formed British settlement at Sydney Cove, and various whaling and sealing ships began shortly after to frequent these shores.

In 1793, the governor of New South Wales, sent a vessel to the Bay of Islands, with orders to bring away one or two of the inhabitants and convey them to Norfolk Island, where it was hoped they would instruct the English in their method of dressing the description of flax (*phormium tenax*), which abounds there, as in New Zealand. Two natives were accordingly enticed on board, and immediately carried away. On arriving at their destination they were not unwilling to impart any information in their possession, but on the desired point they were completely ignorant, the operation in question being among them the peculiar

* See Cook's third voyage, p. 51.

province of the women, and they somewhat haughtily informed Captain King the superintendent of the settlement, that one of them being a warrior and the other a priest, the dressing of flax had never made any part of their studies.* But although uninitiated in the mysteries of spinning and weaving, they were able to communicate many details respecting the geographical and political condition of their country, and even drew a map or chart of the Northern Island, which was found to bear a great similitude to Captain Cook's delineation. They remained a considerable time at Norfolk Island, and were then safely restored to their native country, favourably impressed by the kindness with which they had been treated by Captain King and his family.

Emboldened by this example, several of the natives who, (like most islanders, have an innate love of maritime pursuits,) made cruises in different vessels, some of them visited New South Wales, where they were kindly received by Governor Macquarie, and sent back with presents of live stock, and useful seeds, and whatever else was likely to inspire them with a desire for civilisation; but their admiration was, unhappily, most generally excited by the varied and efficient means of warfare possessed by the Europeans. At length, a powerful chief, named Tippahce, accompanied by his five sons, came to Port Jackson, and on seeing the different arts and manufactures carried on by the settlers, was so affected by the conviction thus forced upon him, of the barbarous state of ignorance in which his own country was shrouded, that he burst into tears, and exclaimed in the bitterness of his heart, "New Zealand no good." On returning to his home near the Bay of Islands, Tippahce took with him a young Englishman, named George Bruce, to whom he gave one of his daughters in marriage. Bruce used his influence, which was considerable, for the benefit of such vessels as touched at the island, and lived very contentedly, until a ship named the *General Wellesley* put in at a part of the coast where he and his wife chanced to be; her commander, a Captain Dalrymple, induced them, by the most solemn assurances of bringing them back in safety, to come on board, in order to assist him in searching for gold dust, which he expected to discover somewhere

about the North Cape. Being unsuccessful in his investigations, Dalrymple, regardless of the remonstrances and entreaties of his unfortunate passengers, refused to fulfil his promise of landing them at the Bay of Islands, and retaining them both, proceeded on his voyage to India. He left Bruce at Malacca, but carried off his wife to Penang, where he sold her to a Captain Ross; Bruce contrived to follow her, and by the interference of the governor, she was restored to him. After several delays and disappointments, the two were conveyed to Calcutta by Sir Edward Pellew, whence it was expected they would obtain a passage to New South Wales, and from thence reach New Zealand. Whether they ever succeeded in regaining their native country has not been recorded, as the account from which the foregoing statements are derived, was written while they were still in India.†

The year 1809 is memorable in the annals of New Zealand for a most fearful butchery. Towards the close of the year, the *Boyd* left Sydney for England, with seventy persons on board, besides four or five New Zealanders, whom her master, Captain Thompson, promised to convey back to their native country, it being his intention to touch there on his way, to make up his cargo by taking in some spars for the Cape of Good Hope. Among the New Zealanders was the son of one of the chiefs, known among the sailors by the name of George, who, during the voyage, refused to work, pleading in excuse, his rank, but still more his ill-health. The captain treated both representations with ridicule, and had him twice tied up to the gangway and severely flogged, at the same time lessening his allowance of food. In reply to the taunting assertion that he was no chief, George merely remarked, "that they would find him to be such, on their arrival in his country;" and so well did he disguise the revengeful passions excited by the treatment he had received, as to succeed in persuading the captain to put in at Wangaroa (where his tribe resided), as the best place for procuring the spars, although it was not known that the harbour had ever before been visited by any European vessel. On arriving, the crafty savage landed alone, and after a brief interview with some of his tribe, returned to the ship, and invited the captain to come on shore

volume on the "New Zealanders" in the *Library of Entertaining Knowledge*.

* Collins' *History of New South Wales*, p. 343.

† See Turnbull's *Voyage round the World*, and the

and point out the trees that would suit his purpose. Three boats were accordingly manned, and the captain landed and proceeded with his party towards a wood, which they had no sooner entered, than they were attacked by the savages, and every one of them put to instant death. George and his associates disguised themselves in the clothes of their victims (it being now dusk), and went off in the boats to the *Boyd*,—got on board by a stratagem, and there slaughtered indiscriminately every man, woman, and child, excepting five seamen who had escaped to the shrouds, and a woman, two children, and a cabin-boy whom George preserved in gratitude for kindness he had received from him during the voyage. When morning dawned upon the ill-fated vessel, the sailors who had taken refuge in the rigging still maintained their dreary watch; at length, Tippahee, the chief whose visit to New South Wales has been related, came alongside in his canoe, and informing them that he had just arrived from the Bay of Islands to trade for dried fish, offered them his protection. The men descended, entered his canoe, were safely landed by him, although closely pursued by the Wangaroa tribe; but the savages leaping on shore, soon overtook them all, and forcibly detaining the old chief, murdered them before his face.*

The ship was thoroughly ransacked; the muskets and ammunition were deemed invaluable; and the father of George, eager to try a gun, of which he had taken possession, burst in the head of a cask of gunpowder, filled the pan, snapped the lock over the cask, and was himself, with thirteen of his companions, blown to atoms. The ship took fire, and burnt to the water's edge.

The four individuals whose lives had been spared were rescued from their distressing position by the intrepidity of Mr. Berry, the supercargo of the *City of Edinburgh*. While engaged in taking in spars, he was informed of the melancholy tragedy which had very recently been enacted. He immediately resolved to ascertain if any persons belonging

to the *Boyd* yet survived; and, at the risk of his own life, succeeded in rescuing the whole four. The last he recovered was a little girl, two or three years old, who, on being subsequently questioned respecting her mother, drew her hand across her throat; and on further inquiry, said, with every appearance of painful feeling, that the people had cut her up, and eaten her, like victuals.*

The destruction of the *Boyd*, at Wangaroa, did not deter English vessels from continuing to visit other ports in New Zealand, or prevent the whalers and sealers from pursuing their avocation on its shores, which then abounded in the objects of their pursuit, especially in seals; but it materially impeded the sanguine hopes entertained for the amelioration of the moral and social condition of the inhabitants, by throwing all their better qualities into the shade, and rendering them, in the eyes of ordinary observers, brutal and irreclaimable savages. Some philanthropic individuals, nevertheless, maintained a more correct appreciation of the better parts of the character of the New Zealanders; and, hopefully anticipating for them a brighter future, struggled on, through discouragements of every kind, to further the good cause. Of these estimable persons, the one most strongly impressed with the capabilities of the New Zealanders for Christian civilization was the Rev. Samuel Marsden, senior chaplain of New South Wales, to whose excellent character I have previously adverted. (Div. iii. p. 409.) Whenever any of the New Zealanders arrived at Sydney, they found a protector in this good man, whose hospitable mansion at Parramatta became their temporary home. There I often witnessed the efforts made for their instruction, not only in reading and writing, but also in agriculture and the mechanical arts.

The remarkable aptitude evinced by this singular people for the acquisition of knowledge, and their disposition to embrace the doctrines of Christianity, had led Mr. Marsden, in the year 1808, to suggest to the Church Missionary Society of London, for

* The presence of Tippahee was peculiarly unfortunate, not only was he the unwilling instrument of delivering the seamen into the hands of their ruthless assassins, but some of his enemies informed the masters of four or five whaling vessels, who shortly after the massacre landed at the Bay of Islands, that he had instigated it, whereupon the whalers united their forces, and attacking the island where he resided, murdered the inhabitants without regard to sex or

age, and burned or destroyed whatever grew or stood upon the soil. Tippahee himself, though severely wounded, escaped with life. He was subsequently killed in an encounter with the people of Wangaroa, which is said to have originated in the deplorable events detailed. Tippahee's tribe afterwards murdered three sailors in revenge for the attack on their island.

† See Mr. Berry's narrative, *Constable's Miscellany*, pp. 350, 351.

whom he acted as agent, the formation of a missionary establishment at New Zealand; recommending that the persons selected for the purpose should, simultaneously with intellectual and spiritual knowledge, be fitted to instruct the natives in the pursuits of agriculture and the mechanical arts; considering that, thus conjoined, Christianity and civilization might rapidly overspread the land.

The society entered cordially into his views, and sent three missionaries, Messrs. Hall, King, and Kendall, with their families, to New South Wales, where they remained for a considerable time, being unable to obtain a passage to the Bay of Islands, on account of the fear entertained, by the ship-masters, of the natives in that vicinity.

In these apprehensions Mr. Marsden did not share. His personal intercourse with some of the New Zealanders had convinced him that his projects in their favour would be warmly seconded by several of the more influential of their chiefs. Of these, the one on whom he placed most reliance was Duaterra, a near relation of Tippahee's, and subsequently his successor as chief of their tribe. Duaterra was a man of clear understanding and commanding appearance, and possessed a degree of acquaintance with the English language very rarely attained by a New Zealander, which rendered him an invaluable auxiliary to the missionaries.

It may be well to recount briefly the series of events which brought Duaterra under the notice of Mr. Marsden, especially as the vicissitudes of his early life afford, it is to be feared, a sample of the injustice and cruelty with which some of the whalers and scalers (a class too generally composed of men of dissolute and lawless lives) treated the natives, whose revengeful passions were, as we have seen in the case of George, often fatally called into action. Duaterra, when a youth of about twenty, formed an ardent desire to visit England and see King George. He accordingly shipped himself as a common sailor on board the *Santa Anna*, then bound on a voyage to Bounty Island for a cargo of seal-skins. On arriving there, he and thirteen others were put on shore to kill seals, while the vessel proceeded for supplies to Norfolk Island and New Zealand, leaving the fourteen men very insufficiently furnished with provisions. Five months elapsed before she returned, during which time Duaterra and his companions had undergone such extreme suffering from thirst

and hunger, no water and scarcely any food being procurable on the island, that three of them had died. They had, however, collected about ten thousand skins; with which the *Santa Anna* proceeded on her way to England, and at length arrived in the Thames in July, 1809. Poor Duaterra thought the object for which he had patiently endured so many hardships at length attained, but soon learned that he was as far from it as ever. Instead of succeeding in obtaining a sight of the king, he was told at one time that he would never be able to find the house, at another that nobody was permitted to see his majesty. The master of the *Santa Anna*, a person named Moody, would scarcely permit him to go on shore, and never allowed him to spend a night out of the ship, peremptorily refused to give him either wages or clothing, and in about a fortnight put him on board the *Ann*, a vessel on the eve of sailing with a body of convicts for New South Wales. It providentially happened that Mr. Marsden at this very time was preparing to return to the scene of his labours. He embarked in the *Ann* at Spithead, and there found Duaterra dangerously ill from the effects of bodily and mental suffering, spitting blood, and miserably clad. The New Zealand chief received from the Christian minister, and through him from the master and surgeon every attention; his health was gradually restored, and he cheerfully resumed the duties of a common sailor. On arriving at Sydney, in February, 1810, Duaterra accompanied Mr. Marsden to his private residence, and there remained until November, diligently employed in learning husbandry and useful arts. The chief entered warmly into the project of Mr. Marsden for the establishment of a Christian Mission in his country—offered a grant of land, and promised to protect the missionaries, their families, and friends. Accompanied by three of his countrymen, he shipped on board a whaler named the *Frederick*, in order to regain his native land. On reaching *North Cape*, the New Zealanders went on shore, and returned to the vessel with abundant supplies of potatoes and pork, expecting to be landed according to their agreement at the Bay of Islands. But the inhuman master (whose name is not recorded) refused to fulfil his promise, although the ship was actually at the mouth of the bay, and carried away the unfortunate natives to Norfolk Island, where he first

made them go on shore to get water, in which attempt they were all nearly drowned in the surf, and then, having no further occasion for their services, left three of them on the island, taking the other (a son of Tippahee) with him. Of this youth nothing more is known, for the *Frederick* was taken on her passage home by an American privateer, after an action in which the master was mortally wounded, and the chief mate killed. Duaterra and his friends were found naked and famishing on Norfolk Island by Mr. Gwynn, master of the *Ann* whaler, who touched there soon after the departure of the *Frederick*. By him they were clothed, fed, and conveyed to Sydney, where Duaterra again sought an asylum beneath the roof of the good Samaritan of New South Wales, by whose kind offices he was eventually conveyed safely home, laden with seed wheat, agricultural tools, &c., bearing with him (notwithstanding his sufferings) a deep conviction of the blessings attendant on Christian civilization.

Shortly after Duaterra's return, Mr. Marsden resolved no longer to delay putting his cherished scheme in execution: the missionaries, on their part, were quite willing to make the attempt. Being still unable to hire a vessel, except on the most exorbitant terms, he purchased a brig, named the *Active*, resolving, should he succeed in establishing a settlement, to keep up constant communication with it. Not thinking it prudent to send the families of the settlers over in the first instance, he proposed going himself, accompanied by Messrs. Hall and Kendall. Governor Macquarie, alarmed for his safety, refused to permit him to depart, and he was therefore compelled to allow the *Active* to sail without him, sending by the above-named missionaries a message to Duaterra, inviting him to return in her to Port Jackson, and bring with him two or three other chiefs.

The arrival of the *Active* was hailed with joyous acclamation, Duaterra welcomed with delight the friends of his benefactor, and consented to return to Sydney along with two other chiefs, one the celebrated E'ongi, mis-spelt Shongai and Shungee, the other, a great warrior, named Korra-korra. This proceeding convinced Governor Macquarie of the friendly feeling entertained by the New Zealanders, and induced him to take steps for their protection against the frequent depredations committed by the masters and seamen of whaling vessels.

With the concurrence and co-operation of the two chiefs, Mr. Kendall was empowered to act as a magistrate in their country, and a proclamation was at the same time issued, dated "Government House, Sydney, New South Wales, 9th November, 1814," announcing, that it had "been represented to His Excellency the Governor, that the commanders and seamen of vessels touching at, or trading with, the islands of New Zealand, especially that part called the Bay of Islands, *have been in the habit of offering gross insult and injury* to the natives of those islands, by violently seizing on and carrying off several of them, both males and females, and treating them, in other respects, with injudicious and unwarrantable severity, to the great prejudices of the fair intercourses of trade, which might be otherwise productive of mutual advantages." His Excellency, in consequence, prohibited the removal of any natives from New Zealand, without the express permission of the chief or chiefs within whose territory the natives so to be embarked should happen to reside, such permission to be certified, in writing, under the hand of Mr. T. Kendall, the resident magistrate in the Bay of Islands, or the magistrate for the time being in the said district. By the same proclamation it was declared unlawful for any commander to land any person in New Zealand without the permission of the chiefs, confirmed by that of the resident magistrate. Such was the commencement of British authority in New Zealand, induced by no lust of territorial power, and no thirst for conquest; but simply by a desire to protect the people from aggression, and at the same time to confer a public sanction on the proceedings of the humble, but zealous ministers of the gospel, who, as messengers of its good tidings, were content to place in the hands of a people among whom cannibalism and infanticide were reported to be crimes of daily occurrence, not their own lives only, but those of their wives and little ones.

On the 19th of November, 1814, Mr. Marsden, accompanied by a gentleman named Nicholas (whose interesting work, entitled, *A Voyage to New Zealand*, contains much valuable information), the missionaries and their families, and the chiefs and their native attendants, embarked on board the *Active*, whose heterogeneous freight of horses and cattle, sheep and goats, cats and dogs, pigs and poultry, seemed as if collected in imitation of Noah's ark. When

on the eve of sailing, a strong gale commenced, by which the party were detained a week in the harbour.

During this time a sudden change was observed in the demeanour of Duaterra, which excited great uneasiness in the minds of the adventurers, who well knew how much (humanly speaking), depended upon his zealous co-operation,—his former lively and animated manner having totally given place to a kind of morose melancholy. The other two chiefs had likewise become moody and uncommunicative. At length Duaterra plainly declared, that he bitterly regretted the encouragement he had given to the missionaries, as he had just learnt from a gentleman at Sydney, that they would shortly introduce many others, and either destroy the natives, or reduce them to slavery; his informant (whose name Duaterra withheld from a principle of honour), bade him, if he doubted his assertions, look at the existing state of the natives of New South Wales, and inquire of them what treatment they had received from British colonists.

Mr. Marsden assured the New Zealanders that neither ambition nor avarice had prompted the present enterprise, and added that he was ready to afford the best proof of disinterestedness, by relanding the missionaries and their families, and never more attempting to hold any intercourse with their country; whereupon Duaterra, really solicitous to promote the civilization of his people, and moreover, gratefully attached to Mr. Marsden, implored his pardon for having for a moment doubted the single-mindedness of his views, and entreated him to proceed; at the same time warning him, that owing to the misrepresentation his companions had heard, he could not vouch for their good faith, and therefore advised that the settlement should be established in the Bay of Islands, where he and his tribe could easily protect it.

On receiving a promise that his wishes in this respect should be complied with, Duaterra resumed his usual good humour. This unexpected obstacle being removed, and the wind becoming favourable, the *Active* set sail, and reached North Cape on the 17th December. Here Duaterra landed to procure green fodder for the live stock. The chief of the district came off to the brig, and on being informed of the proclamation of the governor, and the intended establishment of the missionaries and their

families, he expressed his satisfaction, appearing, like the generality of his countrymen, pleased with the idea of white men taking up their abode in New Zealand. Among other chiefs from whom the party met a hospitable reception was George, the dreaded leader of the Boyd massacre. Duaterra, whose judgment and sincerity had been throughout implicitly relied on, having first had an interview with George, advised Mr. Marsden and the missionaries to visit the encampment where he and about a hundred and fifty warriors were assembled. Sensible of the importance of conciliating these people, the intrepid adventurers complied immediately, and, notwithstanding the horrible associations connected with them, and the sight of the dollars plundered from the *Boyd*, which they wore suspended as ornaments on their breasts, the meeting fully answered the desired purpose. As a proof of entire reliance on the good faith of their new allies, Mr. Marsden and Mr. Nicholas remained all night in the camp, lying down to rest, at the particular request of George, beside himself and his wife. George shewed them every attention in his power, and appeared very desirous to obtain their good opinion, nevertheless Mr. Nicholas states that there was an expression of malignity and treachery in his countenance, which, added to a coarse familiarity of manner, acquired from his intercourse with European sailors, and a sort of sneering impudence peculiar to himself, was calculated to make a very disagreeable impression, even upon those who did not previously regard him with abhorrence, as the perpetrator of a fearful crime.

In reply to the questions of Mr. Marsden, he gave an account of the catastrophe of the *Boyd*, very similar to that already related; but he showed no remorse for his wickedness, declaring himself to have been justified in thus revenging the insults and injuries causelessly heaped upon him both by the captain and the crew.

The following morning the two Englishmen returned to the *Active*, accompanied by George and other natives, among whom printed copies of Governor Macquarie's proclamation were distributed, the purport of it being explained to them by Duaterra, who then, turning to George, commenced an admonitory lecture, in which he assured him that the horrid deed he had committed would not be visited with retaliation; but that in the event of his ever again at-

tempting to cut off another vessel, "Governor Macquarie would send a ship with such a number of men as would instantly destroy every living soul at Wangaroa." On the 22nd of December the *Active* was steered into the Bay of Islands, by the directions of Duaterra, who was well acquainted with its hidden dangers, and anchored in safety abreast of Ranghoo, his place of residence. The name of Marsden was familiar in the mouths of the people, who, when he landed, crowded around him with every demonstration of affectionate regard. They watched with great interest the arrival of the boats with the cattle, but on seeing the cows and horses, they became perfectly bewildered with astonishment, their wonder increasing tenfold when Mr. Marsden, mounting a horse, rode it up and down the beach. They had, it is true, heard of this animal and of the use made of it, from several of their travelled countrymen; but they had derided these statements as idle tales, for, having tried the experiment of bestriding pigs, and found them quite unmanageable, they maintained that larger animals would necessarily be yet more impracticable steeds.

Duaterra, aided by some of his people, diligently set to work to enclose a piece of land for a stock-yard; suspending, however, this useful labour for a while, he performed one of a more noble nature, to the execution of which he was prompted solely by his desire to further the objects of the mission. With some planks and an old canoe, he managed to fit up a place for the temporary celebration of divine worship, forming a kind of reading desk (covered over with the black cloth manufactured in the country,) for the minister, and arranging in front of it long planks supported like forms, for the congregation. Here, on Christmas-day (1814), which was

also the sabbath, the beautiful service of the Church of England was performed for the first time in this heathen land, the sailors showing, by their orderly and serious deportment, that they were not unaffected by the peculiar solemnity of the occasion, while the natives, of whom large numbers were present, sat, knelt, or stood, according to the example of the Europeans, and listened in silence to the discourse addressed to them by Mr. Marsden, through the medium of Duaterra. After this auspicious commencement, all went on smoothly.

A piece of land in the district of Hioshee, of about 200 acres, was bought from Ahoode Gunna, and his brother Warree, for twelve axes; and by a deed of assignment, signed, sealed, delivered, and dated 24th of February, 1815, made over to the Church Missionary Society for ever.* Timber was purchased and brought to the required spot by the natives, dwellings erected, land cleared, and seed sown. Mr. Marsden remained in New Zealand until the end of March, 1815, and then, having seen the mission peacefully established, he returned to New South Wales. A few days before his departure, Duaterra was seized with an attack of fever and dysentery, and expired when he was on the eve of sailing; the other chiefs, however, promised that his death should cause no alteration in their conduct, and E'Ongi, the most powerful of them all, promised to take the missionaries and their defenceless families under his especial protection. Ruthless and ferocious as he afterwards proved, the chief kept his word through life, and even in death, for in his last moments, he besought his followers to allow the Church missionaries to remain in peace, because "they had ever acted for the best;" thus paying a noble tribute to their conduct during fourteen years of trial and vicissitude.†

* A copy of the deed is given in Vol. ii., p. 195, of Nicholas' *New Zealand*, published in London in 1817.

† E'Ongi possessed, in a remarkable degree, the characteristics which have distinguished many so-called heroes, viz.—an insatiable thirst for power, quick perceptions, untiring energy, indomitable courage, and a total disregard for the sanctity of human life. His figure was slight, his countenance handsome, though much tattooed, and his demeanour, in time of peace, peculiarly quiet and inoffensive. The chief amusements of his early life are said to have been carving on wood, in which art he had attained considerable proficiency, and playing with little children. His ambition, afterwards his leading passion, appears to have been first manifested

on his return from England, which country he visited in 1819-20, and while there, was honoured with an audience of George IV., who presented him with a coat of mail and various warlike presents. The chief returned home with abundance of muskets and ammunition, and as he could command the services of several thousand warriors, he resolved to attempt to subdue all the other chiefs, and make himself king of New Zealand. On his arrival, he at once commenced a ruthless and exterminating warfare, giving no quarter, and pursuing all who opposed his design with demoniacal fury. On one occasion, having slain a chief named Hinaké, he drank the blood as it gushed from the decollated head; in the same contest, owing to the immense advantage possessed by him and his followers, in their

George, on the contrary, under whose protection the Wesleyan missionaries were placed, behaved towards them with his customary faithlessness, and on his death-bed, expressed a desire that all the missionaries should be extirpated, as he feared that the introduction of Europeans would eventually lead to the destruction of his countrymen, or that they would be reduced to the miserable condition of the Australian aborigines, whom he had seen lying intoxicated in the streets of Sydney, and begging their food from door to door—suppliants for the necessaries of life from those who had possessed themselves of their country and its resources. To return:—the Church missionaries were no sooner located in the Bay of Islands, than several merchants of Sydney memorialized Governor Macquarie for permission to establish a factory in New Zealand, and to form themselves into a commercial company, with an *exclusive* right of trade. The governor considered the request for a monopoly unreasonable, but referred the decision of the memorial to the home government, stating, however, that he saw no objection to sanctioning the establishment of a factory in New Zealand, *with the permission of the native chiefs*. Nothing further was done in the matter; but several of the Sydney mercantile firms, from time to time, formed agencies at the Bay of Islands, and at different parts of the coast where whale oil, flax, timber, pork, and potatoes were procurable in exchange for fire-arms, blankets, axes, and other articles. Meanwhile the New Zealanders were cruelly ill-used by the crews of many of the European vessels who visited their shores; and it is stated in the records of the Church Missionary Society, that within the first two or three years of the establishment of their settlement in New Zealand, not less than a hundred of them had been murdered by the Europeans; the natives, on their part, too frequently (as in the case of Marion) retaliating by punishing the innocent who

supplies of arms and ammunition, two thousand of the enemy are supposed to have been destroyed, and a large number of prisoners taken and carried away as slaves to the Bay of Islands. The tribes resident on the river Thames, at Wangaroa, North Cape, and Waiappa or the East Cape, were swept off by thousands. In his expeditions, E'Ongi was constantly accompanied by his blind wife, Turi, on whose counsels he placed much value, a circumstance which renders the atrocious ferocity that distinguished them the more remarkable. Polack (whose testimony in this respect is supported by other authorities), speaking of one of E'Ongi's

came within their reach, for the crimes committed by the guilty, who had escaped with impunity.

In 1822, the Wesleyan mission was established, in accordance with the suggestions of the Rev. W. Leigh, who, while acting as a missionary of that society in New South Wales, was induced to visit New Zealand by the representations of the Rev. S. Marsden. The London committee adopted the views of Mr. Leigh, who, in conformity with their instructions, accompanied by his wife, and two fellow-labourers with their families from England, proceeded to Wangaroa, thirty-five miles from the Bay of Islands. At first they were well received, but subsequently had to undergo much trial and privation, notwithstanding which, they were enabled to maintain their ground, and even make progress in forming schools, &c., until, in 1827, E'Ongi, having made war upon the tribes among whom they were residing, plundered the little settlement of *Wesley Dale*, making however, an exception to his ruthless policy of extermination, by suffering its inhabitants to escape with their lives to the Church Mission, which remained unmolested under his powerful protection. Thence the Wesleyans proceeded to Sydney, where I became acquainted with them, and heard, from their own lips, of their past struggles, and the threats used to deter them from returning, but in vain. The earnest entreaties of their friends were equally insufficient to prevail with these servants of the Lord; for they knew that "*no man, having put his hand to the plough, and looking back, is worthy of the kingdom of heaven*;" and in little more than a year they re-established themselves in New Zealand, accompanied by their faithful help-mates, who, sharing their zeal for the propagation of the gospel, were equally willing to lay down their lives, and those of their children, for its sake. The Master whom they served guarded them in the heathen land, whither they went as his messengers. Their

campaigns, says, "the ovens were crowded with human victims, and the places around presented dreadful scenes of carnage. All parts of the human body mangled, were strewn about in every direction—the sucking infant, the aged mother, the young female, and the venerable parent—all lay in undistinguished masses; and clotted gore in deep puddles bedabbled the adjacent paths." Such slaughter was tending to the rapid depopulation of the North Island, when the career of this man-slayer was stopped by a gun-shot wound in the lungs, through which the air whistled for fifteen months previous to his death.

brethren of the Church Mission were similarly defended; and though, many a night, when the savages among whom they dwelt, maddened by their refusal to procure for them fire-arms or gunpowder, departed from their humble dwellings, telling the trembling women that the stones were then heating to roast their flesh, and that of their little ones, yet these threats were in no instance fulfilled, and not a hair of their heads was harmed.

This time the Wesleyans took up their abode on the Hokianga river, on the western coast, and, by the blessing of God, were enabled to extend their operations southward, as far as Port Nicholson, in Cook's Strait; the church missionaries meanwhile exerting their endeavours in behalf of the inhabitants of the eastern portion of the island. The two Christian bodies worked harmoniously, in a spirit of love and charity, upholding each other, and making common cause against the various difficulties of their trying position. Of these, the most hard to endure was the constant counteraction of their efforts for the conversion and civilization of the Maories, by the demoralizing effect of their intercourse with the crews of the English, American, and French whalers which frequented the coasts, especially the Bay of Islands, and, together with some runaway sailors and convicts from Sydney and Van Diemen's Island, and other individuals from the same places, who, with a few exceptions, came to New Zealand, bankrupt in fortune or in character, and too frequently in both, made up a society whose lawless and dissolute members, abjuring the common decencies of life, and encouraging each other in every vice and every excess most degrading to human nature, obtained from the natives the appellation of *the devil's missionaries*.*

* Jameson, when alluding to the share in the civilization of the New Zealanders which the influence of even this commencement of commercial intercourse might be supposed to have had, thus expresses his opinion on the subject:—"From all that I have seen or heard respecting the fixed traders in New Zealand, or the casual visitors for the purpose of trade, it may be affirmed, in the most positive terms, that *not one of them has ever attempted to teach a native to read or write, or to communicate to his mind one ray of Christian knowledge or of moral rectitude*. With a few honourable exceptions, they have been, in their intercourse with the natives, guided by one ruling impulse—the love of gain. Their predominant aim has been to obtain the greatest possible quantity of pigs, potatoes, flax, maize, labour, or land, in exchange for the smallest possible amount of tobacco, ammunition, and piece goods.

The ministers of religion had, ever since their arrival, strenuously laboured to prevent the destructive conflicts among the aborigines, then of daily occurrence. "More than once," says Mr. Jameson, "have they conveyed information to a tribe threatened with a secret and treacherous attack, and frequently have they acted as mediators between parties assembled for hostile purposes." The depraved wretches above described took a malicious pleasure in thwarting them in this, as in all other ways, by fostering the revengeful passions of the Maories, and, for a bribe, enabling them to commit most atrocious cruelties; although they well knew, that but for the presence and restraining influence of those very men whom they scoffed at, and whose efforts they wickedly and foolishly endeavoured to contravene, they would, again and again, have been put to death by one tribe or another, if not by a general rising of the whole, so general was the odium excited by their villainy.

Some of the instances placed on record by the Aborigines Committee in 1837, of the atrocities committed by European captains and seamen, are most horrible. Of these, the following may serve as an illustration:—In December, 1830, a Captain Stewart, commanding the brig *Elizabeth* (trader), on promise of ten tons of flax, took above 100 New Zealanders from Kapiti, or Entry Island, in Cook's Strait, to Takou, Banks' Peninsula, concealed in his vessel. He then enticed on board the chief of Takou, his brother, and two daughters, who came unsuspecting of any ambush. On entering the captain's cabin, the door was locked upon the unhappy chief, his hands were tied, a hook with a cord attached was stuck through the skin of his throat, under the side of his jaw,† and the line fastened

One art of civilization the natives have acquired from their commercial visitors—that of bargaining; and in this, their proficiency is such as to render them able to cope with the keenest of their customers. By dint of experience, they have learnt to judge accurately respecting the quality and value of every manufactured article in common use that can be submitted to their inspection. But it is to missionary labour only that we can justly attribute the abolition of infanticide, polygamy, and the atrocities of native warfare, which have disappeared before the dawn of Christianity."—*Travels in New Zealand*. By R. G. Jameson, Esq. (P. 266.)

† Mr. Montefiore stated, in his evidence before Parliament in 1838, that the chief was not confined in the manner above described, but that he was so cruelly ironed as to cause mortification in his legs.

to some part of the cabin; in which state of torture he was kept for two days, until the vessel arrived at Kapiti, where he was put to death, together with his wife and two sisters. One of the children, who clung to her father, and cried out, was dragged from him, and killed on the spot. All the men and women who accompanied the chief were massacred, as were also many more, who came off afterwards in several other canoes to barter with the English. A party of the sailors were then sent on shore with the Kapiti savages, to aid them in slaughtering all the men, women, and children they could find; and, as a crowning enormity, the "ship's coppers" are even stated to have been employed in cooking the remains of the victims for the cannibals, whose brutal ferocity was not yet satiated.

General Darling, the governor of New South Wales, on being made acquainted with the circumstances of this most disgraceful transaction, referred the case to the crown solicitor, with directions to bring the offenders to justice; but, through some unexplained legal difficulty, this was never effected. Stewart, was indeed held to bail; but the other parties implicated, and the sailors, who might have been witnesses, were suffered to leave the country; and, consequently, both he and his accomplices escaped any punishment from human laws; but not the retributive justice of Providence, for this monster was shortly after washed off the deck of his ship, while proceeding round Cape Horn.

The governor forwarded to the home authorities the depositions of two scamen of the brig, to the same effect as the account already given, and those of Messrs. Montefiore and Kennis, merchants of Sydney, who had embarked on board the *Elizabeth* on her return to Entry Island, and had there learned the circumstances of the case, had seen the captive chief sent on shore, and had been informed that he was sacrificed.*

Another master of a trading vessel gave to a chief a packet of corrosive sublimate, wherewith to destroy his enemies.

One more feature remains to be noticed, as fearfully illustrative of the recklessness not only of the property, but even of the very lives of the New Zealanders, which marked the conduct of too many unprincipled Europeans. The natives had then

a custom of drying the tattooed heads (see engraving on map of New Zealand) of their deceased countrymen, some of which having been taken to Sydney, were bought up as objects of curiosity. From thence arose a loathsome species of traffic, which was carried to an extent that seems scarcely credible. Mr. Yate says that he has known people give property to the chiefs, for the purpose of getting them to kill their slaves, that they might have some heads to take to New South Wales. The practice was at length prohibited, in consequence of a representation made by the Rev. S. Marsden to Governor Darling, of the iniquitous manner in which ten heads just brought to Sydney and offered for sale by a Captain Jack, had been acquired.

Viscount Goderich (now Earl of Ripon), at that time Secretary of State for the colonies, in a despatch to Sir R. Bourke, governor of New South Wales, 31st of January, 1832, thus expresses the feelings of his Majesty's government with regard to the infamous conduct of the master of the *Elizabeth*, and other atrocities which had taken place in New Zealand:—

"It is impossible to read, *without shame and indignation*, the details which these documents disclose. The unfortunate natives of New Zealand, unless some decisive measures of prevention be adopted, will, I fear, be shortly added to the number of those barbarous tribes who, in different parts of the globe, have fallen a sacrifice to their intercourse with civilized men, who bear and disgrace the name of Christians. When, for mercenary purposes, the natives of Europe minister to the passions by which these savages are inflamed against each other, and introduce them to the knowledge of depraved acts and licentious gratifications of the most debased inhabitants of our great cities, the inevitable consequence is a rapid decline of population, preceded by every variety of suffering. Considering what is the character of a large part of the population of New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land, what opportunities of settling themselves in New Zealand are afforded them by the extensive intercourse which has recently been established, adverting also to the conduct which has been pursued in those islands by the masters and crews of British vessels, and finding from the letter of the Rev. Mr. Williams, that the work of depopulation is already proceeding fast, I cannot contemplate the too probable results without the deepest anxiety. There can be no more sacred duty than that of using every possible method to rescue the natives of those extensive islands from the further evils which impend over them, and to deliver our own country from the disgrace and crime of having either occasioned or tolerated such enormities."

The missionaries, on their part, watched with anxiety the state of affairs, feeling that if some steps were not speedily taken,

* General Darling's despatch to Lord Goderich, 13th April, 1831.

a serious collision would, in all human probability, arise, and could scarcely terminate otherwise than in the extermination, or at least expulsion, of one party or the other.

Desirous of maintaining the chiefs and their tribes as an independent people, and fearing, consequently, that France or some foreign power might assume the sovereignty of the islands, they beheld with deep regret the intestine warfare which was thinning the ranks of the aborigines, and rendering them less and less able to resist external aggression. As the best means of meeting these difficulties, they induced the leading chiefs to unite in seeking the protection of the King of England. Accordingly, in November, 1831, thirteen head chiefs of Paroa, Hokianga, Waimate, Kororarika, and other places, assembled at Keri-Keri, and signed an address, which they transmitted through Mr. Yate, secretary to the Church Missionary Society in New Zealand, to King William, "the gracious chief of England," of which the following is a literal translation:—

"KING WILLIAM,—We, the chiefs of New Zealand, assembled at this place, called the Keri-keri, write to thee, for we hear that thou art the great chief of the other side of the water, since the many ships which come to our land are from thee.

"We are a people without possessions. We have nothing but timber, flax, pork, and potatoes; we sell these things, however, to your people, and then we see the property of Europeans. It is only thy land which is liberal towards us. From thee, also, come the missionaries, who teach us to believe on Jehovah God, and on Jesus Christ, his Son.

"We have heard that the tribe of Marion* is at hand, coming to take away our land, therefore we pray thee to become our friend and the guardian of these islands, lest the teasing of other tribes come near to us, and lest strangers should come and take away our land.

"And if any of thy people should be troublesome or vicious towards us, (for some persons are living here who have run away from ships), we pray thee to be angry with them, that they may be obedient, lest the anger of the people of this land fall upon them.

"This letter is from us, from the chiefs of the natives of New Zealand."

Representations were forwarded, at the same time, from the Governor of New South Wales, suggesting the appointment of a person in the character of British resident at New Zealand, for the two-fold object of repressing acts of fraud and aggression practised by British subjects against the natives, and by acquiring a

* *La Favorite*, a French ship, anchored in the Bay of Islands about this period, and rumours were spread that the French government intended to take possession of the islands.

beneficial influence over the various chiefs, to protect the lives and properties of British subjects engaged in legitimate trade with the natives.

The result of these joint solicitations, was the compliance of the home government with the recommendation for the appointment of a Resident. Mr. J. Busby (a settler in New South Wales,) was selected for the position, and was accredited to the chiefs by being made the bearer of the royal answer to their address, dated the 14th of June, 1832. In it, Lord Goderich, in the name of King William IV., expressed his Majesty's sorrow for the injuries which the New Zealanders had sustained from some of his subjects, and his determination to do all in his power to prevent the recurrence of such outrages. His lordship likewise explained to them the protection to all classes which it was hoped would be afforded by the residence of Mr. Busby, and bespoke for that gentleman their zealous co-operation. This letter, and various presents from the king, were presented to the assembled chiefs by Mr. Busby, on his arrival in their country in May, 1833. The resident was placed on the civil-list of New South Wales, his salary of £500 a-year, and an annual allowance of £200 for disbursements to the natives, being provided from the resources of that colony; and instructions for his guidance were furnished by its governor.

From the whole tenor of these instructions, it is manifest how nearly nominal the authority entrusted to Mr. Busby must have been. General Bourke expressly reminds him, that *he cannot be clothed with any legal power or jurisdiction, by virtue of which he might be enabled to arrest British subjects offending against British or colonial law*; he adds, however, that as by the 9th Geo. IV., cap. 83, sec. 4, the Supreme Courts in New South Wales and Van Diemen's Island have power to enquire of, hear, and determine, all offences committed in New Zealand by the master and crew of any British ship or vessel, or by any British subject living there, and to punish the offenders,—the resident would be justified in taking cognizance of such offences, and if he thought "the case of sufficient magnitude and importance," might send a detailed report to New South Wales, by competent witnesses, upon whose evidence a bench-warrant having been obtained for the apprehension of the offender, would be

transmitted to him (Mr. Busby) for execution. The governor adds, "you will perceive, at once, that this process, which is at best, but a prolix and inconvenient operation, and may incur some considerable expense, will be totally useless, unless you should have some well-founded expectation of securing the offender upon or after the arrival of the warrant, and of being able to effect his conveyance here for trial, and that you have provided the necessary evidence to ensure his conviction."

Mr. Busby was further desired to "use his discretion" in causing the apprehension and removal of such escaped convicts as might be within his reach, or were guilty of any offence against the peace and tranquillity of the country; but as these same offenders were supposed to be from 100 to 200 in number, the resident used his discretion by letting them alone. He was instructed, likewise, to endeavour to mediate officially between rival chiefs or hostile tribes; to counsel the establishment of some system of jurisprudence; to furnish occasional returns concerning the agriculture, commerce, and general statistics of the islands, together with full and frequent shipping reports. Lastly, he was desired to evince cordial co-operation with the missionaries in the great objects of their solicitude, the extension of Christian knowledge throughout the islands, and the consequent improvement in the habits and morals of the people.* Had the Resident acted more cordially in the spirit of this last injunction, he might, as an accredited representative of the British government, have exercised over a large number of the natives, and over some at least of the more respectable settlers, a considerable amount of moral influence; as it was, he appears to have been regarded by all parties as a "man-of-war without guns," and openly set at defiance by the dissolute class whose excesses he was expressly sent to restrain.

Shortly after his arrival, Mr. Busby applied to Governor Bourke to authorize the adoption of a national flag by the New Zealanders, and to advise that ships built in the island, and registered by the chiefs, should have their registers respected in their intercourse with British possessions. Sir R.

Bourke, in compliance with this request, sent three pattern-flags for the chiefs to choose from. The one selected by them was hoisted, inaugurated, and saluted with twenty-one guns by the *Alhigator*, a British ship of war then at anchor in the Bay of Islands. An account of these proceedings, dated April, 1834, was transmitted by the governor of New South Wales to the home authorities: Lord Aberdeen, in reply, (dated Dec. 1834,) approved of them in the name of the king, and stated that the Admiralty had instructed their officers to give effect to the New Zealand Registers, and to acknowledge and respect the national flag of that country.

In this year a distressing affair took place, the leading circumstances of which it may be necessary to mention. At the end of April, 1834, the *Harriet* (whaler), J. Guard, master, was wrecked at Cape Egmont, but the whole crew succeeded in effecting a landing in the boats. The natives plundered the wreck (as the Cornish men would probably have done on our own coast not very many years ago), but offered no violence to the passengers for ten days, during which interval two of the seamen deserted to a native pah or stockaded village. A fray then commenced, in which twelve of the sailors, and between twenty and thirty of the New Zealanders were killed. Mrs. Guard, and her two children, were taken prisoners, her husband and the rest of his party retreated, but prudently surrendered themselves to another tribe whom they met, who finally allowed the captain to depart, on his promising to return and bring a ransom of gunpowder for the nine seamen retained as hostages: three of the chiefs accompanied him to Sydney.

Guard, who is stated to have been formerly a convict,† a man of violent character, and some of whose previous dealings with the natives between 1823 and 1834, would appear to have been in keeping with his avowed opinion, that "a musket-ball for every New Zealander was the best mode of civilizing the country;‡ expressed no dread for the safety of his wife and family, nor of the men left in bondage to the Mataroa tribe, and was quite confident that a pound of tobacco and a blanket or two

* Instructions from Governor Sir R. Bourke to Mr. Busby, dated Sydney, 13th April, 1833, House of Commons' Papers, presented by her Majesty's commands, in pursuance of address of 8th April, 1840. Pages 4 and 5.

† Vide Dissent of C. D. Riddell, Esq., Colonial Treasurer, to proposed expedition.—Parliamentary Papers, 585, p. 5.

‡ See Report of Aborigines Committee in 1837, p. 20.

would be considered as a sufficient ransom for each of them: something more, perhaps, would be required for his wife and children.

Notwithstanding this, the authorities of New South Wales deemed it advisable, without any communication with Mr. Busby, or the missionaries, whose influence might here have been most usefully employed, to send the *Alligator* frigate and the schooner *Isabella*, with a company of the 50th regiment, to recover Mrs. Guard and the other captives. According to the general account of this expedition given in the Parliamentary Papers on New Zealand in 1835 (No. 585), and the report of the Aborigines Parliamentary Commission in 1836-7, more especially from the evidence of Mr. Marshall, the assistant-surgeon of the *Alligator*, who was sent on shore with the troops and seamen; it would appear to have been marked on the part of the English by wanton cruelty and even treachery. Mrs. Guard and one child were restored unhurt on the 30th of September, and on the 8th of October, the other was brought on the shoulders of a chief, who, by its mother's testimony, had protected and adopted it; yet on hesitating to deliver up the boy without the promised ransom, the child was forcibly taken from him, and the Chief was killed upon the spot. Finally, after every prisoner had been delivered up, uninjured, two of the native villages were burned to the ground. The parliamentary committee express their regret at this painful, and I must add, exceedingly discreditable transaction, and justly declare, that "the impression left with that tribe of savages must have been one of extreme dread of our power, accompanied with one of deep indignation."

In communicating to his Majesty's government intelligence of this melancholy affair, Sir R. Bourke, governor of New South Wales, and the Executive Council of the colony, represented the urgent necessity of having a ship of war *permanently* stationed in the southern seas for the protection of

British and colonial commerce, and the repression of the numerous outrages so frequently committed both by Europeans and natives. Unless this were done, and an act of Parliament passed, empowering the British Resident in New Zealand, to apprehend and commit for trial in New South Wales, his Majesty's subjects offending against British law, the governor deemed it would be more creditable at once to withdraw the Resident, and announce to the English residing in New Zealand, that they were altogether without the pale of British protection.

We now arrive at a point in the history of New Zealand, frequently discussed and variously viewed, namely, the DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE by the native chiefs.

The immediate cause of this measure appears to have been, the alarm with which Mr. Busby was inspired, on receiving from an individual styling himself "Charles, Baron de Thierry,* Sovereign Chief of New Zealand, and King of Nuhahiva," (one of the Marquesas Islands,) a formal declaration of his intention to establish in his own person an independent sovereignty in New Zealand, in virtue of an invitation given to him in England by E'ongi and other chiefs, and also on the grounds of an alleged purchase for him, in 1822, by Mr. Kendal, of three districts on the Hokianga river; the baron stated that he had declared his intentions to the Kings of Great Britain and France, and to the President of the United States, and that he was then waiting at Otaheite the arrival of an armed ship from Panama, to enable him to proceed to the Bay of Islands.

On receipt of this grandiloquent effusion, the effect of which was doubtless aided by the fear of some hidden design on the part of the French government, Mr. Busby issued an official address to his countrymen in New Zealand, (dated Bay of Islands, 10th October, 1835,) wherein he informed them of the purport of the Baron's communication; and, after adverting to the elaborate

* De Thierry was the son of a French emigrant nobleman: he was educated at Cambridge university, whither Mr. Kendall, one of the early Church missionaries, went in 1820, accompanied by E'ongi, and another chief, to obtain the assistance of Professor Lee in compiling a vocabulary of the New Zealand language. Here they met De Thierry, who, it would appear (for the statements concerning this transaction, which I have been able to obtain, are very vague), commissioned Mr. Kendall to purchase for him a tract of land in New Zealand. On his return, Mr. Kendall is stated to have forwarded to De Thierry a (so-called) title-deed of certain dis-

tricts, situate near the Hokianga river, "for and in consideration of thirty-six axes." Mr. Kendall's conduct in this affair seems inexplicable, unless he were actuated by interested motives. According to Dr. Lang, the land claimed by De Thierry was bought *of*, and not *through*, Mr. Kendall, to whom it had been presented by the natives, on condition of his taking up his abode with them. This he did not do; for he left the Church Mission, and settled in New South Wales, where he died, being drowned in a small coasting vessel, when bound, with a load of cedar, from his farm at Kiama (on the east coast to the southward) to Sydney.

exposition of the views of the said Baron, addressed to the Church missionaries, to each of whom he offered a salary, on consideration of their acting as magistrates, and to the ample promises to all persons, whether Europeans or natives, who should consent to live under his government (of which the outline or programme was very cleverly drawn up); Mr. Busby stated his intention of taking "immediate steps for calling together the native chiefs, in order to inform them of this proposed attempt on their independence, and to advise them of what is due to themselves and to their country, and of the protection which British subjects are entitled to at their hands;" the Resident added, that he had "no doubt that such a manifestation would be exhibited of the characteristic spirit, courage, and independence of the New Zealanders, as would stop, at the outset, such an attempt upon their liberties, by demonstrating its utter hopelessness."

A week after the issue of the above address, by Mr. Busby, the following DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE was adopted and subscribed by thirty-five chiefs residing in the northern portion of New Zealand, and witnessed by Mr. H. Williams and Mr. George Clarke, missionaries, and by Messrs. Clendon and Mair, merchants:—

"1. We, the hereditary chiefs and heads of the tribes of the northern parts of New Zealand, being assembled at Waitangi, in the Bay of Islands, on this 28th day of October, 1835, declare the independence of our country, which is hereby constituted and declared to be an independent state, under the designation of '*The United Tribes of New Zealand*.'

"2. All sovereign power and authority within the territories of the united tribes of New Zealand, is hereby declared to reside entirely and exclusively in the hereditary chiefs and heads of tribes in their collective capacity; who also declare that they will not allow any legislative authority separate from themselves in their collective capacity to exist, nor any function of government to be exercised within the said territories, unless by persons appointed by them, and acting under the authority of laws regularly enacted by them, in congress assembled.

"3. The hereditary chiefs and heads of tribes agree to meet in congress at Waitangi in the autumn of each year, for the purpose of framing laws for the dispensation of justice, the preservation of peace and good order, and the regulation of trade; and they cordially invite the southern tribes to lay aside their private animosities, and to consult the safety and welfare of our common country, by joining the confederation of the united tribes.

"4. They also agree to send a copy of this declaration to his Majesty the King of England, to thank

* Sir George Gipps (the successor of Sir Richard Bourke), in a despatch dated August, 1840, speaks of this declaration as entirely a measure of Mr. Busby's

him for his acknowledgment of their flag; and in return for the friendship and protection they have shown, and are prepared to show, to such of his subjects as have settled in their country, or resorted to its shores for the purposes of trade, they entreat that he will continue to be the parent of their infant state, and that he will become its protector from all attempts upon its independence.

"Agreed to unanimously, on this 28th day of October, 1835, in the presence of his Britannic Majesty's Resident."

Mr. Busby* transmitted to England a copy of the above declaration. Lord Glenelg, in his despatch to Sir Richard Bourke, May, 1836, acknowledges the receipt of this communication, but expresses no opinion upon it; merely stating, in guarded terms, that—

"With reference to the desire which the chiefs have expressed on this occasion to maintain a good understanding with his Majesty's subjects, it will be proper, that they should be assured, in his Majesty's name, that he will not fail to avail himself of every opportunity of showing his good-will, and of affording to those chiefs" (i. e., the chiefs who had signed the declaration) "such support and protection as may be consistent with a due regard to the rights of others, and the interests of his Majesty's subjects."

It may be as well to state here, that the dreaded Baron de Thierry, who seems to have been rather a crotchety enthusiast than a knavish schemer, did not arrive in New Zealand until 1837, having touched at Sydney, on his way thither, and induced a number of mechanics and labourers to accompany him to his estate at Hokianga. The chiefs laughed at his "sovereign rights and powers," and disavowed his territorial claims on various grounds, although they admitted (with regard to the latter), that some transaction had taken place; but they maintained that no chief could dispose of land belonging to his tribe, without the consent of every member, each individual having as it were a vested interest in it. (Ignorance or wilful disregard of this fundamental law of property among the New Zealanders, lies at the root of the perplexing and almost hopelessly involved land claims.) At length a limited grant was made to De Thierry, by Nene (one of the chiefs of whom the extensive purchase above referred to was stated to have been made) and his tribe; and there the Baron eventually settled down, with no other retainers than his immediate family; the sixty persons who had accompanied him from Sydney having returned thither, or concoction, and designates it "a silly as well as an unauthorized act; a paper pellet fired off at the Baron de Thierry."

sought employment elsewhere, on finding the utter fallacy of the expectations which he had led them to entertain. Of these, some were supported solely by the charity of the missionaries.

The extent of the native population of the Northern Island, about this period, is thus stated in a letter from the Rev. W. Williams to the Church Missionary Society, dated February, 1834:—

"I believe the population of this island does not exceed 106,000, of which about 4,000 are in connexion with our station at Kailaia, to the northward, 6,000 with the Wesleyan station at Hokianga, and 12,000 connected with our four stations in the Bay of Islands. The number in the Thames is about 4,800; while those at Waikato, a district in the same parallel with the Thames, and on the western coast, are about 18,000. Along the coast of the Bay of Plenty, as far as Hick's Bay, are about 15,600. From Hick's Bay to Hawke's Bay the number is about 27,000, concentrating in two principal places. There are now no other inhabitants in the southern part of the island, except in the neighbourhood of Entry Island, where the number is about 18,000."

In a letter written the 4th of September, 1835, Mr. Williams says, "the population of the two islands is small, not exceeding 200,000."

To return to the Declaration of Independence. If the intercourse of the New Zealanders could have been restricted to the ministers, catechists, and respectable settlers, they might, by the *conjoined counsels* of a British Resident and the missionaries, have been gradually induced to form an effective confederation among themselves; and that important point once gained, there is little doubt that this fine and intelligent race would have acquired, in no long time, the art of self-government.

But any such restriction was manifestly impossible; and even had it been practicable, the unfortunate differences which existed between Mr. Busby and the missionaries, especially as regarded the sale of ardent spirits, of which the natives were fully aware, would have greatly detracted from the beneficial influence which a different person might, in his position, have exercised.

In the following year (1836), no fewer than ninety-three British, fifty-four American, and three French vessels visited the Bay of Islands; and the desultory colonization at various spots along the coast

likewise increased; until, "about the commencement of 1838, a body of not less than 2,000 British subjects had become permanent inhabitants of New Zealand."*

The evils of continued anarchy became more aggravated; and a petition to the crown for protection was drawn up and signed by thirty-six missionaries and catechists, and the most respectable settlers, in which it was stated—

"That it had been considered that the confederate tribes of New Zealand were competent to enact laws for the proper government of this land, whereby protection would be afforded in all cases of necessity, but experience evidently shews that in the infant state of the country, this cannot be accomplished or expected; it is acknowledged by the chiefs themselves to be impracticable."

In 1836-7, an inquiry materially affecting the interests of the New Zealanders, in common with various other aboriginal races, was entered upon by the Imperial Parliament. The attention of the British public having been directed to the subject by the philanthropic efforts of the Christian missionary societies, and of an excellent association formed expressly for the protection of aborigines, a select committee was "appointed to consider what measures ought to be adopted with regard to the native inhabitants of countries where British settlements are made, and to the neighbouring tribes, in order to secure to them the due observance of justice, and the protection of their rights." After hearing numerous witnesses, and recording much valuable but very distressing information, (some of which has been already quoted from this valuable report—see p. 126), the committee thus recapitulate the evils which have resulted from the intercourse between civilized and barbarous nations:—

"That Europeans coming in contact with native inhabitants of our settlements, tend (with the exception of cases in which missions are established) to deteriorate the morals of the natives; to introduce European vices; to spread among them new and dangerous diseases; to accustom them to the use of ardent spirits; to the use of European arms and instruments of destruction; to the seduction of native females; to the decrease of the native population; and to prevent the spread of civilization, education, commerce, and christianity; and that the effect of European intercourse has been, upon the whole, a calamity on the heathen and savage nations."

The committee proceed to state, that these

penal settlements, or seamen who had deserted their ships; and these people, unrestrained by any law, and amenable to no tribunals, were alternately the authors and the victims of every species of crime and outrage."

* Vide Lord Normanby's despatch to Captain Hobson, August, 1839. His lordship adds—"Amongst them were many persons of bad and doubtful character—convicts who had fled from our

allegations have been clearly proved by the evidence received, and add—

"We have also seen the effects of conciliatory conduct, and of christian instruction. One of the two systems we must have to preserve our own security, and the peace of our colonial borders; either an overwhelming military force, with all its attendant expenses, or a line of temperate conduct, and of justice towards our neighbours."

Several valuable suggestions are likewise offered in the report, of which those most applicable to New Zealand are, that—

"It should be made known to all governors of her Majesty's colonies, that they are forbidden by her Majesty to acquire in her name any accession of territory, either in sovereignty or in property, without the previous sanction of an act of Parliament;" and likewise, "that in cases where it may be impracticable to prevent the acquisition of lands," (not forming a part of the Queen's dominions), "by British subjects; it should be distinctly understood, that all persons who embark in such undertakings, must do so at their peril, and have no claim on her Majesty for support in vindicating the titles which they may so acquire, or for protecting them against any injury to which they may be exposed in the prosecution of any such undertakings."

The conclusion of the report I quote, as embodying not only the opinions of the committee (among whom were Sir J. F. Buxton, Sir George Grey, Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Pease, Mr. Hindley, and other men distinguished for their exertions in the cause of their fellow-creatures of every clime and colour), but also, as I believe, expressing likewise the feelings of her Majesty's government, and of the intelligent and really Christian portion of the British public in all quarters of the globe:—

"The oppression of the natives of barbarous countries is an evil of comparatively recent origin, imperceptible and unallowed in its growth; it *never has had even the colour of sanction from the legislature of this country; no vested rights are associated with it*, and we have not the poor excuse that it contributes to any interest of the state. On the contrary, in point of economy, of security, of commerce, of reputation, it is a short-sighted and disastrous policy. As far as it has prevailed, it has been a burthen on the empire. It has thrown impediments in the way of successful colonization; it has engendered wars, in which great expenses were necessarily incurred, and no reputation could be won; and it has banished from our confines, or exterminated, the natives who might have been profitable workmen, good customers, and good neighbours. These unhappy results *have not flowed from any determination on the part of the government of this country to deal hardly with those who are in a less advanced state of society*; but they seem to have arisen from ignorance, from the difficulty which distance interposes in checking the cupidity and punishing the crimes of that adventurous class of Europeans who lead the way in penetrating the territory of uncivilized man, and from the system of dealing with the rights of the natives. Many reasons unite for apprehending that the evils

which we have described will increase if the duty of coming to a solemn determination as to the policy we shall adopt towards ruder nations be now neglected; the chief of these reasons is, the national necessity of finding some outlet for the superabundant population of Great Britain and Ireland. It is to be feared that, in the pursuit of this benevolent and laudable object, the rights of those who have not the means of advocating their interests, or exciting sympathy for their sufferings, may be disregarded.

"This, then, appears to be the moment for the nation to declare, that with all its desire to give encouragement to emigration, and to find a soil to which our surplus population may retreat, it will *tolerate no scheme which implies violence or fraud in taking possession of such a territory; that it will no longer subject itself to the guilt of conniving at oppression, and that it will take upon itself the task of defending those who are too weak and too ignorant to defend themselves.*

"Your committee have hitherto relied chiefly on arguments, showing that no national interest, even in its narrowest sense, is subserved by encroachments on the territory, or disregard of the rights of the aboriginal inhabitants of barbarous countries; but they feel it their duty to add, that there is a class of motives of a higher order which conduce to the same conclusion.

"The British empire has been signally blessed by providence; and her eminence, her strength, her wealth, her prosperity, her intellectual, her moral, and her religious advantages, are so many reasons for peculiar obedience to the laws of Him who guides the destinies of nations. These were given for some higher purpose than commercial prosperity and military renown. 'It is not to be doubted that this country has been invested with wealth and power, with arts and knowledge, with the sway of distant lands, and the mastery of the restless waters, for some great and important purpose in the government of the world. Can we suppose otherwise than that it is our office to carry civilization and humanity, peace and good government, and, above all, the knowledge of the true God, to the uttermost ends of the earth?'" He who has made Great Britain what she is, will inquire at our hands how we have employed the influence He has lent to us, in our dealings with the untutored and defenceless savage; whether it has been engaged in seizing their lands, warring upon their people, and transplanting unknown disease and deeper degradation through the remote regions of the earth; or whether we have, as far as we have been able, informed their ignorance, and invited and afforded them the opportunity of becoming partakers of that civilization, that innocent commerce, that knowledge and that faith with which it has pleased a gracious providence to bless our own country."

Meanwhile, in spite of all discouragements, missionary labour prospered in New Zealand. In 1837, the Rev. Mr. Marsden,† then considerably advanced in years, paid his last visit to the people whose best interests he had laboured so long and so zealously to promote. Writing to the

* The Rev. Mr. Whewell's Sermon before the Trinity Board.

† Mr. Marsden died in 1848, having been forty-four years chaplain of New South Wales.

Church Missionary Society, he says—"Since my arrival, I have visited many of the stations within the compass of 100 miles, and have observed a wonderful change has taken place within the last seven years. The portions of the sacred Scriptures which have been printed have had a most astonishing effect. Great numbers have been baptized, both chiefs and people. I consider the missionaries, as a body, very pious, prudent, and laborious men, and that they and their children are walking in the admonition of the Lord." Mr. Marsden bears forcible testimony to the want of any authority or rules for their direction felt by the natives, and offers in illustration of it a letter addressed to him by a powerful chief, the successor of E'ongi, of which the following is a literal translation :—

"Sir,—Will you give us a law? This is the purport of my address to you. If we say, let the cultivations be fenced, and a man through laziness does not fence, should pigs get into his plantation, is it right for him to kill them? Do you give us a law in this matter. Again,—should pigs get into fenced land, is it right to kill, or rather to tie them till the damage they have done is paid for? Will you give us a law in this? Again,—should the husband of a woman die, and she afterwards wishes to be married to another, should the natives of unchanged heart bring a fight against us, would it be right for us to stand up to resist them on account of their wrongful interference? Will you give us a law in this also? Again,—in our wickedness, one man has two wives, but after he has listened to Christ, he puts away one of them, and gives her to another man to wife. Now should a fight be brought against us, and are we, in this case, to stand up to fight? Give us a law in this. Again,—should two men strive one with the other? Give me a law in this. My (ritenga) law is to collect all the people together, and judge them for their unlawful fighting, and also for wrongfully killing pigs. Therefore I say, that the man who kills pigs, for trespassing on his plantation, having neglected to fence, had rather pay for the pigs so killed. Will you give us a law in this? Fenced cultivations when trespassed on, should be paid for. These only are the things which cause us to err;—women, pigs, and fighting one with another. But here is another,—should a man who is in the church come in a fight against us? Give us a law in this. Another thing, which we are afraid of, and which also degrades us, is this, slaves exalting themselves above their masters. Will you give us a law in this also?"

About this time, an evil which threatened not only to deprive the Maories of their independence as a nation, but to reduce them to speedy and abject poverty, attained an alarming magnitude. The "land fever," in its different phases of "sharking," "jobbing," and *bona fide* speculation, literally raged in New Zealand. What gold was to the Spaniards in Mexico, land at this period became to the English

in these islands—and, as the warlike aborigines most coveted the acquisition of fire-arms, they divested themselves of their only possessions, in order to obtain those deadly instruments which, together with ardent spirits, were the most potent means for the destruction of their race. Almost every captain of a ship, on arriving at Sydney, exhibited a piece of paper with a tattooed native head rudely drawn on it, which he described as the title-deed of an estate, bought for a few muskets, hatchets, or blankets; and as the government had fixed a price of 5*s.*, and afterwards 12*s.*, per acre on land in Australia, adventurers crowded to New Zealand, hoping there, under cover of the Declaration of Independence, to pursue their schemes with impunity. The extent to which the land mania prevailed, may be best understood by the fact, that when to the claims of various associations and private individuals, came to be added the enormous ones of the New Zealand Company, the total area of the islands, including rocks, mountains, and swamps, would have been quite insufficient to satisfy them. A Mr. Webster declared himself to have purchased forty miles of frontage on the west side of the river Piako; a Mr. Painham claimed nearly the whole of the north coast of the Northern Island; Mr. Wentworth, of New South Wales, asserted his right to 20,100,000 acres in the Middle Island; Catlin and Co., 7,000,000; Weller and Co., 3,557,000; Jones and Co., 1,930,000; Peacock and Co., 1,450,000; Green and Co., 1,377,000; Guard and Co., 1,200,000; and New Zealand Company, 20,000,000.*

Jamieson, in his instructive work (p. 174), says :—"One company, consisting of four gentlemen, claimed the Middle Island, in consideration of giving the chiefs a few hundred pounds in money and merchandize, and a life annuity of £100 per annum. Another individual, representing a commercial firm in Sydney, laid claim to several hundred thousand acres, including the township of Auckland, for which he gave one keg of gunpowder."

Five parties declared they had each purchased Kapiti, or Entry Island, in Cook's Strait, some for £100, some for goods to the value of £30; all produced the signatures of the chiefs, Rauperaha and Rangibaeta. Porirua district was claimed by eight separate parties, who each declared

* See speech of Hon. Capt. Rous, M.P. in the Debate on New Zealand, 1845.

they had bought the place from Rauperaha and others. Cooper, Holt, and Rhodes, of New South Wales, asserted that they paid merchandize to the value of £150, in 1839, for a tract of country between the Otaki and Waikanahi rivers, running in an easterly line forty miles from the mouth of the latter river, thirty miles in another direction, ten miles along the coast, and so on. Mr. John Hughes, of Sydney, claimed, in part, all the lands of Porirua for a distance of thirty miles, bounded by a range of snowy mountains.

In this unseemly scramble for land, the Resident and the missionaries are accused of having participated. Mr. Busby certainly appears to have become a purchaser to the extent of 48,150 acres, claiming, according to Dr. Dieffenbach, the neck of land which separates Waitangi from the Keri-Keri, in the neighbourhood of the Waimate Mission. In his peculiar position, this was unquestionably an injudicious proceeding, although, according to the evidence adduced by his brother, Mr. A. Busby, before the Select Committee of the Lords, in 1840, his "extensive purchases" were made after "hearing of his removal from office." With reference to the missionaries, as individuals, the accusation can refer only to the members of the Church Mission, as the Wesleyans (with one exception*) have never effected purchases, being prohibited from doing so by the fundamental rules of their society, which differ from those of the Church Mission, in this point, especially; that whereas the members of the former body are at liberty to apply for leave to return, with their families, to their native country, after a limited period of service in a foreign land; those of the latter are, on the contrary, expected to take up their permanent abode among the people to whom they are destined to minister; and as parents, they consider themselves simply performing their duty to their children, by making prospective arrangements for their establishment in life.

In a recent work, entitled *The New Zealand Question*, by L. A. Chamerovzov, some pertinent remarks are made on this subject, p. 266:—

"Much censure, very undeserved in our opinion, has been cast upon the Church missionaries in consequence of their acquisition of land, but it is estab-

* Mr. White, who was dismissed from the society in 1836, made large purchases and settled in New Zealand.

lished that at least they paid for what they contracted for, and at a tolerably equivalent rate. For instance, their chief purchases consisted of land partially exhausted by native culture, and, in the opinion of the natives themselves, 'worn out,' now the parliamentary evidence proves that for this, they paid at the rate of 3s. 4d. per acre. But, after all, the whole extent of claim made on behalf of the Church Mission families, save two exceptional cases resting on peculiar grounds, originally amounted to only 53,000 acres; the children of these families (twelve in number) are 120, being an average of 446 acres per each child, which the land commissioners have reduced to 243, having awarded 29,209 acres in all. Let it now be taken into consideration that the missionaries bought the land when the prospect of colonization was, to say the least of it, very remote; that they could make no other provision for their families in that savage land, and that this provision was a poor set-off against their deprivation of the advantages of civilized society. It does then appear too harsh to censure these worthy men as land-jobbers, and unjust to decide their claims by the ordinary rule; for, even admitting that they had acquired a title to their full claim, namely, at the rate of 446 acres per each child, their claim, founded upon fair purchase, would fall far short of the allowance made by government to the chaplains of the colony of New South Wales, who receive, as a free gift, for each of their children, at the average rate of 1,600 acres."

The exceptional cases above referred to are, I presume, those of Mr. Fairburn and the Rev. R. Taylor. Mr. Fairburn claimed 40,000 acres, and in a letter to the Church Missionary Society, dated November, 1838, thus explains the circumstances which led him to become a purchaser to so large an extent.

"In January, 1836, Mr. Williams arrived at the Puriri, with a few of the Ngapuhi chiefs from the Bay of Islands, to endeavour to effect the establishment of peace between the Waikato and the Thames; which object having been accomplished, and the boundaries of the land settled between the two parties, the Thames natives immediately made application to sell at once their portion of land joining on to that of the Waikato; declaring that peace could not exist for any length of time unless they did so, as there would be perpetual infringements on each other's territories. About a week afterwards the natives came in a body, and almost insisted that the land should be purchased."

On acquiring the tract in question, Mr. Fairburn made over by deed one-third to the aborigines. Subsequently he assigned another third to the Church Missionary Society, for the benefit of the mission, and kept the remaining third for his own use. The society considered the extent retained by him disproportionate to the reasonable requirements of himself and his family, and he consequently retired from their service. By the Court of Land Claims he was eventually allowed 3,695 acres.

Mr. Taylor's claim extended to 50,000 acres. The quantity allowed to him by

the Commissioners was 2,726. The following explanations relative to this purchase were addressed by him to the Church Missionary Society's Committee, August 8th, 1843:—

"In a former letter I sent an account of the land I have purchased at the North Cape. As the Society has again written on the subject, I shall mention the same again, lest the former should not be received; but as for particulars I scarcely know how to give them, except that I purchased of Noble and his tribe a tract of land from which they had expelled the Aupouri, a northern tribe, nearly twenty years before. My object was to have given that tribe power to return to their former homes, which I could not have done without purchasing that land. This is stated in my deed of purchase, and a large portion of that tribe, amounting to nearly 100, has already taken up its abode there. Relative to the land which I shall claim for myself, I shall be satisfied with retaining sufficient to cover my outlay; but I have not selected any yet. I have only once seen it, and perhaps may never see it again. It is not a fertile district, a large portion being covered with moving sand-hills, and the whole is destitute of timber. I have given about £140 in cash; and although I thought my motive was a laudable one, yet after what has been said about missionaries and land, I regret I ever made it."

Another important point which should be kept in mind, with regard to the extent of land purchased by the Church Missionaries, for their families, is, that only a limited portion of it was available for agriculture. Archdeacon Williams says:—

"When a native wished to dispose of land, he required that the bad should be taken as well as the good, and hence it has generally happened, that while the number of acres may sound large, there is, in reality, but a small portion which is fit for agricultural purposes. Hence, therefore, if 200 acres of good land be no more than a sufficient quantity, much more than 1,000 is generally required to ensure the possession of 200. I know of some thousands which have been purchased, which will not average 100 acres of available land in each thousand."

But if the aspersions cast upon the conduct of individual missionaries, with regard to the acquisition of land, have been, as I truly believe, with few—very few exceptions—censorious and unjust; they were yet more unwarrantable, when applied either to the Church or Wesleyan Mission, as a body. The one sole cause of offence ever given by these two influential societies was the unwavering and uncompromising opposition which they united in maintain-

* Their objections to colonization in general, but more especially to the plan proposed by the New Zealand Association (afterwards the New Zealand Company), are clearly and briefly stated in two pamphlets; the one entitled *The Principles, Objects, and Plan of the New Zealand Association Examined*, by Mr. Coates, the lay secretary of the Church Mission; the other, by the Rev. Mr. J. Beccham, secre-

ng to all projects for the colonization of New Zealand,* as subversive of the rights, and injurious to the interests, both temporal and spiritual, of the people, to whom they were attached by the strong tie which binds the protector to the protected. It is gratifying to perceive, that their conscientious motives were appreciated by his Majesty's government, and that, notwithstanding the opposite views entertained in various quarters, their opinions were listened to with respect, as coming from men "who had borne the burden and heat of the day," and whose disinterested exertions through a long series of years, had alone rendered New Zealand an attractive field for emigration. Notwithstanding the eminent service they had done to the cause of Christian civilization, the missionaries were scoffed at and vilified by the interested schemers whose object was to decry their labour and reap its fruits. The Church Missionary Society took an excellent mode of refuting these wanton calumnies, by requesting the Bishop of Australia to visit the missions in New Zealand, and examine personally the different stations, and the numbers and condition of the converts. Bishop Broughton accordingly proceeded thither towards the close of 1838; his high testimony, as also that of the Rev. Samuel Marsden, in 1837 (to which I have before referred), is given at length in the Parliamentary Papers of the 3rd of August, 1840, pp. 170-1-2. In addressing the London Committee of the Church Missionary Society, his Lordship says:—

"It is in my power, I think, effectually to contradict the assertions of the adversary and of the scoffer, who have sometimes gone the length of affirming that the attempt to christianize the people of this nation has been a failure—that nothing has been done." . . . "At every station which I personally visited, the converts were so numerous, as to bear a very visible and considerable proportion to the entire population."

The candidates for confirmation were carefully questioned,—

"The grey-haired man and the aged woman took their places to read and to be examined, among their descendants of the second and third generations; the chief and the slave stood side by side, with the same holy volume in their hands, and tary to the Wesleyan Mission. Both these gentlemen ably and consistently advocated the views entertained by the societies to which they respectively belonged, and maintained throughout much long and arduous discussion, a Christian tone of feeling and expression, which could not but gain the respect of all good men.

exerted their endeavours each to surpass the other in returning proper answers to the questions put to them, concerning what they had been reading."

These assemblages took place sometimes in the open air, but generally in a building set apart by the natives in each pah or native village; the Bishop says he encouraged them on all occasions, to probe the extent of the attainments and improvements of the converts. He adds, that the lay catechists, as well as the clergy, were "all animated by a good spirit, and a desire, according to their several abilities, to work the work of God."

To return to the land question, on the part of the Church Mission, 11,600 acres were claimed. This might at first sight seem excessive, were it not a well known fact that the society had no private interest whatever in holding land,* but simply desired to make proper provision for buildings, gardens, and agriculture, for the use of the missionaries, and for the maintenance of the natives connected with their various stations. Their expenditure in New Zealand in 1836 was no less than £13,000; the total cost from the commencement of their operations to the present time amounts to the sum of £273,000 on that mission only. In 1839-40 they had established chapels and schools at Tepuna, Keri-Keri and Wangaroa, Paihia, Waimate, and Kaitia, in the northern part of the island; and at Entry Island, Poverty Bay, Rotorua, Tauranga, Hauraki, and Manukan, in the southern portion. The number of schools at these several stations was eighty-three; the scholars were in all, 2,562. The congregations regularly attending Divine worship were 4,644, the communicants 284.

A farm was established at the *Waimate*, expressly for the encouragement of agriculture among the natives, for their exclusive benefit.

The extent to which spiritual instruction was carried on by European and native catechists at this period is shown in the diffusion of the Church of England Prayer-book and Hymns to the number of 33,000 copies, and in the demand from the London directors for an additional 10,000 copies of the New Zealand Testament, printed in the Maori language. At the Bay of Islands, Mr. Mair states that he could have readily

* By a resolution adopted by the Church Missionary Society, in 1841, the whole of their land in New Zealand was "appropriated to endow or aid the endowment of a parochial ministry, of a bishopric, if necessary, and of educational and

purchased a cargo of corn, if he had had a number of the small Prayer-books circulated by the mission. The land purchased for the Wesleyan Mission in the course of seventeen years, up to July, 1840, in various places where they had established missions, was altogether only 850 acres, and the price paid for the land averaged from *four to five* shillings per acre. At Mangungu, on the Hokianga (their oldest station), they paid £189 10s. for a waste and thickly wooded tract, then comparatively valueless. The land held and tilled by the society did not support the mission; the annual charge on the funds derived from charitable contributions in England was, in 1838, £3,617; in 1839, £3,885; and in 1840, about £4,000.

In 1839, they had stations at Mangungu, Waima, Newark, Orongatta, Kaipara, Heads of Kaipara, Kawia, Waingaroa, Taranaki, and Kapiti. The communicants and scholars amounted to 1,763. Their expenditure on the New Zealand Mission, up to 1848, amounted to upwards of £80,000.

A Roman Catholic Mission was established in 1838, when Monseigneur Pompallier, the bishop arrived, with a priest and catechist; a circumstance deeply to be regretted, because it could not but tend to unsettle and distract the minds of the newly converted heathens, and was besides calculated to rouse a spirit of controversy on points not absolutely necessary to salvation, in the minds of the Church and Wesleyan missionaries.

Having thus endeavoured to afford the reader some idea of the spiritual condition of New Zealand at this important epoch of its history, I now return to its secular affairs.

In the month of May, 1837, Sir R. Bourke, governor of New South Wales, while awaiting the receipt of a promised parliamentary enactment relative to these islands, heard that a war had broken out between two tribes in the vicinity of the Bay of Islands, by which the safety of the British inhabitants, and of the shipping, was endangered. He thereupon sent Captain Hobson, then commanding H.M.S. *Rattlesnake*, as an experienced and judicious officer, for their protection, at the same time desiring him to report his opinions "on the present state of New Zealand, and collegiate establishments; and for other objects of permanent benefit to the natives."—See *Statement of the Church Missionary Society, in reference to the Land purchased by their Missionaries, 1845*

the means of procuring, with the least possible overt interference, the common interests of the natives and of the British settled amongst them."*

This request was complied with by Captain Hobson in an able document, dated August, 1837, wherein, after adverting to the decrease of the natives, and the simultaneous increase of the British subjects, he speaks of the latter as every day acquiring considerable possessions of land; and adds,—

"Heretofore the great and powerful moral influence of the Missionaries has done much to check the natural turbulence of the native population; but the dissolute conduct of the lower orders of our countrymen not only tends to diminish that holy influence, but to provoke the resentment of the natives, which, if once excited, would produce the most disastrous consequences. It becomes, therefore, a solemn duty, both in justice to the better classes of our fellow-subjects, and to the natives themselves, to apply a remedy for the growing evil."

Captain Hobson then suggests the establishment of factories with a surrounding tract of land, at Cloudy Bay, Hokianga, and in other places, as the occupation of British subjects proceeds. The chief factor to be a magistrate, and a treaty to be concluded with the chiefs for the recognition of the factories, and the protection of the British subjects and their property. Mr. Busby had previously (on the 16th of June, 1837), addressed Sir R. Bourke on the same subject, and recommended that England should undertake the protection of New Zealand, and send troops there; proposing a somewhat similar plan to that adopted with regard to the Ionian Islands.

In the beginning of 1838, a select committee of the House of Lords was appointed to enquire into the state of the islands of New Zealand, and the expediency of regulating the settlement of British subjects therein; a variety of witnesses were examined at considerable length (their evidence extending over 352 pages); the report thereupon was solely that,—

"The extension of the colonial possessions of the crown is a question of public policy, which belongs to the decision of her Majesty's government; but, that it appears to this committee, that support, in whatever way it may be deemed most expedient to afford it, of the exertions which have already beneficially effected the rapid advancement of the religious and social condition of the aborigines of New Zealand, affords the best present hopes of their future progress in civilization."

While her Majesty's government were

* Despatch from Governor Bourke to Lord Glenelg, September, 1837.—Parl. Papers, 7th Feb., 1838.

considering the measures to be adopted for the protection and government of British subjects in New Zealand, the necessity for so doing became more evident, as the European population continued to increase. Almost from the establishment of the mission stations, some respectable families had, from time to time, taken up their abode in various localities. At Kororarika, in the Bay of Islands, they had gradually augmented to several hundred of both sexes, and a regular town had been formed, containing a church and two or three hotels. There were seldom less than eight or ten large ships at anchor in its immediate vicinity; and land fronting the water, suitable for the erection of stores, was valued at £1,000 per acre. With the almost instinctive habits of self, or local government, so characteristic of the British race, an endeavour was made to introduce order in the place of anarchy, by establishing a rude system of justice.

In May, 1838, the inhabitants of the district of Kororarika held a public meeting, to determine "the best means for affording protection to, and regulating other matters connected with, the welfare of the residents, both Europeans and natives." The result was the formation of a society, called the *Kororarika Association*, whose authority was to extend "from Matavai to Brind's bay, in a straight line across the land of Oneroa, or the Long Sandy Beach, and all the land that is bounded by the coast from the beach to the bay." The resolutions adopted were fifteen in number. The first may be taken as a fair specimen of the rest. They all partake strongly (and, under the peculiar circumstances of the case, almost unavoidably) of the spirit of "Lynch law."

"Resolution I.—That in the event of any act of aggression being committed on the persons or property of the members of this society by the natives of New Zealand, or others, the individuals of this association shall consider themselves bound to assemble together (armed, if necessary, on being called upon to do so) at the dwelling of the person attacked; and if any member shall refuse, he shall be fined five pounds sterling. *But if the person attacked be in fault, he shall be fined one pound sterling.*"

The second, third, and fourth resolutions were framed to check desertion from ships, by enacting, that every member should,—

"Consider himself bound to aid any commander of a vessel who may apply for the recovery of runaway sailors, who may be at Kororarika, or in its vicinity, within the prescribed time (i.e. four clear days), and if any member shall refuse to give such aid, he shall pay a fine of five pounds sterling."

The fifth and sixth referred to persons

stealing, or receiving stolen goods, knowing them to be such, and enacted, that the party accused of either offence should be obliged to appear before a committee of at least seven members of the association: in the event of their unanimously pronouncing him guilty, he was—

“To be forwarded to the British Resident, to be dealt with as he shall think fit; but if the Resident refuses to act, then the guilty person shall be punished according to the local laws, which necessity shall compel the association to frame.”

The tenth was enacted to enforce the payment of rents; a committee of at least five members to arbitrate in the event of any disputed point between landlord and tenant.

The thirteenth and fourteenth were as follows:—

“That every member of this association shall provide himself, as soon as possible, with a good musket and bayonet, a brace of pistols, a cutlass, and at least thirty rounds of ball-cartridge: and that the said arms and ammunition shall be inspected, at any time, by an officer appointed for that purpose.

“That to form a fund to defray the expenses of this association, each member shall pay, at the next general meeting, ten shillings, and two shillings per month afterwards.”

The punishment inflicted by this self-constituted tribunal (for Mr. Busby, as had been foreseen, declined any interference) was, the banishment of the offenders from the limits of its jurisdiction, with, in some instances, the addition of tarring and feathering. Resistance was hopeless, as the association could rely on the assistance of the natives. The culprit was stripped, covered with a thick and enduring coating of tar from head to foot, then sprinkled all over with feathers of different sizes; and, in this state, led several times backwards and forwards along the beach, to the tune of the *Rogue's March*, amidst the derisive cheers of the English, and the wild shouts of the aborigines. The wretched delinquent was then placed in a canoe, and ordered to leave the settlement of Kororarika for ever, with an assurance that his reappearance would subject him to a repetition of the same disgraceful punishment.

Six months after the formation of the “provisional government” of Kororarika, steps were taken by her Majesty's ministers for “the establishment of some competent British authority within the islands of New Zealand.”

In December, 1838, Lord Glenelg, secretary of state for the colonies, suggested the

appointment of an officer invested with the character and powers of a British consul, and subsequently advised that certain portions of New Zealand should be added to New South Wales, as a dependency of that colony; and that the officer selected for the above-named purpose should likewise receive an appointment as lieutenant-governor of the dependent settlement thus contemplated. These propositions were assented to by the secretary of state for foreign affairs, and by the lords of the treasury, on the express condition that “the annexation of any part of New Zealand, or any assumption of authority beyond that attaching to a British consulate, should be strictly contingent upon the indispensable preliminary of the territorial cession having been obtained by *amicable negotiation with, and free concurrence of, the native chiefs.*”*

Accordingly, in June, 1839, letters patent were issued, authorizing the Governor of New South Wales “to include within the limits of that colony, any territory which is or may be acquired in sovereignty by her Majesty, her heirs and successors, within that group of islands commonly called New Zealand, lying between 34° 30' and 47° 10' S. lat.” In the following month, Captain Hobson received the appointment of British consul in New Zealand. The instructions† addressed to him by the Marquess of Normanby, who then presided over the colonial department, have an important bearing on questions which have since been, and still are, subjects of grave dispute, but they are too lengthy to be inserted in full; I can therefore only cite the most interesting passages. His lordship states that her Majesty's government had not been unaware of the national advantage likely to be derived from the colonization of New Zealand; but had been restrained from engaging in such an enterprise by deference to the advice and concurrence in the opinions of the House of Commons' committee of 1836; which opinions, he adds, her Majesty's ministers still retained “in unimpaired force,” though compelled to alter their course by circumstances over which they had no control. After adverting to “the fact, that a very considerable body of her Majesty's subjects have already established their residence and effected settlements there, and that many persons in this kingdom have formed themselves into a society, having for its object

* Parliamentary Papers of 8th April, 1840, p. 34.

† Ibid. pp. 37—42.

the acquisition of land, and the removal of emigrants to those islands," Lord Normanby (in a passage previously quoted, at p. 131) refers to the character and numbers of the British population, as necessitating the interposition of the government:—

"I have already stated, that we acknowledge New Zealand as a sovereign and independent state, so far at least as it is possible to make that acknowledgment in favour of a people composed of numerous, dispersed, and petty tribes, who possess few political relations to each other, and are incompetent to act, or even to deliberate, in concert. But the admission of their rights, though inevitably qualified by this consideration, is binding on the faith of the British crown. The Queen, in common with her Majesty's immediate predecessor, disclaims, for herself and for her subjects, every pretension to seize on the islands of New Zealand, or to govern them as a part of the dominion of Great Britain, unless the free and intelligent consent of the natives, expressed according to their established usages, shall be first obtained. Believing, however, that their own welfare would, under the circumstances I have mentioned, be best promoted by the surrender to her Majesty of a right now so precarious, and little more than nominal, and persuaded that the benefits of British protection, and of laws administered by British judges, would far more than compensate for the sacrifice by the natives, of a national independence, which they are no longer able to maintain, her Majesty's government have resolved to authorize you to treat with the aborigines of New Zealand for the recognition of her Majesty's sovereign authority over the whole or any parts of those islands which they may be willing to place under her Majesty's dominion. It is not, however, to the mere recognition of the sovereign authority of the Queen that your endeavours are to be confined, or your negotiations directed. It is further necessary that the chiefs should be induced, if possible, to contract with you, as representing her Majesty, that henceforward no lands shall be ceded, either gratuitously or otherwise, except to the crown of Great Britain."

Captain Hobson was farther directed to announce, immediately on his arrival in New Zealand, "that her Majesty will not acknowledge as valid any title to land which is not either derived from or confirmed by, a grant to be made in her Majesty's name, and on her behalf."

With regard to the conduct to be maintained towards the aborigines, in dealing with them for their lands, Lord Normanby enjoins, not merely the observance of the principles of sincerity, justice, and good faith, but adds:—

"Nor is this all. They must not be permitted to enter into any contracts in which they might be the ignorant and unintentional authors of injuries to themselves. You will not, for example, purchase from them any territory, the retention of which by them would be essential, or highly conducive, to their own comfort, safety, or subsistence. The acquisition of land by the crown for the future settlement of British subjects, must be confined to such

districts as the natives can alienate, without distress or serious inconvenience to themselves. To secure the observance of this, will be one of the first duties of their official protector."

In this document it is expressly stated that Captain Hobson had been selected as especially qualified for the position in which he was about to be placed, from the firm reliance reposed in his uprightness and plain dealing.

"Further explanation having been requested by Captain Hobson concerning some portion of his "Instructions," Lord Normanby, in a letter dated August 15, 1839, thus expresses himself on the chief point in question:—

"The remarks which I have made respecting the independence of the people of New Zealand, relate, as you correctly suppose, to the tribes inhabiting the Northern Island only. Our information respecting the Southern Island is too imperfect to allow me to address to you any definite instructions as to the course to be pursued there. If the country is really, as you suppose, uninhabited, except but by a very small number of persons in a savage state, incapable from their ignorance of entering intelligently into any treaties with the crown, I agree with you that the ceremonial of making such engagements with them would be a mere illusion and pretence which ought to be avoided. The circumstances noticed in my instructions, may perhaps render the occupation of the Southern Island a matter of necessity, or of duty to the natives. The only chance of an effective protection will probably be found in the establishment by treaty, if that be possible, or if not, then in the assertion, on the ground of discovery, of her Majesty's sovereign rights over the island. But in my inevitable ignorance of the real state of the case, I must refer the decision in the first instance to your own discretion, aided by the advice which you will receive from the governor of New South Wales."

In December, 1839, Captain Hobson reached Sydney, where speculations in New Zealand lands, were then openly carried on. An auction for the express purpose being advertised as about to be held some few days after his arrival, Sir George Gipps stopped the sale, by warning all persons intending to become purchasers that they would do so at their own risk. The oaths of office were administered by Sir George Gipps, as governor of New South Wales and its dependencies, to Captain Hobson, as lieutenant-governor "in and over any territory which is or may be acquired in sovereignty by her Majesty, her heirs or successors, within that group of islands in the Pacific Ocean commonly called New Zealand." Having received his commission, Captain Hobson sailed from Sydney, accompanied by a treasurer,* collector of customs,

* In a despatch, dated 20th February, 1840, Captain Hobson complains "of the great inconvenience

police magistrate, two clerks, a sergeant and four troopers of the mounted police of New South Wales; on arriving at the Bay of Islands, on the 29th January, 1840, he immediately issued an invitation to all British subjects to meet him on the following day, at the church of Kororarika, and circulated notices, printed in the Maori (native) language, that on the 5th of February he would hold a meeting of the chiefs of the confederation, and of the high chiefs who had not yet signed the Declaration of Independence, for the purpose of discussing a treaty to be proposed for their consideration. The settlers assembled accordingly; and forty of them, including Mr. Busby and a native chief, signed a document attesting that Captain Hobson had then and there read and published two commissions, namely, the one by which the limits of New South Wales were extended so as to comprehend New Zealand, and the other by which he was appointed lieutenant-governor over such parts of the islands as had been or should hereafter be, ceded in sovereignty to the British crown. The proclamations framed by Sir George Gipps were then read, announcing the assertion of her Majesty's authority in New Zealand, and the illegality of any title to land not confirmed by the crown; but declaring that no intention was entertained of dispossessing "the owners of any land acquired on equitable conditions, and not in extent or otherwise prejudicial to the present or prospective interests of the community."

On the 3rd of February, an address was presented to the Lieutenant-governor, signed by forty-five of the inhabitants of Kororarika, in which they declared that "the establishment of British law and British authority" had long been their first desire, assured him of the satisfaction they felt at his appointment, from their knowledge of his personal character, and pledged themselves to aid him with their "best exertions to establish order, law, and security for life and property in this improving and important colony."

On the 5th of February, having first held a levee at the house of Mr. Busby, which was attended by all the principal European inhabitants, Captain Hobson proceeded and responsibility" he had been subjected to by the want of a colonial secretary, or a legal adviser, stating, that no gentleman suited for offices of such trust could be found in New South Wales, who were not already in better circumstances than the limited means of a new colony could afford them.

about noon to the spacious tents erected for the occasion, supported by Captain Nias and the officers belonging to H.M.S. *Herald*; by Mr. Busby, the members of the Church Missionary Society, the French Roman catholic bishop, and the principal residents, and took his place on a raised platform, the native chiefs seating themselves on the ground in the centre of the area within the tents. The business of the meeting commenced by Captain Hobson's announcing the object of his mission, explaining to the chiefs the effect that might be hoped to result from the contemplated measure, and assuring them, in the most fervent manner, that they might rely implicitly on the good faith of her Majesty's government. He then read the treaty, dwelling on each article, and offering a few remarks explanatory of such passages as they might be supposed not to understand; Mr. H. Williams, of the Church Missionary Society, interpreting in the native tongue, sentence by sentence, all that was said.

The treaty, being not very lengthy, and frequently alluded to in discussions on the present state and future prospects of New Zealand, is given verbatim:—

"Her Majesty Victoria, Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, regarding with her royal favour the native chiefs and tribes of New Zealand, and anxious to protect their just rights and property, and to secure to them the enjoyment of peace and good order, has deemed it necessary, (in consequence of the great number of her Majesty's subjects who have already settled in New Zealand, and the rapid extension of emigration both from Europe and Australia, which is still in progress), to constitute and appoint a functionary properly authorized to treat with the aborigines of New Zealand for the recognition of her Majesty's sovereign authority over the whole or any part of these islands. Her Majesty, therefore, being desirous to establish a settled form of civil government, with a view to avert the evil consequences which must result from the absence of the necessary laws and institutions, alike to the native population and to her subjects, has been graciously pleased to empower and to authorize me, William Hobson, a captain in her Majesty's royal navy, Consul and Lieutenant-governor over such parts of New Zealand as may be, or hereafter shall be, ceded to her Majesty, to invite the confederated and independent chiefs of New Zealand to concur in the following articles and conditions:—

"First.—The chiefs of the confederation of the united tribes of New Zealand, and the separate and independent chiefs who have not become members of the confederation, cede to her Majesty the Queen of England, absolutely, and without reservation, all the rights and powers of sovereignty which the said confederation of independent chiefs respectively exercise or possess, or may be supposed to exercise or to possess, over their respective territories, as the sole sovereigns thereof.

"Second.—Her Majesty the Queen of England confirms and guarantees to the chiefs and tribes of New Zealand, and to the respective families and individuals thereof, the full, exclusive, and undisturbed possession of their lands and estates, forests, fisheries, and other properties which they may collectively or individually possess, so long as it is their wish and desire to retain the same in their possession. But the chiefs of the united tribes, and the individual chiefs, yield to her Majesty the exclusive right of pre-emption over such lands as the proprietors thereof may be disposed to alienate, at such prices as may be agreed upon between the respective proprietors and persons appointed by her Majesty to treat with them in that behalf.

"Third.—In consideration thereof, her Majesty the Queen of England extends to the natives of New Zealand her royal protection, and imparts to them all the rights and privileges of British subjects.

(Signed) W. HOBSON."

When Captain Hobson had finished reading the treaty, the chiefs were invited to ask explanations on any point they did not comprehend, and to make any observations or remarks they pleased. Thereupon twenty or thirty addressed the meeting, and opposed the proposition with great violence; and at one period, says Captain Hobson,* "with such effect, and so cleverly, that I feared an unfavourable impression would be produced." "Send the man away," said a chief named Rewa-rewa, addressing his companions; "do not sign the paper; if you do, you will be reduced to the condition of slaves, and be obliged to break stones for the roads. Your land will be taken from you, and your dignity as chiefs will be destroyed."

At this critical juncture Nene and Patuoni arrived with the Hokianga chiefs. Nene, whom Sir George Grey, in a recent dispatch justly designates "our most faithful ally," came forward at the first pause, and "spoke with a degree of natural eloquence which surprised all the Europeans," and turned the tide of feeling among the natives. Addressing himself to his countrymen, he exhorted them to reflect on their own condition; to recollect how much the character of the New Zealanders had been exalted by their intercourse with Europeans; and how impossible it was to govern themselves without frequent wars and bloodshed; concluding by strenuously advising them to receive the British, and to place confidence in their promises. Then, turning to Captain Hobson, he said—"You must be our father! you must not allow us to become slaves! you must preserve our customs, and

* See despatch of Captain Hobson to Sir George Gipps, dated February 5th, 1840, in which a very graphic account is given of the whole transaction.

never permit our land to be wrested from us!" One or two other chiefs followed in the same strain, and the meeting was then adjourned until the day after the morrow, in order to afford them full time for reflection. At this important meeting no presents were given to them, no promises of individual favour made to bribe or bias their decision. Early the next morning it was intimated to Captain Hobson, that the chiefs being perfectly satisfied with his proposal, were desirous at once to sign the treaty, and return to their homes; he therefore assembled the officers of the government, and proceeded to the public tents, accompanied by Mr. Busby and the missionaries, and witnessed about forty-six head chiefs affix their signatures in due form, in the presence of at least five hundred of inferior degree.

"Now therefore, we, the chiefs of the confederation of the united tribes of New Zealand, being assembled in congress at Waitangi, and we, the separate and independent chiefs of New Zealand, claiming authority over the tribes and territories which are specified after our respective names, having been made fully to understand the provisions of the foregoing treaty, accept and enter into the same in the full spirit and meaning thereof.

"In witness whereof, we have attached our signatures or marks at the places and dates respectively specified.

"Done at Waitangi, this 6th day of February, in the year of our Lord, 1840."—(512 signatures.)

The acquiescence of the abovenamed chiefs (twenty-six of whom had signed the Declaration of Independence) was deemed to amount to a full and clear recognition of the sovereign rights of her Majesty over the northern portion of the island, and a salute of twenty-one guns was fired on the occasion.

Captain Hobson forthwith proceeded to the Wesleyan Mission station at Hokianga, where he held a meeting of the chiefs, between four and five hundred of whom assembled, together with a number of natives, in all about three thousand. The proceedings were of precisely the same character as at Waitangi, the Rev. Mr. Hobbs, of the Wesleyan Mission, acting as interpreter: but greater opposition was made to the proposed measure on this than on the previous occasion, which Captain Hobson attributed to the influence of the Roman catholic party, and to some disreputable characters who had located themselves in this vicinity.

The lieutenant-governor nevertheless succeeded in inducing the whole of the head chiefs of the Hokianga to sign the treaty, with two exceptions, and even from

their tribes many inferior chiefs added their names. From the Hokianga, he proceeded to Waitemata, situated in the estuary now called the Frith of the Thames, where, after obtaining the adherence of the principal chiefs in the neighbourhood, he was attacked on the 1st of March, 1840, with paralysis, brought on by anxiety of mind and long exposure to wet. In order that the public service should not suffer by this event, Captain Hobson commissioned Captain Symonds, of the British army, and five members of the Church Missionary society, to procure the signatures of the chiefs of their respective districts to the treaty of Waitangi, these districts comprising the whole of the Northern Island, except Kaitaia, on its north-western extremity, whither he dispatched Mr. Shortland, acting colonial secretary, two gentlemen officially connected with the new government, and the Rev. Mr. Taylor, of the Church Missionary Society.

On the 16th of April, Major Bunbury arrived, with eighty men of the 80th regiment, and Captain Hobson, deeming it advisable to display the dignity and importance of government in a more ostensible manner than could be done by private individuals, dispatched the aforesaid officer in the *Herald* to visit the most important portions of Middle Island or Tavai Poenamou, Stewart's or Southern Island, and such parts of the Northern Island as were not already ceded to the crown, desiring him, if possible, to secure in each place the adhesion of the head chiefs, and especially that of Rauperaha. Before the Lieutenant-governor could receive accounts of more than the partial success of his emissaries, intelligence reached him from authentic sources of the formation into a separate government, of the settlers located at Port Nicholson, under the auspices of the New Zealand Company; their election of a council, and their appointment of Colonel Wakefield as its president. He was likewise informed that taxes had been raised, and most unjust as well as illegal exercise of magisterial authority had been practised.

The measures adopted by Captain Hobson in this emergency may be, for several reasons, best told in his own words:—

"Availing myself of the universal adherence of the native chiefs to the treaty of Waitangi, as testified by their signatures to the original document, in my presence, or to copies signed by me, in the hands of those gentlemen who were commissioned and authorized to treat with them, I yielded to the emergency of the case arising out of the events at Port

Nicholson; and, without waiting for Major Bunbury's report, proclaimed the sovereignty of her Majesty over the Northern Island. Actuated by similar motives, and a perfect knowledge of the uncivilized state of the natives, and supported by the advice of Sir George Gipps, previously given, I also proclaimed the authority of her Majesty over the southern islands on the ground of discovery."

Captain Hobson dispatched Mr. Shortland to publish the proclamation above referred to, together with another addressed to the settlers at Port Nicholson, desiring him immediately on his arrival—

"To displace all persons holding office under the authority of the usurped government, except such as may be engaged by them, merely for private purposes; and to restore to all persons the possession of property, of which they were in occupation when the emigrants arrived, and from which they had been forcibly ejected, by persons calling themselves magistrates."

Meanwhile, Major Bunbury and the other gentlemen appointed by Captain Hobson to carry out the remainder of his instructions (which bodily weakness prevented him from fulfilling in person), after obtaining the signatures of the chiefs of the Northern Island, proceeded to the Middle Island, where they procured the assent of a sufficient number of the head chiefs to warrant the assumption of the sovereignty by cession, and took possession of Stewart's or Southern Island by right of discovery.

Major Bunbury gives the following account of his own tour:—

"I visited the harbours of Coromandel, Mercury Bay, Touranga, Hawke's Bay, Port Nicholson, Robuka Island (Foveaux straits), the islands of Capiti and Mana, Otago and Southern Port (Stewart's Island). From all these places I obtained the necessary signatures, excepting in two places, where my mission had been anticipated by other gentlemen sent by Captain Hobson. At Southern Port (Stewart's Island), and at Cloudy Bay (Middle Island), Captain Nias and myself, judging it would be for the best interests of the natives, as well as European settlers, that further delay should not take place, we proclaimed the Queen's authority with the usual ceremonies, at the former place, on the 5th of June, where we did not meet with natives, by right of discovery; and at the latter on the 17th of June, from the sovereignty having been ceded by the principal native chiefs."

It may here be asked how far the natives really understood the meaning of the treaty of Waitangi, and what their idea was of the right of sovereignty thus conceded, since in the native language there was no such word. The definition given by Nopera, one of the Kaitaia chiefs, when arguing with his countrymen on the subject, offers, perhaps, the most correct answer to both these questions. "The shadow of the

land," he said, "goes to Queen Victoria; but the substance remains with us. We will go to the governor and get a payment for our land, as before." The principal chiefs of the Middle Island were like those of the Northern, most pertinacious in their inquiries as to whether the document which they were requested to confirm, would give any right to the Crown to deprive them of their lands; some were even averse to receiving presents after signing it, lest they should give encouragement to any such pretension. For my own part, I feel no doubt, that the belief of the native chiefs was, that in signing the treaty, they sanctioned the assumption on the part of England, of *magisterial jurisdiction only*, and had no idea of its involving the surrender of any *territorial rights* whatsoever.

To return to the proceedings of what we may now term the local government, which was at first fixed at a place called Russell, three miles from Kororarika, in the Bay of Islands; but about November, 1840, removed to a new site, termed Auckland, situated on an isthmus of land about four miles broad, which unites the northern and southern portions of the Upper Island, and forms, as it were, the connecting link between the opposite coasts, having on the east side the Bay of Waitemata, one of the best harbours in New Zealand; and on the west, the Bay of Manukao, which has likewise a good harbour. Whether considered in reference to these singular advantages, or to its extensive inland water communication,—to the considerable proportion of arable land and fine timber in the adjoining districts, or viewed with regard to its being in the vicinity of the European population who had so long needed the control of some legally organized authority, and likewise of the largest number and most christianized portion of the natives; the selection of this position for the capital was unquestionably a judicious one, and was considered as such by her Majesty's government, who confirmed the choice of Captain Hobson.

A charter for "erecting the colony of New Zealand, and for creating and establishing a Legislative and an Executive Council, and for granting certain powers and authority to the governor for the time being of the said colony," was signed by the Queen on the 16th of November, 1840. This charter or letters patent defined the colony of New Zealand to consist of the

group of islands lying between $34^{\circ} 30'$ and $47^{\circ} 10'$ S. lat., and $166^{\circ} 5'$ and 179° E. long.* and declared that the three principal islands heretofore known as the Northern, Middle, and Stewart's, should henceforth be designated and known respectively as *New Ulster*, *New Munster*, and *New Leinster*. The Legislative Council was to consist of not less than six persons, nominated by the crown, and holding office during its pleasure, with power to make laws and ordinances for the colony, conformable to instructions from the Queen in Council; the Executive Council to be composed of three of the principal members of the government, to assist and advise the governor, who was to be nominated by the crown.

In this charter we find a clause empowering the governor to grant "waste lands," either to private persons or to corporate bodies; but the following paragraph states:—

"Provided always, that nothing in these our letters patent contained, shall affect or be construed to affect the rights of any aboriginal natives of the said colony of New Zealand, to the actual occupation or enjoyment in their own persons, or in the persons of their descendants, of any lands in the said colony now actually occupied or enjoyed by such natives."

Captain Hobson was appointed governor and commander-in-chief of the new colony, and instructions were issued under the royal sign manual, dated the 5th of December, 1840, prescribing his powers and duties, and those of the Legislative and Executive Councils; a survey was to be made, and the colony, as soon as practicable, divided into *counties*, and as nearly as may be into *hundreds* of 100 miles square, and *parishes* of twenty-five miles square. The "waste and uncleared lands belonging to and vested in the crown," were hereafter to be sold at one uniform price. Finally, the governor was enjoined to use every effort "to promote religion and education among the native inhabitants;" "to protect them in their persons, and in the free enjoyment of their possessions; by all lawful means to prevent and restrain all violence and injustice, which may in any manner be practised or attempted against them, and to take such measures as may appear necessary for their conversion to the Christian faith, and for their advancement in civilization."

In the instructions from Lord John

* These boundaries were subsequently altered as will be shown in Topography chapter.

Russell to Governor Hobson, dated 9th of December, 1840, his lordship, referring to the aborigines, said:—

"They are not mere wanderers over an extended surface in search of a precarious existence, nor tribes of hunters or of herdsmen; but a people among whom the arts of government have made some progress—who have established by their own customs a division and appropriation of the soil—who are not without some measure of agricultural skill, and a certain subordination of ranks, with usages having the character and authority of law. In addition to this, they have been formerly recognised by Great Britain as an independent state; and, even in assuming the dominion of the country, this principle was acknowledged, for it is on the deliberate act and cession of the chiefs, on behalf of the people at large, that our title rests."

A civil list was drawn up, fixing the salary of the governor, at £1,200; that of the chief justice, £1,000; colonial secretary, £600;* treasurer, £600; surveyor-general, £600; collector of customs, £500; attorney-general, £400; protector of aborigines, £400. Total, 5,300. The expenses of the above establishment were estimated at £6,000; public buildings and works, £5,000; contingencies at £3,000. Total, £19,300. To meet these charges, it was expected that £10,000 would be raised from duties levied in New Zealand, from 4,000 Europeans; £5,000 to be raised within the colony from land sales there, and £5,000 to be voted by Parliament. The two chief sources of revenue expected were duties on imports, viz., spirits, tobacco, tea, coffee, and sugar, and assessments on uncultivated lands in the hands of private individuals.

I have now traced the leading events in the history of New Zealand, for a period of nearly two centuries, namely, from its discovery by Tasman in 1642 to its formation into a British colony in 1840. Before proceeding further it may be necessary to state that very different opinions are entertained concerning the measures which led to, and terminated in the treaty of Waitangi; some parties considering them to have been injudicious and uncalled for, because New Zealand, before the conclusion of that treaty, was already a British dependency. This view of the case is supported on the following grounds, viz., that Captain Cook,

* The salary of the colonial secretary, of the colonial treasurer, and of the surveyor-general, was to be increased £10 per annum till it reached £800; that of the attorney-general was to be increased £10 per annum, till it reached £500.

† In 1787, the King of England, in a royal commission, declared New South Wales, on the east

the first European who set foot on its shores (which it will be remembered Tasman never did), took possession of both islands in 1769, with the customary formalities; that, consequently, when the colony of New South Wales was formed, New Zealand was included within the jurisdiction of Captain Phillip, its earliest governor;† that in 1814 and in 1819, Governor Macquarie claimed and exercised authority there by appointing magistrates; that in 1832, a British Resident was stationed at the Bay of Islands; and that, in December, 1837, a man named Edward Doyle underwent the extreme sentence of the law at Sydney, New South Wales, for a burglary committed at the Bay of Islands, on the 18th of June, 1836; the sentence being executed under the authority of an act of the Imperial Parliament. (9 George IV.) The remark by the British government of the vessels belonging to New Zealand, and of a distinctive flag, is asserted to be no more than had been previously done in the case of British possessions, and with regard to the Declaration of Independence in 1835, the remark of Sir George Gipps, is cited, that it was simply "a paper pellet, fired off by Mr. Busby at the Baron de Thierry."

On the other hand, it is contested that the rights of the Crown in New Zealand (at least as far as the two principal islands are concerned), rest solely on the treaty of Waitangi.

The chief arguments used to enforce this opinion will be found succinctly stated in a memorandum transmitted by Lord John Russell to Viscount Palmerston, bearing date 18th of March, 1840. It is there stated "that the British statute book has in three distinct enactments, declared that New Zealand is not a part of the British dominions; and secondly, that King William IV. made the most public, solemn, and authentic declaration which it was possible to make, that New Zealand was a substantive and independent state," by accrediting Mr. Busby to the chiefs, in a letter addressed to them as heads of an independent people, and still more by formally and practically acknowledging their national coast of Australia, "extending from Cape York, lat. 11° 37', to the South Cape, lat. 43° 30', and inland to the westward as far as 135° long., comprehending all the islands adjacent in the Pacific Ocean within the latitude of the above-named capes," as part of the British dominions, in virtue of the sovereignty established by Captain Cook.

flag, and giving effect to the registers of their vessels. With regard to the right acquired by the proceedings of Captain Cook, it has been urged, not only that it was, at the utmost, "a right inchoative, good as against third parties, but not as against the native owners of the soil," but that even if England had thereby become possessed of any kind or degree of dominion over these islands, such assumption had been wholly annulled and abrogated by the subsequent unqualified admissions of the national independence of New Zealand. Having briefly enumerated the points most strongly insisted upon, on either side of the question, most of which have been more fully dwelt on in the previous pages, I leave the reader to form his own conclusion.

NEW ZEALAND COMPANY.—Before entering upon the administration of Governor Hobson, it is necessary to give some account of a company, whose proceedings during the last ten years have materially affected the interests of that colony, and have exercised an important influence over the minds of what may be termed the "colonizing" portion of the British population.

I approach the subject with reluctance, for it involves the investigation and analysis of perplexing and contradictory statements, and necessitates inquiry into the transactions of a corporate body, which, during its whole existence, has been more or less at variance, both with the imperial and local government.

In order to give some idea of the manner in which the "New Zealand question," as it is called, has been overwhelmed with voluminous masses of documents, I may enumerate a portion of the materials which I deemed it necessary to examine, before attempting an exposition of the leading facts connected with it. Irrespective of the numerous debates in both Houses of Parliament, *one** of which contains 287 closely printed 8vo pages, there are the parliamentary reports and papers, printed by order of the Houses of Lords and Commons, or presented by royal command, occupying 4,548 large folio pages. The twenty-five reports of the "Directors of the New Zealand Company," and the documents appended thereto, extend over 2,882 octavo pages; the eight ponderous

volumes of the *New Zealand Journal* (the weekly organ of the directors of the company), contain 2,768 pages. But this is far from being the whole that has been printed and published on this subject. There are now before me four-and-twenty different works on New Zealand, several of them in two volumes, some attacking, others vindicating the conduct of the Company; besides, the journals of the Bishop of New Zealand, the reports of the Church and Wesleyan Missions, and of the Aborigines Protection Society, not to mention innumerable pamphlets, and papers put forth at various times in magazines and periodicals. Altogether, I consider the mass of printed matter exclusively relating to New Zealand, which has come under my notice within the last few months, would about equal twenty thousand printed 8vo pages; a very large proportion of this has a direct bearing on the affairs of the Company.

Notwithstanding these voluminous statements, there does not anywhere appear, a clear, impartial, and connected view of the proceedings of the individuals, who, at different times, endeavoured to form associations, the common object of which, under different pretences, was the acquisition of lands in New Zealand at a very low rate, and their resale in England at a very high one.

The first attempt of the kind which I have been able to trace, was made by an unchartered association, formed in 1825, for whom, in 1826-7, a Captain Herd purchased some land at Herd's Point,* in the Hokianga river, and two islands at the entrance of the Waitemata river. The tract at Herd's Point, or Okara, remaining unoccupied, the natives requested Mr. W. White, a Wesleyan missionary, when proceeding to England in 1836, to find out the parties by whom it was claimed, and request them either to come and take possession of it, or receive back the value of the consideration that had been given for it; adding, that in the event of neither proposal being complied with, they intended to resume the land.

In another place, when endeavouring to trace some portion of the large amount of capital which has been at different times and by various means acquired and dissi-

* Debate in the House of Commons on 17th, 18th, and 19th June, in the case of New Zealand and the New Zealand Company; printed by John Murray, 1845.

* This tract was constantly represented by the Association as of considerable extent; it eventually proved to comprise about *one square mile*.—See App. to Rep. from Parl. Com. on New Zealand in 1844, p. 636.

pated by the New Zealand Company, I shall have occasion to notice the sums of money said to have been expended in extinguishing associated or individual pretensions. For the present it is sufficient to state that Mr. Dillon Bell, acting secretary to the New Zealand Company, writing to Lord John Russell, in April, 1841, states expressly that (excepting the territory on both sides of Cook's Straits, which Colonel Wakefield is alleged to have purchased in 1839,) the extent of their possessions amount only to a "tract on the Hokianga river, claimed in virtue of a contract with Lieutenant M'Donnell, and two islands at the mouth of the Thames, claimed in virtue of a contract with the New Zealand Company of 1825. These islands and the tract at Hokianga are wholly unfit for the seat of a considerable colony."

On the 22nd of May, 1837, the first meeting of an "Association for the colonization of New Zealand," was held in the Adelphi, London, Mr. Edward Gibbon Wakefield in the chair,* and the views entertained by its projectors were soon after made public, in a full-sized duodecimo volume.† The main object of the Association was to obtain from the Crown the power of acquiring, in its own right, and for its own purposes, the cession of the sovereignty from the aborigines, and of purchasing their lands and re-selling them in England at "a sufficient price," by lottery, as had been previously done (with considerable pecuniary advantage to the projectors and early speculators) in South Australia. (See Div. iv. p. 639.) Having obtained this delegated authority, the step next contemplated was to borrow capital, with which to make the first purchases of land, then to buy another tract with part of the proceeds of the first resale, and to continue repeating the "operation over and over again," until—but here it may be best to let the propounders of the project themselves describe the con-

templated result of such a course of proceeding—

"But this operation would probably be repeated over and over again, in the formation of new settlements and the extension of old ones. Suppose that, in progress of time, British New Zealand, or Victoria as it may be called, should be saddled, to use a common expression, with a debt of several millions—what then? Why, a time would surely come, and long before all the land of these islands had become private property, when it would be not only inexpedient, but mischievous to add to the colonial population by means of emigration from Britain; and, from that time forth, the whole of the sums received as the purchase-money of public lands, (deducting payment to natives, and a small portion for local improvements,) would be an available fund for paying off the colonial debt."—*Principles, Objects, and Plans of the New Zealand Association*, p. 61.

In the ensuing page of the work are some forcible remarks respecting "the great evil belonging to our present mode of colonizing New Zealand," viz., "the frauds practised by British settlers in their bargains with the natives for land," which were the cause of "disputes arising out of such real or pretended bargains." After referring to "adventurers laying claim to large tracts without a shadow of right," the association recommended that "from the time when a British authority was established in New Zealand, or seriously contemplated, it would be most expedient to put an end to all private bargains for land."‡

It will be readily conjectured, that the objects of the Association (avowed and latent) excited the serious alarm both of the Church and Wesleyan Missionary Societies. Mr. Dandeson Coates, in an able pamphlet, before referred to, exposed several of the fallacies contained in the volume from which I have just quoted, but especially denounced the pretence of disinterestedness under which the desire of "gain, the main-spring and ultimate end of the whole scheme," was hidden. Mr. Coates remarks, that "it is generally and confidently reported, that in the event of the government sanctioning the project of the

* *New Zealand Journal*, No. 130, for 1844, p. 658.

† *The British Colonization of New Zealand, being an Account of the Principles, Objects, and Places of the New Zealand Association*, (422 pages), published for the Association, by J. W. Parker. Preface dated 20th October, 1837.

‡ The leading members of the association must have been well aware that these measures had long been urged upon her Majesty's ministers by the governor of New South Wales. Mr. Busby, in a despatch, dated 16th of June, 1837, recommended that simultaneously with the establishment of a British government in New Zealand, means should be resorted to for ascertaining and fixing, upon equitable

principles, the titles of British subjects to land, which they claimed to have purchased from the natives; that a special commission of persons not connected with the country, should be appointed for this important duty, adding, that after the existing claims were disposed of, it would be necessary to declare all purchases void, of which sufficient notice had not been given to the government, in order that the real proprietors of the land might be ascertained. "Humanity," says Mr. Busby, "would also require that certain districts should be fixed in perpetuity in the native proprietors, and that it should be enacted that all claims to the possession of such lands by foreigners, howsoever acquired, should be absolutely null and void."

association, the chief administrative authority would be confided to Mr. E. G. Wakefield. If so," he adds, "why is it not told? Why are the public kept in ignorance of a point so deeply affecting the success of the undertaking?"*

Mr. Wakefield, in a published letter, dated 12th December, 1837, purporting to be written in vindication of the proposed Association, does not contradict the latter assertion, but carries the war into the enemy's camp, by attacking the Church Missionary Society in general, and Mr. Coates in particular; admitting, nevertheless, that "the missionaries have so far humanized the natives, as to render the country very attractive to such British settlers as have no object but gain;" he declares that "a portion of the plan of the Association, which Mr. Coates has disdained to mention, forms one of the greatest missionary projects ever suggested;" and concludes with a panegyric on "the deliberate, systematic, and much-approved plan of the New Zealand Association."

If, however, Mr. Wakefield felt aggrieved by the silence of the lay secretary of the Church Missionary Society, concerning a portion of the scheme which he so highly lauds, full amends were made for that omission, by the secretary of the Wesleyan Society, the Rev. John Beecham, who, in a pamphlet entitled *Colonization*, examines separately each proposition of, perhaps, one of the wildest and most impracticable theories ever promulgated by a public body, as exhibiting something like a sketch or outline of their actual plan of proceeding.

I subjoin Mr. Beecham's extracts from, and comments on, the chapter entitled, "Exceptional Laws in favour of the Natives of New Zealand," in which the means to be used for civilizing the natives are stated at considerable length. Let it not, however, be supposed, that the following able exposition of the absurdity and utter fallacy of the propositions contained therein, occasioned its abandonment: on the contrary, it remained a much-vaunted part of the scheme of the New Zealand Association of 1837, and became so of the New Zealand Company of 1839, though no attempt was ever made to carry it into execution:—

"The chapter," says Mr. Beecham, "commences

* I would here be understood only as quoting the sentiments of Mr. Coates; for I believe that many of the members of the Association were really actuated by sincere, but ill-directed philanthropy.

upon the principle, that the New Zealander is not capable of being converted at once into a British subject, and that he cannot, therefore, be placed immediately under British law. 'Since then,' it is remarked, 'the people are not adapted to our laws, the only course which remains for us is to adapt our laws to the people.'

"2. The recently-discovered method of transplanting a full-grown tree without injury from one soil to another, is used as a simile to represent the introduction of the New Zealanders, with their national peculiarities and usages, into the British colony; removing only those customs which are radically bad, and sedulously fostering whatever may be innocent and characteristic.

"3. *Chieftainship*, being one of the most obvious and striking peculiarities of the social system in New Zealand, it is said, is to be respected; and it is proposed that—

"'Every chief who disposes of his lands to the British crown, and consents to liberate his slaves, should have allotted to him, within the British settlement, such a tract of land, proportionate in the case of each several chief to the extent of territory which he has ceded, and the number of slaves to whom he has granted their liberty, as would place him in as favourable a position with regard to the possession of landed property, as the principal English settlers. This land should be kept in reserve for him, until by education and intercourse with civilized people he had learned to estimate its value.'

"Where the chief is to live, and what are to be the means of his support, until, by the proposed educational process, he shall be prepared to take possession of, and enjoy, his reserved estate, is not, however, to be learned from the book. This proposal appears so very liberal, that it is judged necessary to stop and defend it.

"'Nor should we,' [it is argued, 'be acting unjustly by ourselves in conferring so great a benefit upon the New Zealander. The benefit which he would confer upon us by ceding to us his territory would be immeasurably great, and beyond all comparison greater than the consideration which he would be likely to demand, or we should be willing to give for it. In order therefore, to be just in the sight of our own consciences, we must grant him some further benefit; and what benefit can we grant him more suitable for his circumstances, with more ease to ourselves, and more in accordance with our own principle of colonization, than a portion of that land' (that is, a portion of his own land) 'which has so greatly increased in value by the mere circumstance of our possessing it.'

"This will, no doubt, be regarded by the reflecting reader as one of the most remarkable instances of casuistry,—one of the most ingenious remedies for an unsettled and uneasy conscience, that has ever come under his observation.

"4. The services of the more respectable colonists are to be called into requisition in teaching the New Zealanders:—

"'It would therefore be incumbent upon the members of the best families among the English to lay themselves out, as one of the finest occupations in which they could engage, for the cultivation and improvement of the native mind, for training them up to civilized habits, courteous behaviour, decorous conduct, and generous sentiments.'

"5. 'Some of the picturesque and romantic insti-

tutions of the feudal age' are to be revived. 'The establishment of a principle of social alliances throughout the colony' is proposed; and it is intended that the principal English families shall adopt, as their friends and allies, the chief families of the territory where they may have established themselves. The advantages of this arrangement are thus argued:—

"Nor would such an institution be without its value for the English gentleman as well as the New Zealand chief. It would confer upon both an honourable distinction of a neutral character, and founded, as all honourable distinctions ought to be, in the high qualities of confidence, generosity, faithfulness, respect for social ties, and regard for the interests of posterity. The offices of the English leader towards his adopted friend would be,—to entertain him as his guest, to instruct him in the point of honour, to correct his savage notions with regard to the retaliation of injuries, to influence his pursuits, to teach him the value of property, and the obligations it entails on its possessor. The younger members of the families of the chiefs might be introduced into the families of their English protectors, to undergo that wholesome mixture of education, service, manly exercise, and moral discipline, which the sons of our English gentry were once accustomed to receive in the houses of the wealthier nobility. Their daughters would be the especial care of the English ladies, and would receive from them such instructions, and render them such services, as would best fit them for their place in society."

"6. Next, *Heraldry* is to render its aid. The chapter proceeds:—

"It can scarcely be doubted, that these alliances would be more palpably and more gracefully cemented, were the English family to confer on the New Zealand family a *coat of arms*, somewhat similar to their own, but with such a modification as the rules of heraldry might prescribe, in order to keep up the difference between them. Heraldry, too, with its achievements and honorary distinctions, might be turned to good account in rewarding merit in the New Zealander; it would be a practice well-suited to impress his imagination, and might be made available for purposes which have grown obsolete in England."

"7. Then *chivalry* is to contribute its part; and St. Palaye's ancient chivalry is to be a text-book —

"The institution of chivalry is acknowledged to have had a wonderful effect, in softening the manners and improving the character of our ancestors in the middle ages; and there are so many points of resemblance between the state of society at that period, and the actual condition of the New Zealanders, that we should not lightly reject the assistance we might derive from St. Palaye, in framing their social institutions."

"8. In connexion with chivalry, 'the *kind of literature* which would be likely at once to suit their taste, and to elevate and improve their characters,' comes under consideration; and the question is decided in favour of 'the *old romances of chivalry and the heroic poets*.'"

"Few things," it is said, "would be more interesting than to observe the effect which might be produced upon such natures, by reading to them, in their own language, *some stirring passage of Homer, or some affecting incident from the pages of Sir Thomas Malore*."

"9. After this, the question of *criminal law* is

considered, on the principle that 'it would be palpably unjust to govern savages by the strict enforcement of a criminal law, framed for civilized communities.'

"The plan having thus been sketched out, a few paragraphs are added respecting the spirit in which this benevolent enterprise is to be prosecuted."

"Such," it is concluded, 'are some of the provisions which might be made for preserving and improving the native race, and making it contribute to the future greatness of the whole community; but let us not forget the high and holy principle which must be the soul of every effort for the benefit of mankind.'

"Before, however, the consideration of 'the *soul*' of the system devised for elevating the New Zealanders is entered upon, the reader is requested to pause for a moment longer upon the *system itself*. Can any one seriously believe that this scheme describes a middle state, through which it will be practicable to raise the New Zealander from 'primitive barbarism' to 'high civilization?' If the subject were not of too grave a character—if it did not really and truly involve the destinies of a noble though barbarous aboriginal race, it might well provoke a smile to imagine the effect which the description of this plan would have upon the mind of the New Zealander himself, did he sufficiently understand it. Could he at all be made to comprehend this heterogeneous compound of his own national peculiarities and customs, ancient feudal institutions, and the regulations of modern civilized society—could anything approaching to an adequate idea of chivalry and St. Palaye, heraldry and a coat of arms, the old romances and heroic poets—Homer and Sir Thomas Malore—be introduced into his mind; at the same time that he was given to understand that it was intended by these means to transform him into a gentleman, and enable him to take his place among the intelligent and polished subjects of the Virgin Queen, who was to honour his country by giving to it her own name—what would be his wonder and incredulity on being permitted to peep through such a vista to his destined future elevation and greatness!"

After adverting to the absence, on the part of the association, of any pledge for the support of even a single Christian teacher for the natives, Mr. Beecham remarks:—

"The fact is, that the principle on which the colony is to be founded will so operate, as to put it out of the power of the association to make an adequate provision for the religious instruction of the natives. They have a lure for every description of character whom they wish to conciliate and engage in their cause; and the recommendation of their plan, which they offer to the political economist, is, that it is a *self-supporting* colony which they propose to form. Be it so; but this clashes with the recommendation of it which they give to the Christian philanthropist. They cannot, then, have the means which will enable them to perform their promise to the latter. According to the financial part of their plan, which is pretty clearly developed, it appears that the profits arising from the re-sale of lands to the settlers are to form an emigration fund; and that the expense of commencing the colony, and providing for the erection of public buildings, the administration of government, defence of the colony, and such like matters, is to be met by borrowing

money on interest, until a colonial revenue shall be created. Seeing that this vast and expensive undertaking is thus to be commenced with borrowed money, is it at all likely that the association would venture to increase that great risk which they must necessarily run, by taking up, at a high rate of interest, those additional sums which would be required to meet the expense of providing a sufficient number of Christian teachers for the benefit of the natives? Believe it who may.

"What, then, is the conclusion to which the inquirer is at length conducted? Why, after all the high-wrought panegyrics which have been bestowed upon the new and vastly improved system of colonization which the New Zealand Association have devised; after all the glowing descriptions of its transcendent excellence, as a system for communicating Christianity and civilization to the natives; it turns out that the philanthropic part of their plan, which is thus put forward so prominently, for the purpose of influencing religious and benevolent persons to embark in the undertaking, is not to be carried into effect *by the Association themselves*. The agency necessary for effecting the elevation of the natives is left contingent on *the zeal to be awakened in the mother-country*; and the pecuniary means necessary for its support are looked for from *zealous societies or individuals*, and are not to be provided out of *the funds of the Association*. If the language which the Association employ have any meaning, then is it most manifest, that the work of Christianizing the New Zealanders, on which, as has been shown, their civilization entirely depends, is to be left in the hands where it now is; and that the Missionary Societies, and their liberal friends and supporters in this country, are to enjoy, as at present, the privilege of providing *pecuniary means*, as well as agents, for its successful prosecution."

The sound, practical sense of the above observations is not more conspicuous than the genuine and single-minded zeal for the best interests of the natives which distinguishes the whole of Mr. Beecham's pamphlet. If his arguments, together with those of Mr. Coates, had had their due weight with the public generally, much of the misery attendant upon the formation of the settlements of Wellington, Plymouth, and especially of Nelson, might have been avoided.

But this is anticipating. To return to the course of events. The promoters of the proposed Association, aware (according to Mr. Wakefield)* that "the Colonial-office would be hostile" to their project, sought and obtained, through Mr. Francis Baring, M.P., an interview with the premier, Viscount Melbourne, in June, 1837; Lord Howick, then a member of the government, "who had paid great attention to colonial subjects," was likewise present.

At this interview, it is important to re-

mark, that "no draft of a bill was produced, and no detailed account was given of the means which the association proposed to adopt for carrying their objects into effect; but almost immediately after it, a very imperfect outline of a proposed bill was submitted to Viscount Melbourne, and also to Viscount Howick, by Mr. Baring, on the 14th of June, 1837, "under an impression," says Mr. Wakefield, "that Lord Melbourne, not intending to bestow much attention on the subject, would probably be guided by the judgment of Lord Howick."

The latter-named nobleman, on being informed that such an impression existed, immediately wrote to Mr. Ward, the secretary of the Association, stating that there was a misapprehension as to the extent of the authority given to him on the subject; and, in a letter to Mr. F. Baring, dated the 29th of June, "disclaimed having any power to give any decision, on the part of the government, upon the proposal." His lordship "always expressed his opinion that the scheme was not at that time so far matured as to render it possible for the government to express a definitive opinion, either favourable or hostile to the measure; and that it was only when the clauses of it (the bill) were actually drawn out, and when the manner in which the principle was carried into effect should be seen, that the government could possibly form a judgment whether the bill would be objectionable or not."*

On the 29th of December, a deputation from the New Zealand Association again waited on Lord Melbourne, Lord Glenelg being present as colonial minister. A week after, the same persons had an interview with Lord Glenelg, at the Colonial-office, and were then informed that, during the week, some important despatches had been received from New Zealand (alluding to those of Captain Hobson and Mr. Busby: see p. 137); and that her Majesty's ministers were disposed to entertain the proposition of sanctioning the formation of a colony by a public association. They objected to its establishment by act of Parliament; but were willing to consent to "the incorporation, by a royal charter, of various persons, to whom the settlement and government of the projected colony, for some short terms of years, would be confided."

* Evidence of Mr. Edward Gibbon Wakefield, before the Commissioners' Committee, 13th July, 1840.

* Mr. E. G. Wakefield's evidence before Parliamentary Committee, 1843—questions 883, 888, 891, 892.

This offer was officially made by Lord Glenelg to Lord Durham, in a letter dated the 29th December, 1837; the chief provisions or conditions of the proposed charter being to the following effect:—

The settlement to be established, "if at all," with the free consent of the existing inhabitants or of their chiefs. Crown to nominate officers, with whose concurrence alone contracts for the purchase of land from the natives should be made; and no contract to be valid without its assent. Government to have a veto as to the persons who should compose the governing body of the corporation in the first instance, and the power of nominating a certain number, if they should think it expedient; and also to possess *a veto on the nomination by the corporate body of the governor* and other important functionaries. The crown to have the right of disallowing all laws enacted for the government of the colony. The whole administration—legislative, judicial, military, and financial—to be confided to the corporate body during the continuance of the charter; but the utmost publicity to be given to the proceedings of the association, by periodical reports to government and Parliament, quarterly courts, &c. A fixed proportion of the proceeds of the sales of land to be appropriated to the erection and maintenance of places of divine worship and school-houses, and for the support of ministers of religion. The most ample participation in the benefits of this provision for religious and scholastic instruction to be secured to the aborigines, for whom protectors were to be appointed by the Queen, and paid out of the land fund. Gratuitous grants of land to be prohibited, and all lands to be sold by public auction, at a fixed upset price. The rights already lawfully acquired in New Zealand by British subjects to be protected; and the missionaries to be secured in the freest exercise of their functions, in imparting religious instruction to the natives. Finally, before the colony entered upon the transaction of business, a certain capital was to be subscribed, and some definite portion paid up.

By another clause it was required that the proposed colony should not be co-extensive with the whole of the islands of New Zealand, and it was stated that a similar charter of incorporation might be granted to any other body, such companies not to interfere with the jurisdiction of each other, and to have the same restrictions im-

posed as to the selling price of land, and as to any other important particular. Concurrence with these conditions (which were evidently framed to prevent land-jobbing, and thwart plans of individual aggrandizement) was at once refused, and the offer of a charter consequently withdrawn. The Association, nevertheless, determined to prosecute their object; and if possible to force the government to a compliance with their views, through the medium of Parliament. Their first move was made in the House of Lords, where, mainly by their influence, a committee was appointed, whose "Report," dated 3rd April, 1838, has been already quoted (p. 137). So far, however, from advocating the views of the Association, the Lords declared the extension of the colonial possessions of the crown to be a question of public policy which belonged to the decision of her Majesty's government, and recommended solely that support should be given to the exertions which had already produced such beneficial results; alluding of course to the fruits of missionary labour, of which abundant evidence had been adduced before the committee.

Thus foiled in the Upper House, the association reverted to their original intention of proceeding by bill in the House of Commons. Accordingly in June, 1838, Mr. Francis Baring and Sir George Sinclair, brought in a bill, the preamble to which, after setting forth the advantages offered by New Zealand for colonization; the augmenting numbers of British settlers; the regular and increasing trade and intercourse carried on with British and other shipping; and the necessity for the establishment of some authority; goes on to the effect that—

"Whereas divers of her Majesty's subjects now in Great Britain, and possessing among them considerable property, are desirous of settling in such parts of the islands of New Zealand as the native inhabitants may be willing to cede to her Majesty, provided that adequate protection be secured to their persons and properties within such territories; and that others of her Majesty's subjects are ready and willing to advance considerable sums in order to the foundation and maintenance of settlements in the said islands, upon condition that the government thereof be confided provisionally to commissioners specially appointed for that purpose, with the approval of the crown; that the waste lands be disposed of to settlers by sale only, upon a sound and uniform system, and that the purchase-money thereof be employed principally as an emigration fund."

The leading enactments of the bill by which, according to the preamble, her Majesty's said subjects were to be enabled to carry the above purposes into effect, were

the appointment of sixteen commissioners therein named, *three* or more of whom might sit as a board, and in the absence of the chairman, might appoint one of their number "to preside for that turn," and exercise the chairman's privilege of a casting vote. The commissioners to be empowered to make treaties with the natives or other competent persons in New Zealand, to impose taxes, customs, duties, and assessments; appoint councils of government; constitute courts of justice; exercise civil and criminal jurisdiction; maintain and command armed land and sea forces; proclaim and enforce martial law whenever they should deem necessary; borrow money to any extent at 10 per cent.; create "a public debt to be owing by the settlements in all time to come to the holders of all such securities, bonds, obligations, or grants of annuities as shall have been made, granted, or issued by the said commissioners," and all without any private responsibility on the part of the borrowers. There were other clauses authorizing the Queen on the application of the commissioners, to erect a bishopric in New Zealand, decreeing that it should be lawful for her Majesty to appoint a protector of aborigines. All purchases made by individuals after the proclamation of this act in New Zealand, to be void.

The land purchased from, or ceded by the natives was to be sold at an uniform price of not less than 12s. an acre, "whatever the quality or situation of the land put up for sale," (rock, mountain, or bog). The land revenue thus obtained, after deducting one-fourth, to be divided into two parts—one called the "purchase fund," and the other the "emigration fund,"—the former to be used for the "fulfilment of such treaties or contracts for the cession of territories and sovereign rights, as shall be

* Mr. E. G. Wakefield assured the Parliamentary committee of 1840, that "the New Zealand Association resembled in its constitution the Anti-Slavery Society;" that "*no member of it had any private interest whatever*;" in fact, that all were actuated by purely patriotic motives. This assertion is, as we have already seen, contradicted by the clause (43) which provided for the reimbursement to some of the commissioners named in the bill, of moneys said to have been expended by them, and others under the name of the New Zealand Company of 1825, but on other grounds their alleged "*patriotic motives*" are pointedly denied by several individuals; among other statements I find the printed copy of a letter transmitted officially to Lord Glenelg on the 4th of January, 1838, of which the original was forwarded to Mr. E. Gibbon Wakefield

made in pursuance of this act; and in defraying the incidental expenses strictly relating thereto;" the latter to be devoted to emigration purposes. The "fourth part" of the land revenue above-mentioned to be employed for local improvements, to the extent of *one-fifth*,—and to the extent of *one-twentieth*, for the benefit and improvement of the natives; the remainder to be at the disposal of the commissioners.

A "commissioner for native titles," was to be *appointed by the commissioners*, to hear and determine the claims of all persons to lands bought by them from the natives before the proclamation of this act; and claimants dissatisfied with the land commissioner's award, were to be at liberty to *appeal to the courts and judges appointed by the commissioners*. In fact, all acquisitions of land by British subjects in New Zealand previous to the passing of this act, were to be at the mercy of the commissioners, and to be subject to such further regulations as to them should "seem meet." The commissioners were also to be authorized to buy up the "claims and rights" of a "New Zealand company," which was to have been formed in 1825, in consideration of the members of the said company "consenting to relinquish their claims" to a charter, and to "cede all their lands and rights" in New Zealand. What those lands and rights were was not stated; neither the money expended, nor the money to be paid, nor the nature of the promised charter to have been granted thirteen years previous; nor the names of the members who were to receive this remuneration,—it was however understood that several of the commissioners named in this bill of 1838, were the identical members (or their legal representatives) of the intended New Zealand Company of 1825.*

Two other clauses which ought not to be on the same day. The writer, Mr. White, was an active member of the New Zealand Association, and materially assisted in the preparation of the work entitled *The Principles, Objects, and Plans, of the New Zealand Association*. Without vouching for the character of Mr. White, attaching implicit credence to his assertions, or entering in detail into the very grave and explicit charges which he brings forward, I shall merely observe that he declares himself to have believed up to Thursday the 28th December, that the gentlemen of the committee were really actuated by *public motives* solely, whereas on that day he had heard four gentlemen of the committee, (whose names are stated, and who were well known to have actively exerted themselves both in and out of parliament in behalf of the Association,) avow distinctly that they entered into the Associa-

left unnoticed were—first, the exemption from custom duties in Great Britain of various articles, the growth or produce of New Zealand; second, the exemption from stamp duty of all bonds and other instruments executed by the commissioners.

The bill was opposed by her Majesty's ministers for many obvious reasons, some of which are forcibly stated in the subjoined extract from the speech of Viscount Howick:—

"If the parties interested in the measure think proper to advance these new funds, they may do so when they please; but it is a totally different question when the government are called upon to countenance and sanction, by an act of parliament, a measure of this kind, in which it is provided that the scheme may be carried on by means of a borrowed capital, bearing interest at £10 per cent." * * * "The government is not unwilling to consider, and if possible, to support, a measure for colonizing New Zealand, which shall have incorporated in it the two principles—first, of security against inveiglement of her Majesty's subjects; and secondly, security for the observance of justice towards the aborigines. This is the extent of the promise given by government. But this bill answers neither of these conditions; it affords security neither to the subjects of the crown, nor to the natives of New Zealand. I do not wish to enter at length into details; each clause, if possible, is more monstrous than the other."—*Vide Mirror of Parliament*, 1838, p. 4,919.

The House of Commons agreed in opinion with her Majesty's ministers, and the bill was thrown out by a large majority. It might naturally be supposed that its unconstitutional and unreasonable provisions were amply sufficient to account for its rejection, but we find Mr. Wakefield stating in his evidence, before the House of Commons' committee, 13th of July, 1840, that "the whole measure was opposed upon the grounds of a supposition which had been very diligently spread over the country, that this was a joint-stock company, having no object but to make money by what is called *land-sharking* in New Zealand."

Perhaps some of my readers may be reminded by the above uncalled for assertion, of the old French proverb, "*Qui s'excuse s'accuse*."

On the rejection of the bill, the New Zealand Association dissolved itself, but speedily reappeared under a somewhat altered form and denomination, for several of its most diligent promoters, aware that various causes, already related, were tending to the establishment of British sovereignty in New

Zealand, in which case the Crown would doubtless acquire the right of pre-emption with regard to all future purchases, and thus materially check, if not entirely stop their projects; knew that no time was to be lost, and formed themselves into a joint-stock association, which they at first designated the New Zealand Colonization Company, afterwards the New Zealand Land Company, and eventually, the New Zealand Company.

On the 4th of March, 1839, Mr. Standish Motte, as chairman of the New Zealand Colonization Company, solicited on its behalf an interview with the Marquis of Normanby (then secretary of state for the colonies), "with a view to obtaining through his lordship the fulfilment of a pledge," which he (Mr. Motte) alleged to have been given by Lord Glenelg, in December, 1837, for the grant of a royal charter of incorporation on certain conditions. By the "re-organization of the Association," the chairman declared that the required conditions had been fully complied with: he further stated that—

"A vessel has already been purchased, at a considerable expense, for the pioneer expedition and the surveying staff, which is still lying in the dock; and it is imperative to the interests of those who have sold their property and embarked their fortunes upon the pledge of the government last year, that the sanction of her Majesty's government to a charter should be immediately obtained, in order that the expedition should forthwith sail."

By what statements the persons alluded to in the above paragraph had been led to believe that the government were "pledged to protect and sanction" their rash proceedings, I do not attempt to conjecture. Lord Normanby replied (11th March, 1839) that the offer of a charter in 1838 had been distinctly rejected by the parties to whom it was made, who then—

"Applied to Parliament to obtain the powers which they had failed to procure from the Crown, and the application was unsuccessful. During the interval which has since elapsed, much additional information had been obtained, bearing materially upon the question which is in debate. Under such circumstances, Lord Normanby would hold himself entirely unfettered by the offer of the last year, even if the benefit of it were now claimed by the persons to whom it was made. This, however, is not the case. The list of the gentlemen with whom you are now acting, differs most essentially from the list which was laid before Lord Glenelg in the year 1838."

Lord Normanby however consented to receive the proposed deputation, on condition of its being distinctly understood that the government were "as free to consider and act upon this subject for the public

good as though the rejected offer of 1838 had not been made, otherwise he declined doing so until that preliminary question shall have been brought to a decision."

Whether the solicited interview did or did not take place is not recorded in the parliamentary papers. The following document to that from which I have just quoted, is a letter from W. Hutt, Esq., M.P., to the Marquis of Normanby, dated 29th April, 1839, requesting, on behalf of the New Zealand Land Company, that his lordship would furnish their principal agent, Colonel Wakefield, then on the eve of departing to New Zealand, to found a settlement there, with letters to the governors of the Australasian colonies, "similar to those which Lord Glenelg gave to Colonel Light, the commander of the exploring vessel sent to South Australia in 1836."* A copy of the instructions ostensibly issued to the agent was enclosed. Here it should be remarked, that the circumstances under which Colonel Light went to South Australia were *totally different* to those under which Colonel Wakefield was about to take his departure for New Zealand.

In August, 1834, an act of Parliament erected South Australia into a British colony; in May, 1835, Colonel Torrens and other commissioners were appointed under that act, by which an extensive territory was committed to their management, and they were authorized to sell the lands of the Crown, which they did up to March, 1836, the period when Colonel Light was sent out to select the site of a capital, and to survey the *British possession* of South Australia. (See Div. iv., p. 638-9.) The New Zealand Land Company, were, on the contrary, sending out an agent on a private speculation, for which they had unsuccessfully endeavoured, by various direct and indirect means, to obtain the sanction of the government. The present request must be included among the latter class of measures, the design being to obtain from the secretary of state an official recognition of their agent, or at least some expression which should imply tacit acquiescence in their proceedings. The manœuvre failed entirely, as will be seen by the following extract from the reply immediately made by his lordship to Mr. Hutt, through Mr. Labouchere, the under secretary of state:—

"Lord Normanby now, for the first time, learns,

* Parliamentary Papers—New Zealand, 1840 pp. 20, 22, 23.

DIV. V.

that a body of her Majesty's subjects are about to proceed to New Zealand, to purchase large tracts of land there, and to establish a system of government independent of the authority of the British crown. It is impossible that his lordship should do any act which could be construed into a direct or indirect sanction of such a proceeding. Abstaining from the expression of any opinion upon a measure so imperfectly developed in the papers which accompanied your letter, Lord Normanby thinks it necessary that the parties concerned should be distinctly apprized that her Majesty's government cannot recognise the authority of the agents whom the company may employ; and that if, as it is probable, the Queen should be advised to take measures, without delay, to obtain cession in sovereignty to the British crown of any parts of New Zealand which are or shall be occupied by her Majesty's subjects, officers selected by the Queen will be appointed to administer the executive government within any such territory. Lord Normanby wishes it to be further understood, that no pledge can be given for the *future recognition*, by her Majesty, of any *proprietary titles to lands within* New Zealand, which the company or any persons may obtain by grant or by purchase from the natives. On the contrary, with a view to the protection of the interests of the aborigines, as well as to the future prosperity of any colony which may be established in New Zealand, it is probable that application to Parliament may hereafter become necessary to provide for the investment in the Crown of any proprietary rights which may be thus acquired by private parties, with such equitable compensations to them as under all the circumstances of the case may appear expedient. Under these circumstances Lord Normanby must decline to furnish the Company with the introductory letters for which they apply."†

Notwithstanding this explicit warning, the Company resolved to persevere in their project, though by somewhat circuitous measures. Far from obeying the desire contained in the previous letter, by "distinctly apprizing" the unfortunate persons about to emigrate under their auspices, that they would do so without the sanction, if not in direct opposition to, the government of their country—the directors withheld a tact most important to all in any manner concerned in their proceedings; and on the following day (2nd May, 1839,) issued a prospectus of the New Zealand Land Company, capital £400,000, in 4,000 shares of £100 each; deposit, £10 per share. This was subsequently reduced to £100,000, in 4,000 shares of £25 each.—Governor, the Earl of Durham, deputy-governor, Joseph Somes (a large ship-owner), and a directory consisting of Lord Petre, Sir George Sinclair, M.P., and Sir Henry Webb, baronets, Colonel Torrens, Aldermen Thompson, M.P., and Pirie, John Abel Smith, W. Hutt, M.P., G. Palmer, M.P., Geo. F. Young, Russell Ellice, Stew-

† Parliamentary Papers, 1840; pp. 27, 28.

art Marjoribanks, and several other gentlemen of high standing.

There are few clauses in the prospectus in which some latent and unavowed object may not be traced; but the propositions especially requiring remark are the following:—

"(1st.) Very extensive tracts of most fertile land in situations highly favourable both for agricultural and commercial settlements, have been *already* purchased and secured for the purposes of this Company. (2nd.) And an expedition has also been fitted out and dispatched for surveying the coasts of New Zealand, making purchases of lands in the most eligible spots, and preparing for the arrival of a large body of settlers, whom it is proposed to establish on the Company's lands during the present year."

The first assertion is contradicted by an official statement made by the Company on another occasion (see p. 146); with regard to the second, it should be remembered, that the *Tory* did not sail from Plymouth until ten days after the date of this prospectus; and by the third, an unqualified announcement is made of the intention of establishing a large body of settlers on the Company's lands in the present year; whereas the Company, by their subsequent admission, possessed no claim to any land adapted for a settlement, and moreover, must have been aware, from the accounts of the missionaries and other credible eye-witnesses, of the difficulties attendant upon the legal purchase of extensive territory in New Zealand, and the length of time that, according to native custom, must be spent in bringing any such arrangement to a satisfactory conclusion. Yet the prospectus goes on to state that,—

"These important purchases, and the fitting out of the preliminary expedition (including the purchase and equipment of a fine vessel of 400 tons), have been effected at a considerable outlay, by parties to whom 600 paid-up shares have consequently been assigned for a transfer of their interests."

"The *directors* are to have the entire management and control of the funds, formation, proceedings, and affairs of the Company, and are empowered to enter into any arrangements whatever which they may consider conducive to the interests of this undertaking."

Thus, irresponsible power was assumed

* See Letter to the Directors of the New Zealand Company, from the Land-purchasers resident in the first and principal settlement.—Printed and published at Wellington, Port Nicholson, 1846.

† Mr. E. J. Wakefield states that his uncle was instructed to acquire land upon a far greater scale than was ever necessary for the purposes of cultivation, or even of speculation by individuals.—*Adventure in New Zealand*, vol. i. p. 17.

by the directors, of whom a quorum of three was sufficient to transact the most important business of the Company; no voice being accorded to the proprietors who contributed the capital, or to the purchasers of the so-called land-orders, who subsequently bitterly upbraided the directors for their "unfulfilled promises," "unredeemed pledges," and "reckless disregard of their interests."* The preliminary expedition (despatched in the vessel above alluded to, named the *Tory*, and purchased from Mr. Joseph Somes, the deputy-governor,) consisted of the company's chief agent, Mr., or by courtesy, Colonel William Wakefield, a gentleman who had obtained rank in Spanish mercenary service, and Mr. Edward Jerningham Wakefield, the latter being the son, the former the brother, of Mr. Edward Gibbon Wakefield, a naturalist (Dr. Dieffenback), a draughtsman (Mr. Heaphy), a surgeon (Mr. Dorset), and a New Zealander named Nayti, whom it was hoped would act as interpreter; but *no land-surveyor or engineer, and no minister of the gospel*. The *Tory* sailed from Plymouth on the 12th of May, 1839, with instructions to proceed direct to Cook's Straits, in New Zealand, and purchase as much land as possible on either side of the Straits. The reason of this haste was, doubtless, to obtain a title of some kind to very considerable territories† before the establishment of British sovereignty, and so acquire a claim to the "equitable compensation" of which Lord Normanby had made mention. Even before the departure of Colonel Wakefield, arrangements, as we have seen, were publicly made by the Company for the sale of lands which they were *about sending* an agent to obtain from the natives, in exchange for an assortment of goods, among which the chief, and unfortunately, the most tempting articles to the natives, were muskets, gunpowder, ball-cartridge, and tomahawks. Books and pamphlets were widely distributed throughout the United Kingdom, and the glowing descriptions in their pages‡ led many to believe that the mere purchase of a nominal section of 100

‡ Some idea of the delusions which were promulgated respecting New Zealand at this period, especially as regarded the neighbourhood of Cook's Straits, may be gathered from one instance of the exaggerated statements put forth, viz.—that the river which flows into Port Nicholson, now called the *Hutt*, was as broad and deep as the *Thames* at *London Bridge* for eighty miles, and "extended much farther."—Vide *New Zealand Association*.

acres and "a town lot," from the New Zealand Company, was equal to a prize-ticket in a lottery.

The prominent objects of the Company were stated to be "systematic colonization," the removal of a community, in all its component parts, from the mother country to the distant land; "concentration," or the settling down in one spot, instead of dispersion; a high price for land, abundance of labour and low wages, a prevention of the cottier or squatter system, so that the poorer emigrant might not become an owner of land until he became a capitalist, and the application of a duly regulated supply of labour to capital: these, stripped of many meaningless words and studiously ambiguous phrases, were, so far as I can ascertain, the leading points of the "Wakefield theory."

On the 1st of June, 1839, the Company issued proposals for the sale of nine-tenths of a township of 110,000 acres, in lots of 101 acres for £100, *each lot comprising 100 acres of country land, and one town section*: £75 per cent. of the purchase money was to be employed in emigration, and £25 per cent. in defraying the expenses of the survey and the management of the land, and to furnish a profit upon the capital invested. *One-tenth* of each township was to be reserved for the benefit of the natives: priority of choice for the whole of the sections to be decided by a lottery.

The mad haste with which intending emigrants entered into the scheme, is evidenced by the fact recorded by the Company in their first report to the proprietors, dated May, 1840, in the following terms:—

"The lands comprised in the preliminary sales were offered to the public *by anticipation*; but so strong was the public confidence in your directors, that in a few weeks the whole of the preliminary sections had been disposed of, and the Company had realized a land revenue of £99,990." Again—"The whole of the preliminary sections sold, from Nos. 1 to 1,100, have since experienced a considerable rise in value, according to the priority of choice, and the predilection of purchasers."

An able and well-informed writer, after quoting the above passage, says—"This certainly was a great proof of the confidence of the public in the directors, but says little for the foresight of the latter in accepting the money; for at that time *they did not possess a single acre at the site of their first*

settlement."* Of the quality of the land thus sold by "anticipation," both the buyers and the sellers could form but a very indistinct idea. Indeed, it is putting the most lenient possible construction on this transaction, to suppose that the directors were wholly ignorant of the comparatively small portion of available land in New Zealand, and especially in the neighbourhood of Cook's Straits; and had really no idea, that even should they succeed in acquiring a valid title to the thousands of acres which they were selling, at twenty shillings each, they were nevertheless cruelly deluding the purchasers, inasmuch as many of the 100 acre sections eventually proved to be composed of mountain and ravine; some of swamps, that required skilful and expensive draining; and others were so densely covered with timber (and that not, as was represented, of the valuable description called *Kauri*, which, so far as is yet known, grows only in the northern portion of the Northern Island), as to require an expenditure of from ten to twenty, and even forty pounds an acre in clearing them. The "town acre" to be given in, was an inducement which I cannot but think it was unworthy in any public body (even in a lottery for the avowed purpose of gambling) to hold out. A very small amount of forethought on the part of the speculators would have led them to see the folly of a proceeding calculated to benefit a few "lucky" individuals, at a heavy cost to the rest.

Let the reader imagine an isolated town, of nearly two miles square, laid out in a rugged wilderness, extending—say from Hyde-park corner to Hammersmith in one direction, and from Kensington to Kensal-green in another, and which, in all human probability, could not contain more than a few thousand inhabitants at the termination of some years; he will then see the impossibility of watching, lighting, draining, cleansing, paving, or carrying into execution any of the numerous conveniences which, to civilized men, have become requisites in a town. The few who, in the lottery of the New Zealand Company, could obtain the privilege of choosing a central position, or one near that selected for the residence of the agent, might, it is true, derive some of the advantages of neighbourhood in a strange land: the many, whose locations were widely

p. 112), the fact being, that it was fordable at the mouth, and not to be ascended in a small boat farther than eight miles, even with frequent portages.

* *New Zealand Company, its Claims to Compensation considered.* Seely and Co. 1845.

scattered, could not reasonably expect to find in them either the security for life and property, or any other of the benefits which may be attained, with comparative ease, by a concentrated and organized community. After selling the first 110,000 acres, another prospectus was issued, 30th July, 1839, in which the directors stated themselves to be—

"Now ready to receive applications for country lands, to the extent of 50,000 acres, in sections of 100 acres each, at the price of £100 per section, or £1 an acre, to be *paid in full, in exchange for the land order*, which will entitle the holders thereof to select country sections accordingly, either at the Company's principal settlement, or at Hokianga, Kaipara, Manukau, the islands of Waiheke and Paroa, the borders of the Thames, or any other part of the present or future territories of the Company, so soon as the requisite surveys thereof shall have been completed."

At the period when these prospectuses were issued, the Company had acquired no more right to sell 110,000 and 50,000 acres of land in New Zealand, than they had in England, France, China, or any other foreign country. Yet, without waiting for tidings of the proceedings of their agent, or even of his safe arrival in New Zealand, ship after ship full of emigrants was despatched to a rendezvous in Cook's Strait, where it was "anticipated" Colonel Wakefield would have made arrangements for their reception. The first of these, the *Cuba*, left London in the beginning of August, 1839, with a surveying staff, (consisting of a principal surveyor, and three assistant surveyors); other vessels followed in such close succession, that between the departure of the *Tory*, in May, 1839, and February 24th, 1840, as many as twelve ships were sent out, laden with 216 first and second-class cabin passengers, and 909 labourers, "without any certainty of being able to give them secure possession of a foot of land,"* or provide them with even temporary shelter on their arrival!

* Vide *New Zealand Company's Claim to Compensation considered*, p. 15.

† A map, published by Laurie, was referred to by Mr. E. Gibbon Wakefield, in July, 1840, (House of Commons' Committee), as showing the extent of the territories on either side of Cook's Straits, acquired by Colonel Wakefield in 1839, and to which the Company considered they had an *unobjectionable title*. The portion north of Cook's Straits was called *North Durham*; that to the south, *South Durham*. According to the coloured line on the map, the possessions thus acquired comprise *four hundred miles*, from Albatross Point, in North Island, to Bald Head, in South Island, and include *Kapiti*, and all other islands in Cook's Straits, the whole coast line north

Meanwhile the *Tory* had (17th August, 1839), safely and speedily reached her destination in Cook's Straits. Up to the 30th of August, Colonel Wakefield, according to the garbled extracts from his journals, appended to the report of the New Zealand Company, does not seem to have commenced any treaty with the natives for the purchase of land. Some of them had visited the ship, and he had been several times on shore. On that day, however, he appears to have become acquainted with a person named Barrett, who had followed the occupation of a whaler for some years in New Zealand, and was living with a native woman.

By his assistance, Colonel Wakefield, in the space of very little more than two months, concluded three nominal purchases of land, "extending from the 38th to the 43rd degree of latitude, on the west coast; and from the 41st to the 43rd degree on the east coast."†

The "consideration" paid by Colonel Wakefield, on obtaining the signature, by a few chiefs, of the three deeds by which a territory as large as Ireland was supposed to be wholly and legally alienated from a population (according to Mr. Clarke) of *thirty thousand souls*,‡ each one of whom had a vested interest in it, and, according to native usage, a voice in its disposal, is not the least exceptionable part of the proceedings of the New Zealand Company.

The following is a list of the articles bartered for the lands mentioned in the deeds of purchase, dated respectively the 27th September, 1839, 25th October, 1839, and 8th November, 1839, to the first of which was appended a condition that a portion of the land ceded by them (the chiefs), equal to one-tenth part of the whole would be reserved and held in trust by the New Zealand Company for the future benefit of the said chiefs, their families, and heirs for

and south of Cook's Straits, and east and west of North and South Durham, from Cape Turnagain, on the north, to near Bank's Peninsula, on the south. There was no exception, in this map, either in favour of native or any other previous occupant.

‡ According to the census of the population by tribes, prepared by Mr. Halswell the population in the districts called by the New Zealand Company North and South Durham, numbered 20,000, of whom upwards of 5,000 were "fighting men;" and Colonel Wakefield himself names eighteen tribes residing at twenty-four different places in North and South Durham, whose numbers he estimates in November, 1839, at 6,650, possibly referring only to the male adults.

ever. The second and third deeds likewise contained a promise of native reserves, but *the quantity* was not specified.

Articles given.	1st Deed.	2nd Deed.	3rd Deed.	Total.
Red Blankets	100	100	100	300
Muskets	120	20	60	200
Single barrelled guns	—	6	10	16
Double ditto	—	6	8	8
Tobacco, tierces	2	—	—	2
" cwt.	—	5½	10½	15½
Iron pots	48	50	50	148
Soap, cases	2	2	2	6
Fowling-pieces	15	—	—	15
Gunpowder, kegs	21	20	40	81
Ball cartridges, casks	1	1	—	2
Lead slabs, kegs	1	1	2	4
Cartouche boxes	100	50	50	200
Tomahawks	100	100	100	300
Pipe tomahawks	40	20	—	60
Pipes, cases	1	—	1	2
" gross	—	10	—	10
Spades	24	24	24	72
Steel axes	50	50	—	100
Axes	—	—	20	20
Adzes	24	12	10	46
Fish-hooks	1,200	1,000	1,000	3,200
Bullet-moulds	12	—	12	24
Flints	—	500	1,000	1,500
Shirts	144	72	60	276
Jackets	20	60	12	92
Trowsers, pairs	20	60	12	92
Red night-caps	60	—	—	60
Cotton duck, yards	300	—	—	300
Calico, yards	200	—	—	200
Check, yards	100	200	—	300
Print, yards	—	—	200	200
Pocket-handkerchiefs	240	120	120	480
Slates	24	24	24	72
Pencils	200	200	200	600
Looking-glasses	120	60	24	204
Pocket knives	120	120	36	276
Scissors, pairs	120	60	24	204
Shoes, pairs	12	—	—	12
Umbrellas	12	—	—	12
Hats	12	—	—	12
Beads, lbs.	2	2	2	6
Ribbon, yards	100	—	—	100
Jews' harps	144	—	—	144
Razors	12	12	12	36
Dressing combs	120	60	—	180
Hoes	72	—	—	72
Superfine clothes, suits	2	—	—	2
Shaving boxes	12	12	12	36
Ditto brushes	12	—	—	12
Sealing wax, sticks	12	—	—	12
Cartridge paper, quires	—	6	5	11
Flushing coats	—	12	—	12
Combs	—	—	24	24*

The first point for remark on the foregoing document is the fact that a professedly

* The author of the *New Zealand Company's Claims to Compensation Considered*, says—"The list of articles which formed the consideration of the purchase is worth perusing, and the distribution of some of them is really amusing. It will not escape observation, that the parties to each deed obtained a supply of razors and shaving boxes; but those only who signed the first got the shaving brushes; that while the parties to No. 1 got the sealing-wax, parties to No. 2 and 3 got the paper; and that of the three sets, the most fortunate were those who executed the first deed; for they received all the Jews' harps. in number 144 (possibly to encourage a taste for music in the vicinity of the capital), besides twelve umbrellas, which at the celebrated review, on the

Christian company in London send out their agent with "200 muskets, 16 single-barrelled guns, 8 double-ditto, 15 fowling-pieces, 81 kegs of gunpowder, 2 casks of ball cartridge, 4 kegs lead slabs, 24 bullet moulds, 11 quires cartridge paper, 200 cartouche boxes, 1,500 flints, and 300 tomahawks," to purchase land from a people among whom Christian missionaries had for years been striving to spread the peaceful influences of the Gospel. I have, I believe, before mentioned the firmness with which the members both of the Church and Wesleyan mission refused to procure even the necessaries of life by supplying the aborigines with instruments of warfare; more than this, they would not even suffer their blacksmiths to repair a gun. No wonder that the keen-witted natives should remember the designation they had formerly given to the most depraved of their early European visitors, and say of the emissaries of the New Zealand Company, "they cannot be Christians—they must be *'the devil's missionaries*, who bring us muskets and gunpowder."† Some members of the select committee of the House of Commons on 17th July, 1840, endeavoured to obtain evidence from Mr. Ward, the secretary of the New Zealand Company, as to the actual cost of these "twenty million acres;" but the question was, in legal phraseology "fenced;" Mr. Ward would not return a direct and explicit answer; he said the value of the goods sent out in the *Tory* was about £9,000, and a second adventure in the *Cuba* amounted to £8,000—"a portion had been given to the chiefs and other natives by the Company's agent," the "rest of the goods remain in the hands of the Company's agent in New Zealand."

The testimony of Mr. Carrington, who was employed by the company as chief surveyor of the Taranaki District, and whose personal character and ability as a surveyor,

occasion of christening the flag-staff, they did not fail to exhibit."

† It was not only, however, in 1839 that the Company supplied the New Zealanders with instruments of destruction. At Manawatu, on 2nd February, 1842, Captain M. Smith, "on behalf of the New Zealand company," furnished to the natives "59 double-barrel and 16 single-barrel guns, 10 large pistols, 24 bright and 50 handled tomahawks, 30 barrels of powder, 4 bullet-moulds, 18 powder-horns, 12 metal powder-flasks, 22 boxes percussion caps, 6 dozen gun-flints," &c. At Wangaroa, in May, 1840, the Company gave the natives "10 double-barrel guns, 6 fowling-pieces, 50 casks of powder, 68 powder and shot holders, 16 bullet-moulds, 1,000 flints, 18 car-

have been attested by them, throws considerable light upon the subject. He says—

“Not one pound that I ever heard of up to the time of my departure from New Zealand in September, 1843, was paid to the natives;” “and I am further assured by one of the Company’s agents, who witnessed all the negotiations with the natives, that of the amount of £14,603 of goods (sent out in the *Tory* and *Cuba*) intended for the natives, only £1,500 at the outside was ever given them, and this to purchase a territory as large as Ireland.” “Hort and Co., auctioneers at Wellington, had sales of these very goods for three successive days, and realized for them £7,000.”*

Now, on the face of the thing it is manifestly absurd to suppose that a shrewd, intelligent, warlike people, who even in the time of Cook evinced some degree of civilization, and were to a certain extent tillers of the soil, and who since then had become accustomed to trade with Europeans, not for goods only, but for money in exchange for land, and who had been from the very first remarkable for the jealous watchfulness with which they guarded their territories alike from internal and external aggression,† should in the space of two months alienate “twenty million square acres,” including all their paha or inhabited villages, with the cultivated ground attached, even their burying-places and all other *tapued* or sacred spots, for the paltry consideration above named. It is next to impossible to believe that even at a far heavier cost, all native titles and right to such extensive territories could have been extinguished in the time and manner described by Colonel Wakefield.‡

A part of the coast was seen from the decks of the *Tory*, a few chiefs paddled off in their canoes, or swam through the surf: they were asked the names of such-and-such points, such-and-such districts of country,

touché boxes, 2 casks of cartridges, 3 bundles of cartridge paper,” &c. At Taranaki, in February, 1840, the Company gave the natives “fifty bright guns, 40 casks of powder, 1 cask of ball cartridges, 12 patent cartouche boxes, 20 powder horns, 80 tomahawks,” &c. “A case of guns,” valued at £200, was also promised to the chiefs by Barrett on behalf of the Company. At Nelson Captain Wakefield, R.N., gave the natives in 1841–2, “42 double-barrel guns, and 60 kegs of gunpowder.” I might multiply instances to show how directly the proceedings of the Company were in contrast with the missionaries, who instead of instruments of warfare were distributing bibles and prayer-books.

* See printed letter in the library of the Colonial office, dated 25th March, 1845, addressed to Viscount Howick, as chairman of the Select Parliamentary Committee on New Zealand, written by Mr. Carrington, to substantiate the statements made by him before the committee.

of streams or plains, or distant mountain ridges: all was written down, much more even than the eye could reach, and the question was then put to them—would they sell those territories, headlands, rivers, mountains, points, coasts and islands?

At this period of the negotiation (to take the most lenient view of the case), it is possible that a complete misunderstanding arose between the contracting parties; the would-be buyers intending to purchase the whole of the territory they themselves referred to—by sight—by description, or by the map. Those who were willing to sell “land” (indefinitely), intended to point out certain localities where they would sell it—the precise boundaries to be settled according to the only mode which they knew, or had practised; namely, by meeting, in numbers *on the very ground in question*, pointing out the limits in detail; after days, at least, of discussion, and shewing what places would be retained for themselves. Without this latter reservation how were they to exist? they could not go elsewhere, for all land had owners, and the provision to be at some future time afforded them by means of the much talked of “native reserves,” appears to have been from the first, shadowed forth to them only in very dim and distant perspective.§ Supposing the majority of the chiefs to have taken this view of the case, it is easy to understand this otherwise incomprehensible transaction. Some of them probably had a more enlarged perception of the meaning of the deed they were requested to sign, but the choice assortment of muskets and red blankets, tomahawks, umbrellas, Jews’-harps, and tobacco, spread out on the deck of the *Tory*, silenced their scruples, and

† War has been known to originate between neighbouring tribes in resentment of the slightest trespass on their respective lands. For instance, the killing of rats as game by one tribe on the territory of another has alone proved a *casus belli*.

‡ App. to 12th Report of New Zealand Company.

§ Commissioner Spain says—that the interpretation of Richard Barrett to the Maories, at the time of the alleged purchase of the Port Nicholson District, “was not calculated to convey to the natives, who were parties to the purchase-deed, a correct idea of what lands that instrument purported to convey, or of the nature or extent of the reserves that had been made for their benefit; and this will in a great measure account for the very determined manner in which the natives generally, in the district, opposed the occupation of lands by the Europeans, and denied the sale to Colonel Wakefield.”—Report of Mr. Commissioner Spain, March 31, 1845, Parliamentary Papers on New Zealand, 8th April, 1846. p. 3

they were ready to put their mark to any document whatsoever; though it should include the sale of the whole three islands of New Zealand, knowing (or at least believing) all the while, that no tract belonging to a tribe could be alienated without the consent of every member. Colonel Wakefield, on his part, expressed himself perfectly satisfied with the arrangements which he had been enabled to make by means of the "*unprecedented liberality*"* of the Company, and the directors, delighted with the easy manner in which they had acquired "*an unimpeachable title to one-third of New Zealand*," voted their agent a present of one thousand guineas, and raised his salary to £1,000 per annum.

Very different views respecting the validity of the assumed purchases of the New Zealand Company, were, however, entertained by persons of character and position, who, from various circumstances, must have had the most favourable opportunities of forming a correct judgment on the matter. Some of these testimonies, I feel it right to adduce here, in evidence of the unsound basis upon which the Company were building, and as the best means of preparing the reader for the ill success which attended their after efforts.

The first authority on this subject, namely, Mr. Spain, the commissioner specially appointed by the Crown to investigate and determine the validity of titles to land acquired from the natives, declares that—

"*All the purchases of the Company were made in a very loose and careless manner;*" he adds—"the object of the Company's agents, after going through a certain form of purchase, seems to have been to procure the insertion in their deeds, of an immense extent of territory; the descriptions of which were framed from maps, and by obtaining the names of ranges of mountains, headlands, and rivers, and were not taken from the native vendors; such descriptions were generally written in the deeds before the bargain for the purchase was concluded: these parcels contained millions of acres, and in some instances degrees of latitude and longitude. The agents of the Company were satisfied with putting such descriptions in their deeds, without taking the trouble to enquire either at the time of, or subsequently to the purchase, whether the thousands of

aboriginal inhabitants occupying the surface of these vast tracts of country, had been consenting parties to the sale. * * * I am of opinion that the greater portion of the land claimed by the Company in the Port Nicholson District, and also in the district between Port Nicholson and Wangamī, including the latter place, *has not been alienated by the natives* to the New Zealand Company; and that other portions of the same districts have been *only partially alienated* by the natives to that body. * * *

I am further of opinion that the natives did not consent to alienate their pāhs, cultivations, and burying grounds."† * * * "In point of sufficiency of proof, as regards the important items of boundaries, explanations, and interpretation to the native vendors of the precise nature and extent of the transaction, and subsequent adherence to and acknowledgment of the bargain by the aborigines, the claims of the New Zealand Company were as far below the general standard of evidence on such points, in the cases of private claimants, as they generally exceeded them in extent and magnitude of the territory claimed."‡

Another witness§ thus exposes the worthlessness of the "*unimpeachable title to the vast but thinly populated territory*" supposed to have been obtained by Colonel Wakefield's transactions:—

"I have seen a copy of one of the Company's original deeds, and have no hesitation in saying that it never was interpreted to the natives; the persons employed as interpreters were incapable, even had they been disposed so to do; and it is morally impossible that the natives should consent to such a transaction, even on terms far more advantageous than those offered by the Company: and instead of the transaction being unexampled in this country for the spirit of justice and openness which characterizes it (as alleged by Colonel Wakefield), I may safely say, that the immense disparity between the paltry consideration given, and the vast extent of the country claimed, is without a parallel, excepting, perhaps, the case of Mr. Wentworth, who, wishing to embarrass Sir George Gipps, pretended to have made a purchase from certain natives of the greater part of the Middle Island, upon similar terms to those of the Company." * * * "So far from the assumptions put forth by Colonel Wakefield being attended with anything like probability, the assertion of his right to even *one-fiftieth part of the land is treated by the natives as chimerical*. The scantiness of the population, upon which so much stress has been laid, will perhaps be better understood, when it is known that *upwards of thirty thousand natives reside within the limits claimed by the Company*: and granting it to be possible to effect such a purchase, it would, on the most reasonable computation, require years to complete it."||

* In a letter from Colonel Wakefield to the secretary of the New Zealand Company, dated Wellington, 26th February, 1841, we find the following passage, which requires no comment:—"The first expedition despatched by the Company to this country acquired a vast territory, in strict accordance with the hitherto recognised form of obtaining land herein, and with the usages of the aborigines. It moreover gave to the aborigines more than the full market and a *satisfactory price* for the land ceded."

† Mr. Commissioner Spain's Report, see Appendix to the Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons, 1844, p. 305.

‡ Mr. Commissioner Spain, 19th November, 1843. Parliamentary Papers on New Zealand.

§ Mr. George Clarke, Protector of Aborigines.

|| Letter dated 26th October, 1843. See Appendix to Report from Select Committee on New Zealand, 1844, p. 284.

Mr. R. D. Hanson, who was sent out in the *Cuba* by the New Zealand Company, to arrange their land purchases, says :—

"The attempt to construe a purchase of twenty million acres at the rate of *sixpence per thousand acres*, so as to deprive those natives of their lands who have not signed the conveyance, is necessarily absurd and unjust."

It would be easy to multiply evidence of the same bearing, in proof, if the fact were not self-evident, that Colonel Wakefield, in his nominal acquisition of 20,000,000 acres, had grasped a shadow; a limited territory, fairly purchased, at thrice the cost, would have been a substance far more beneficial to the Company. Possibly, both the agent and the directors hoped that the settlers, on their arrival, would so over-awe the natives by their numbers, as to be suffered to locate themselves with impunity, and that after inquiry into the legality of their purchases on the part of the crown, would be by the same means rendered less scrutinizing, "possession being nine-tenths of the law." If so, they were greatly mistaken, and especially with respect to the natives, who manifested from the first an unwavering determination to oppose the attempted usurpation of their respective territories.

The extracts above quoted refer to the general invalidity of the titles acquired by the company; in detailing the establishment of the settlements of *Wellington, Nelson, and New Plymouth*, it may be necessary to show, that in each instance the unauthorised occupation of land was a leading cause of the sufferings of mind and body, the wreck of property, and even loss of life, experienced by the unfortunate colonists.

The first (so-called) purchase by Colonel Wakefield was the Port Nicholson or Wellington District, and of this formal possession is stated by him to have been taken on the 30th of September, 1839. From his journal we learn that he landed with his party under a salute of twenty-one guns from the *Tory*, and the *New Zealand flag* (not the *British*), was hoisted at a spot where an immense flag-staff had been erected, and at the main of the ship, simultaneously. A war-dance was then performed by the natives, armed with their newly-acquired muskets, after which (Mr. E. J. Wakefield informs us,) the whole assemblage partook of an ample meal from "the joints of a pig, which had been sacri-

ficed for the occasion." The English then "drank the healths of the chiefs and people of Port Nicholson in bumpers of champagne, and christening the flag-staff, took formal possession of the harbour and district for the New Zealand Land Company, amidst the hearty cheers of the mixed spectators."* No such public demonstration appears to have accompanied the conclusion of either of the subsequent deeds of purchase. Yet how thoroughly untenable even the first really was, may be understood from the following statement made by Mr. Hanson :—

"The original purchase of the district of Wellington on the part of the New Zealand Company, has been fully investigated by the Commissioner appointed for that purpose, and his inquiries demonstrated the *worthlessness of their title*. The evidence taken before him *completely disproved* those statements of the *universal assent* of the natives, which were published in Colonel Wakefield's Journal, and upon the faith of which the claims of the Company were originally vested." "The original agreement for the purchase of the Wellington District was made only with the Ngatiawa natives residing on the *shores* of the harbour, who could only transfer such rights as they possessed; at that time they only occupied the land in the immediate vicinity of the harbour, their farthest cultivation not extending to more than a mile-and-a-half from the beach." The whole of the upper part of the valley of the Hutt was claimed by a chief named Kaparatchau, whose rights were not even known by Colonel Wakefield, until about one year and-a-half after the date of the first purchase, which he assumed to have made of the whole."

It must not, however, be supposed that the proprietary rights of the natives were the only ones extinguished by Colonel Wakefield; on the contrary, those acquired by missionaries, whalers, and others, on either side the straits, fell under the same monopolising grasp.

One illustration will suffice :—Some time before the arrival of the *Tory* the aborigines in the vicinity of Port Nicholson having manifested an earnest desire for missionary instruction, two members of the Wesleyan mission (the Rev. Mr. Bumby and Mr. Hobbs) proceeded thither for the purpose of establishing a station. A suitable spot was selected and purchased, and formally tapued, and a part of the price was paid down to the chiefs, who owned it as an *earnest* for the purpose of securing the purchase to the Missionary Committee according to New Zealand law and usage. Six native teachers, with their families, were placed upon the land to keep possession of it, and to com-

* *Adventure in New Zealand*, vol. i., p. 99.

mence the work of instructing their countrymen until English missionaries should arrive.* On the return of the Rev. Mr. Bumby to the Hokianga, an English missionary was sent to take the management of the new station; but before he could reach it, the Agent of the New Zealand Company had arrived, bought the Society's land *over again* from the principal chief, Warepori, and taken possession of it on behalf of the Company, together with the "houses and chapels," which, according to his own account, "the missionary delegates" had built upon the land.† The remonstrances made by them so far prevailed, that Colonel Wakefield at first deemed it right to offer some compensation, but the remark of the unconverted savage, Warepori—"Have you not already paid for the land and everything upon it?" quieted his rising scruples, and in the published extracts of his journal, under the date 4th December, 1839, we find the following entry:—

"He (Mr. Bumby) visited Port Nicholson just before I was there, and conceived that he had secured the land at Thorndon, till I had informed him that the chiefs had disregarded the verbal taboo he had made, and sold the entire place to the Company."

When the intelligence of this transaction reached the Wesleyan Society they immediately reported it to Lord John Russell, stating that the injury of which they complained had not originated in mistake, but had been knowingly inflicted by the principle of "might against right," a principle which, if silently submitted to, would probably involve in ruin all their other establishments in New Zealand.‡

Lord John Russell, in his reply, dated July, 1840, stated that—

"Her Majesty's ministers had never recognised the New Zealand Company as a legally constituted body, nor acknowledged the validity of the titles which that body may assert to any lands in New Zealand; but have on the contrary instructed the governor of New South Wales and Captain Hobson to take the necessary measures for ascertaining the validity of titles to any lands claimed by any of her Majesty's subjects. Lord John Russell, therefore, anticipated that 'the necessary means for rendering justice to all parties concerned,' have been already taken, but adds that he will 'however, transmit to Captain Hobson a copy of this letter, instructing him to take such measures as justice may require, and as it may be lawful for him to adopt, for the protection of the missionaries.'"

* Parliamentary Papers, New Zealand, 1840; Appendix, page 152.

† See despatch of Colonel Wakefield, published in the *New Zealand Journal*, 5th June, 1840.

If the rights and claims of an influential body were thus contemptuously treated by Colonel Wakefield, it may easily be imagined that those of private individuals did not receive more consideration at his hands. It would be unjust, however, to make him the scape-goat for the sins of the directors, who had sent him out as their agent, with directions much resembling, in spirit, the often-quoted injunction of Sir Pertinax M'Sycophant—to *get land, honestly if he could; but to get it*: and they appear, even before he left England, to have determined that their first settlement should be established somewhere on the northern side of Cook's Strait, probably on the embouchure of the Hutt, which they (as has been before shown) assumed to be a navigable river. Some amount of discretionary power was probably entrusted to Colonel Wakefield on this most important point; but it was neutralized by the rapidity with which large bodies of emigrants were hurried after him, without leaving him time, under the most favourable circumstances, to do more than obtain territory where he could, and how he could. This, as we have seen, he, to some degree, succeeded in doing: but as to any arrangements made for their reception, or any allotments surveyed, as they unquestionably should have been, in readiness for the settlers on their arrival, the *Tory* might as well have been lost at sea, as she afterwards was, and might have already been, for anything the directors knew to the contrary, when they despatched nine large ships, heedless of the risk to which they were exposing the emigrants, and of the heavy responsibility they were themselves incurring. According to their own prospectus and reports, all this was done in pursuance of an "exclusively commercial" speculation, the desire of gain being the avowed object of the New Zealand Company.§

For this candid admission, the public are probably indebted to the able exposition, by Mr. Coates, of the much-vaunted "patriotic motives" of this body (or at least a large number of its members), when "agitating" (to quote Mr. O'Connell,) under the name of the New Zealand Association.

The *Cuba*, with the surveying staff, arrived in New Zealand only ten days before the first settlers, who (we learn from one of

‡ Parliamentary Papers, New Zealand, 1840; Appendix, page 152.

§ See First Report of the New Zealand Company, May, 1840.

their number*), on landing at Port Nicholson, looked with bitter disappointment upon "the steep and barren hills which surrounded them:" and when, in addition to the physical disadvantages of their position, they discovered the invalidity of their titles to land, a re-emigration to South America was actually proposed and planned, and that not by a wild visionary, with all to gain, and nothing to lose, but by one (the late Mr. Molesworth) who was placed by the Company in the very first class of their settlers, to which he was entitled by rank, property, enterprise, and intelligence. The spot selected by Colonel Wakefield for the site of the town, then to be called Britannia, was situated at the entrance of the valley of the Hutt. The choice proved to be very injudicious, both from the nature of the ground, and the violence of the surf, which was so great, that lives were lost in attempting to land. A public meeting was consequently held in March, 1840, and the removal of the town to Lambton Harbour, (seven miles distant), on the opposite side of the bay, was determined upon. In carrying this resolve into execution, the earliest collision (of which there is any record) occurred between the new settlers and the natives. The site of the town now called Wellington was fixed at the place previously alluded to as Thorndon, which contained no less than five occupied pāhs. The natives strongly opposed the surveying of the territory, declaring that they, the rightful owners, had never sold it, and that E'Puni and the Ngatiawa tribe could have no authority to do so. They were, however, "overawed by the number of surveyors and settlers" who appeared, upon their

offering resistance, and took forcible possession even of their cultivations and pāhs, the largest of which (Te Aro) was selected as the site of the custom-house, while two or three others were included in different allotments.† The land purchased by Mr. Bumbly on behalf of the Wesleyan Society, on which, as we have seen, a chapel for the performance of divine worship had been erected, was fixed upon as the fittest spot for a market-place.

This was one of the few instances in which the officers of the Company succeeded in gaining possession of land when resisted by the natives; but it had the effect of creating great distrust in the minds of the latter towards the settlers, in whose path a serious and lasting obstacle was thus placed, in addition to the many they had already to encounter. No less a period than *six months*, we are informed by Mr. Petre, elapsed between the arrival of the first body of settlers, and the delivery of *town-land* to those who had purchased it in England—the interval must, in many cases, have been much longer; and with regard to the country sections, all they could obtain was, permission "to squat" on sufferance where the natives would let, or rather wanted power to hinder them. Even when, at length, they received their allotments, the character of the land was too generally calculated to damp the energies of even British colonists.‡ Some (like Mr. Child) quitted the settlement in despair and disgust, but many could not do so, having embarked their all in a lottery in which, *for them, at least*, there were few prizes and many blanks. Yet they struggled manfully, even though month by month

* *New Zealand and the New Zealand Company, and a consideration of how far their interests are similar*, by Theophilus Heale, Esq., London, 1842; p. 5.

† *Vide* evidence of Mr. Child before the Committee on New Zealand of 1844, p. 226. This gentleman was one of the many purchasers of a "town acre and a country section" from the New Zealand Company, intending to establish himself and several members of his family in the intended settlement, but returned in disappointment on finding the country was very different from what he had been led to expect."

‡ The principal settlers at Wellington, when referring to the worthless character of the lands which they had been compelled to select, thus address the directors of the New Zealand Company:—"It cannot be a matter of surprise to you that such is the case, for you never made the slightest effort to ascertain the capabilities of the different districts before you called upon us to select our lands. Owing to the small surveying staff [consisting of a principal surveyor and three assistants] originally sent out by

the Company, followed as it immediately was by the settlers, there were neither the means nor time for exploring the country. Land was taken and surveyed wherever it could most easily be found, without any reference to its quality, accessibility, or proximity to the town, and *without any regard being had to the numbers and feelings of the native population.*" The settlers also complain that they "were scattered over a tract of country 120 miles in length, and placed in the very spots where the natives are the most numerous and the most opposed to them;" and declare moreover that had the Company explored the country, as they were bound to have done, if they had seriously intended to fulfil their conditions (into which they entered), the Wairarapa valley, forty-five miles from Wellington, containing not only 700,000 acres of the richest agricultural land, but also immense tracts of country peculiarly adapted for stock and sheep farming, might have been purchased more easily and more completely than perhaps any other in the whole of New Zealand, as there was scarcely a single native in the whole valley.

the remains of their capital was passing away in the purchase of the bare necessities of life, clinging to the belief that the Company would eventually fulfil their engagements, and were, to that end, exerting their large means and powerful influence to the fullest extent in behalf of their "First and Principal Settlement;" relying meanwhile on the promise not to found any other until three years after its establishment, and little dreaming how speedily that pledge was to be violated by the formation of New Plymouth and Nelson. Besides this, a belief had been sedulously instilled into their minds that *Wellington could, would, and should*, by some means or other, be made the Capital of New Zealand. And this *ignis fatuus* they pursued as a forlorn hope, notwithstanding the manifest ineligibility of Port Nicholson for the site of the metropolis of an extensive colony.

It should here be stated, that on leaving England the emigrants had assented to and subscribed a document, according to which a provisional government was to be formed on their arrival in New Zealand, of which Colonel Wakefield was to be the head. This proceeding was publicly announced in the *Morning Chronicle*, upon which Lord John Russell desired to see a copy of the document in question, in order that it might be submitted to the law officers of the Crown, for their opinion how far persons acting under it would be justified by law. The Directors not complying with this request, after some further correspondence, received from his lordship an explicit warning, that in the event of the New Zealand Company acting in a manner contrary to law, he would not consider himself precluded by anything that had passed, from "directing legal proceedings to be instituted against that body, or against any member of it."

The directors then took the opinions of Sir Thomas Wilde, and other lawyers of eminence, who at once declared the agreement to be illegal, and advised immediate notice of its illegality to be given to any person likely to incur liabilities by acting under its supposed authority. It is scarcely possible to believe, that a Company, numbering among its members, men well versed in colonial policy, and by no means deficient in legal acumen, should have needed to be informed that an association, which the ministers of the crown had *deliberately refused to recognise*, could not be

justified, in founding a colony (for it is of more importance than appears at the first glance, that it was termed a colony and not a settlement); establishing an organized government armed with authority in all matters, civil or criminal, and invested with power from the levying of taxes to the infliction of the penalty of death; of which government, their principal agent was to be in all cases the president. Although this bold attempt to constitute an *Imperium in Imperio*, in defiance of the prerogative of the crown, was immediately denounced by its responsible minister, the emigrants had sailed before he became aware of it; for it is worthy of remark, that not one word about a provisional government appears to have been said *until* the moment of their departure, when the important document was produced, ready cut and dried; read, and placed upon the capstan for signature, whereupon, we are informed, "every man seemed to concur in the propriety of the proposed code of laws," and "not one hesitated to put his name to it," having, however, first been assured on the part of the Company, that this illegal compact was *absolutely indispensable to their security and happiness.**

On reaching their destination, the "*Provisional Committee*" appointed in London by the Company, proceeded to organize a government, formed themselves into a "*Special Council*," and assumed jurisdiction, not only over those who had bound themselves to obey it, but over the other settlers, and crews of ships in the harbour.

The arrival of Captain Hobson, as lieutenant-governor, and the ratification of the treaty of Waitangi, did not stop this dangerous innovation on the rights of British subjects, of which one instance recorded by Mr. Petre, a member of the *Special Council*, may serve as an illustration.

A warrant was issued against a Captain Pearson on the complaint of a gentleman who had chartered his vessel from Van Diemen's Island to New Zealand. Captain Pearson was seized, and on two armed boats putting off from his ship to rescue him, "the settlers turned out to support the constables in the discharge of their duty," and forcibly conveyed their captive before the so-called magistrate, who on his refusal to acknowledge the competency of the court, committed him for trial, and (according to Dr. Martin) placed him in irons. Through what

* Parliamentary Papers on New Zealand, 1840.

Mr. Petre styles "the culpable negligence of the constable," he managed to effect his escape, and hastened to the Bay of Islands; where he informed Captain Hobson of the state of affairs at Port Nicholson. Intelligence to the same effect from various sources likewise reached the lieutenant-governor, whose conduct at this critical juncture has been already related (see p. 142). This brings us to the period when British sovereignty was proclaimed over the islands; but before resuming the general history of New Zealand, it is necessary to relate an incident which occurred about this time, and which gave some colour of truth to an idea most industriously circulated by the organs of the Company—namely, that France was on the eve of founding a penal settlement in New Zealand, and occupying the country, when the timely arrival of their agent in Cook's Straits frustrated the attempt, and preserved these fine islands to the British crown. So adroitly was this pretext put forth to cover the proceedings of Colonel Wakefield, that many who though necessarily but imperfectly acquainted with them, yet knew enough to disapprove, were inclined to look leniently on the means for the sake of the end. For my own part I confess it was not till after careful examination that I discovered the groundlessness of the assertions set forth on this, as on many other points by the Company.

The first reason for spreading this fallacy appears to have been for the purpose of stimulating in the British public the desire to colonize New Zealand, as the only means of preventing the French from doing so, the fact of the large and increasing numbers of British subjects located and locating there, being quite overlooked. In various ways, but always in general and vague terms, this notion was circulated, and in the first report of the directors of the New Zealand Company, reference is adroitly made to the "alleged intentions of the French government to plant a penal settlement at Banks' Peninsula." In a petition signed by some of the leading merchants, bankers, and shipowners of London, soliciting the Crown to take measures for the colonization of New Zealand; it is stated that a company had been formed in France, with a capital of one million francs, to form a settlement there, and that an expedition had been dispatched for that purpose, "which expedition" the memorial adds—

"Is reported to have had an armament of forty

sailors from the French navy, and aid of money from the French government, by whom the leaders of the expedition are said to have been instructed to report on the fitness of Banks' peninsula as a place of transportation for convicts, and, at all events, to reserve for the use of the French government one-fifth of the territory which they might acquire in this part of the British dominions."

The committee appointed to inquire into the statements contained in the petition, (July, 1840,) closely investigated this matter, and after much questioning, the chairman (Lord Eliot) asked Mr. Gibbon Wakefield whether any intention had been expressed by France of establishing a penal settlement in any part of New Zealand? The reply was, "*There is no evidence of any such intention being entertained by France.*"

To understand the importance of the above admission, it should be borne in mind, that some members of the family of this witness were permanent residents in France, and active promoters of his views in the public press of that, as also of our own country; this and other circumstances, render it probable that Mr. Wakefield was, at the time, well acquainted with the following circumstances which led to the emigration of a small body of French colonists to New Zealand.

The master of a French whaler, Langlois by name, who had been engaged with others of his countrymen, for several years in fishing and sealing on the shores of these islands, on his return to France, professed to have purchased about 30,000 acres on Banks' Peninsula, upon the 23rd of August, 1838, from the native chiefs, having given them merchandise to the value of 150 francs (£6 sterling), and contracted to make a further consideration to the value of £234 sterling, on taking possession of the land. Two mercantile houses at Nantes, two at Bordeaux, and three gentlemen of Paris, associated themselves with Langlois, under the denomination of the Nanto-Bordelaise Company, and despatched a whaling vessel, the *Compte de Paris*, with thirty men, eleven women, and sixteen children, to Akaroa (Banks' Peninsula, Middle Island), all the emigrants being of the lowest class, with the exception of the agent, M. de Beligny, a botanist and mineralogist, from the *Jardin de Plantes*, of Paris. A few days before the *Compte de Paris* reached her destination, namely, on the 10th of August, 1840, Captain Owen Stanley, in H.M.S.

* Appendix to Report to Commons' Committee on New Zealand, 1840; p. 136.

Britomart, arrived there under orders from Lieutenant-governor Hobson, with two police magistrates, and visited the only two parts of the bay where there were houses. The British flag was hoisted, and a magisterial court held; the same was done at three whaling stations at the south side of the peninsula, and the sovereignty and occupancy of Britain formally proclaimed. On the 15th the frigate *L'Aube*, belonging to the squadron maintained by the French government in the Pacific, for the protection of its whalers and the promotion of national interests, arrived under Captain Lavaud; and on the 16th it was followed by the *Compte de Paris*. Captain Stanley explained to Captain Lavaud the state of affairs, who, on his part, declared that (as the whaler had to proceed to sea) the emigrants should be landed on an unoccupied part of the bay, where he pledged himself, not only that they would do nothing hostile to the British government, but that until fresh instructions should be received from the respective governments of England and France, they should merely build themselves houses for shelter, and clear away what little land they might require for gardens. Six long twenty-four pounders, mounted on field carriages, were on board the *Compte de Paris*, with the agricultural tools, which surprised Captain Lavaud, who positively forbade their being landed. Mr. Robinson remained as an English magistrate at Akaroa, engaged three or four Englishmen as constables, and accepted the French commander's offer of a cabin and seat at his table, so long as *L'Aube* remained at Akaroa.

The validity of the land-purchases of the Nanto-Bordelaise Company were subsequently investigated* by the Land Commissioners, and Governor Hobson was instructed to grant to the French similar terms to those conceded to British companies, namely, a right of selecting an acre of land for every crown (5s.) expended in sending out emigrants, &c., provided that the native titles to the land so selected should be equitably extinguished. The head chiefs, when questioned by Colonel Godfrey and Major Richmond, the commissioners appointed to enquire into the

* August, 1843.

† See Appendix to Select Committee on New Zealand, in 1844; p. 435.

‡ For instance, we find Mr. E. G. Wakefield, in vol. i., p. 4, of his *Adventure in New Zealand*, published in London in 1845 referring to the assumed

case, positively denied having sold any land to Captain Langlois in 1838, and no satisfactory testimony was adduced in proof of their having done so, but they admitted having made over to him their interest in certain parts of Banks' Peninsula, when he arrived there in August, 1840, in the *Compte de Paris*, for goods, &c., amounting in value to £284 sterling. Evidence was produced before the court that the engagements of the Nanto-Bordelaise Company to the emigrants sent out by them, had been fulfilled, and likewise that a considerable sum (according to their agent, M. de Belligny, £15,000,) had been expended on roads, bridges, and improvements, in consideration of which, 80,000 acres of land were granted to the company by the British government, although this contract with the Maori chiefs was, according to the strict letter of the law, null and void, having been made subsequently to the proclamation issued by Governor Gipps, in January, 1840, forbidding the acquirement of lands from the natives of New Zealand after that date.

M. de Belligny declared before the commissioners that the French ministry had given "a promise of protection" to the emigrants.† How this vague statement, of which no kind of proof or corroboration was given, could be so construed as to convey the idea of an intention on the part of France to found a "penal settlement" in New Zealand, it is difficult to conjecture. Most assuredly the circumstances above narrated do not afford any sufficient evidence of a project having been entertained so directly in violation of the law and custom observed by civilized nations; yet the New Zealand Company persisted in reiterating this assertion, sometimes on grounds which would have been manifestly absurd, but for the profound ignorance of the public on the facts of the case;‡ taking to themselves the whole merit of having preserved New Zealand to the Crown of England, although well aware that British colonization, and christian civilization, had taken root in the land long before their formation into an associated body. They must, moreover, have been cognizant of the train of circumstances which led to the assumption of direct purchase made by Baron de Thierry at Cambridge, in 1820 (see p. 130), in the following manner:—"This circumstance deserves notice as having laid the foundation of the attempt made by the French government, in 1840, to establish a penal settlement in the Middle Island."

sovereignty in behalf of her Majesty over these islands, totally irrespective of the mission of Colonel Wakefield, at the close of 1839, on a land-jobbing, or to use the words of the directors, an "exclusively commercial" speculation.

GENERAL HISTORY OF NEW ZEALAND RESUMED.—The subsequent history of New Zealand consists chiefly of disputes, more or less fatal in their consequences respecting titles to land; of endeavours, on the part of the Crown to carry out a system in accordance with the principle advocated by the late Dr. Arnold, by which all lands not actually in cultivation were to be considered as vested in the sovereign; and of constant opposition on the part of the Maories, whose construction of the treaty of Waitangi, was considered just by many Europeans (including the three successive governors, the bishop, and chief justice), and who maintained that there were no "waste lands" in the whole territory of the three islands, inasmuch as every acre had its legitimate owner or owners, as the case might be, without whose special consent, no alienation could, according to native custom, take place. Throughout the whole period, a systematic hostility was maintained by the New Zealand Company, to the government (imperial and local), as well as to the natives, in the endeavour to "defend their rights to the valuable property of 20,000,000 square acres,"* and thus the seeds of intestine warfare were sown broad-cast over this unhappy country.

The policy pursued by England towards New Zealand, was shadowed forth in the instructions of the Marquess of Normanby to Captain Hobson, 14th of August, 1839, from which I have previously quoted. In them, it is impressed upon the future governor, that the aborigines—

"Must be carefully defended in the observance of their own customs, so far as these are compatible with the universal maxims of humanity and morals; but the savage practices of human sacrifices and of cannibalism must be promptly and decisively interdicted; such atrocities, under whatever plea of religion they may take place, are not to be tolerated within any part of the dominions of the British crown."†

Captain Hobson enquired how he was to repress "these diabolical acts" by force, after other measures had failed, and what

course was he to adopt to restrain the no less savage native wars, or to protect tribes who are oppressed, &c.? His previous knowledge had taught him, that at least for a few years, until the new comers and the aborigines had amalgamated, and until the peaceful and civilizing influences of the Christian missionaries had time to produce their full fruits, a repressive, if not over-awing, military establishment would be indispensable; and he called the attention of the secretary of state to the following omission in his instructions:—

"No allusion has been made to a military force, nor has any instruction (been) issued for the arming and equipping of militia. The presence of a few soldiers would check any disposition to revolt, and would enable me to forbid, in a firmer tone, those inhuman practices I have been ordered to restrain. The absence of such support, on the other hand, will encourage the disaffected to resist my authority, and may be the means of entailing on us, eventually, difficulties that I am unwilling to contemplate."‡

The reply was to the effect, that if persuasion and kindness could not prevent cannibalism, human sacrifices, and warfare among the native tribes, these abhorrent acts were to be repressed by authority, and if necessary, by actual force, within any part of the Queen's dominions; but no troops were granted to Captain Hobson, who, on the contrary, was informed by Lord Normanby, that it was—

"Impossible, at the present time, to detach any of her Majesty's troops to New Zealand; nor" (his lordship added) "can I foresee any definite period at which it will be practicable to supply that deficiency. It will probably, therefore, be necessary to raise a militia, or to embody an armed police."

At this period, the probability of collision between the English and the Maories was not contemplated by her Majesty's government, who were far from foreseeing the necessity of maintaining a military force in New Zealand, and (as we have seen) had urgently impressed upon Captain Hobson their desire of governing solely by moral influence. The unhappy conflicts occasioned by disputes respecting land, rendered this most desirable object quite impracticable; and, so early as February, 1840, we find Lieutenant-governor Hobson assuring the Marquis of Normanby, that the—

"Conflicting claims for land that will be brought under the consideration of the commissioners who are to be appointed to investigate them, will create a violent ferment through every class of society, both native and European."

* *Vide* Second Report of New Zealand. (15th Sept., 1840.)

† Parliamentary Papers, 8th April, 1840; p. 40.

‡ Letter to Lord Normanby, dated London, August, 1839. Parliamentary Papers on New Zealand, page 44.

He adds—

"I know perfectly well, the former will resist the execution of all awards that may be unfavourable to them, and that it will require a strong executive, supported by military force, to carry such decisions into effect."

Owing to the dispersed state of the British population, and the number of points to be guarded, the lieutenant-governor was of opinion that not less than four companies of a regiment, the frequent visits of ships of war, and the assistance of police and militia, would be "sufficient to maintain the dignity of the Crown, and secure the due execution of the laws."*

In May, 1840, a detachment of eighty men arrived from New South Wales; but this soon proved to be a very inadequate force; and in June, 1840, the lieutenant-governor, when informing the governor of New South Wales of a disturbance that had taken place, describes it as illustrating—

"The very frail terms by which peace is maintained with the native population; a mere drunken brawl might have involved us in a war with half the country. The inference to be drawn (he adds) is, that an augmentation of the military force is absolutely necessary: it must never be overlooked, that the native population are a warlike race, well armed, and ever ready to use these arms on the slightest provocation."

Lord John Russell, in a despatch of December, 1840, admitted the justice of these remonstrances, but declared himself unable to hold out any expectation of an increased number of troops, at least for the present.

It now becomes necessary to note the preliminary steps taken for the arrangement of claims to land acquired before the date of the treaty of Waitangi. In August, 1840, the Governor and Council of New South Wales, within whose jurisdiction New Zealand had been placed, passed an act under which Commissioners were appointed to inquire strictly into all the circumstances under which land was said to have been purchased by British subjects from New Zealanders. By a provision in this act, 2,560 acres (the maximum grant which the governor of New South Wales was empowered to make prior to the introduction of the system of Australian land-sales, in 1831,) was fixed upon as the largest quantity that any individual could retain, in virtue of cession from the natives. In whom the surplusage of acres (beyond the amount fixed) of any

territory acquired from the natives vested, was not stated, but it was supposed to become the property of the Crown. Legal titles could only be issued by the representative of the Crown, to obtain which it would be necessary to prove that a reasonable consideration had been given to the native proprietors.

The rate of sufficient payments was fixed as follows:—between the years 1815 and 1824, at sixpence per acre; 1825 to 1829, six to eightpence per acre; 1830 to 1834, eightpence to one shilling per acre; 1835 to 1836, one to two shillings per acre; 1837 to 1838, two to four shillings per acre; and in the year 1839, four to eight shillings per acre. During the discussion on this subject in the Legislative Council of New South Wales, a circumstance occurred which, though trifling in itself, appears to have had no inconsiderable share in exciting among the natives a distrustful feeling towards the government. A New Zealander was introduced into the gallery of the council chamber, and there heard Sir George Gipps speak of his countrymen as "poor savages, whom it would be the very height of hypocrisy in her Majesty's government to abstain, or pretend to abstain, for religion's sake, from despoiling of their lands, and yet allow them to be despoiled by individuals being subjects of her Majesty."† His excellency likewise denied the right of the Maories as "independent savages," to dispose of their lands in the manner described by Mr. Wentworth, with reference to his assumed purchase of 20,000,000 acres at the rate of one farthing for every 100 acres; and asserted that of the crown (in virtue of its newly-proclaimed sovereignty,) over the unoccupied lands. The Maori returned to New Zealand, and spread far and wide, statements which, we learn from Mr. Busby, "created the greatest excitement and indignation." A deputation of Christian natives waited on their pastor (Mr. Davis), and asked if it were indeed true, that the British government intended to take possession of their lands? and whether several shiploads of emigrants might be expected? To the first inquiry Mr. Davis replied that he believed there was no such intention. To the second, he could not but answer in the affirmative; upon which they significantly inquired, "What, then, is to become of us?" Mr.

* Parliamentary Papers on New Zealand, 11th May, 1841: p. 12, 13.

† See Parliamentary Papers on New Zealand, 11th May, 1841; p. 78, &c.

Davis endeavoured to quiet their fears, by assuring them they would be protected in their properties; but with many of them this assurance was ineffectual, and he was told in very plain terms, that if they were betrayed, the missionaries and the Resident had been their betrayers, and should be the first objects of their vengeance.

Mr. Busby says:—

"That the sentiment was universal amongst the natives in the Bay of Islands, that if the Queen (according to the enactments of the Land Claims Bill) deprived her own children of their land (which they had bought from the natives), it was only because she was not yet strong enough that she did not interfere with theirs. It, therefore, need excite no surprise that they should consider themselves over-reached and betrayed, when that right of pre-emption which they were prevailed upon to yield to the Queen for the benevolent purpose of protecting them from the fraudulent dealings of her subjects, was made the very instrument of realizing their worst fears."

Lord John Russell entertained a different opinion, and from his despatch to Governor Hobson, in December, 1840, (which has been already quoted, p. 144,) it appears that his lordship did not look upon the whole territorial surface of the islands of New Zealand, as vested in the aborigines; but only such lands as they occupied, used, or enjoyed.† His lordship deemed it absolutely necessary that a commissioner should ascertain, and that the law should determine, what lands were private and what *public* property,‡ and that the "demesne of the crown should be clearly separated from the lands of private persons, and from those still retained by the aborigines." The crown lands (when ascertained) were to be surveyed as promptly and accurately as possible, then opened for settlement, and disposed of by public sale at a uniform price. After defraying the expense of the survey, not more than fifty per cent. of the net sale proceeds of each year were to be appropriated to the exigencies of the public service, and for the benefit of the aborigines; the remaining fifty per cent. to be expended in the conveyance of emi-

grants from the United Kingdom to New Zealand. Lord John Russell further determined that,—

"All lands held by private persons, and not actually in cultivation should be subjected to an annual tax, the non-payment of which should be followed by the confiscation and seizure of the land, on the grounds that until this were done there could be no reasonable prospect of the colony making any effectual advance in agriculture, wealth, or sound internal polity."

The injunctions respecting the immediate subdivision of the surveyed lands, and their accurate mapping, were peremptory; but it would have been very difficult to have carried them fully into effect; if, however, a complete running survey, however rough, had been made immediately after the assumption of sovereignty by Great Britain, many of the disputes which subsequently arose from conflicting land claims, might have been more satisfactorily adjusted.

In a despatch dated the 28th of January, 1841, Lord John Russell again urges on Governor Hobson, that—

"The lands of the aborigines should be defined with all practicable and necessary precision, on the general maps and surveys of the colony," and desires that "tracts of land permanently retained for the use and occupation of the aborigines should be defined by natural and indelible land marks, and should be inalienable even in favour of the local government."

A sum not amounting to less than fifteen or more than twenty per cent. of the purchase-money of all lands bought from the aborigines, was to be expended in "promoting the health, civilization, education, and spiritual care of the natives," on the recommendation of the Protector appointed by the Crown to watch over and superintend their affairs.

From the preceding statements, some notion may be formed of the difficulties which beset Governor Hobson from the commencement of his administration, which were greatly aggravated by the contumacious tone assumed towards him by the Wellington settlers, who criticised and cavilled at his measures, in a similar style to that adopted by the New Zealand

rights of chiefs, were well established native institutions." [*British Colonization of New Zealand*, pp. 53, 54.] The natives had no idea whatever of the terms "public" and "private" property; they ceded sovereign power to the Queen magisterially, and in agreeing to grant a right of "pre-emption" to the crown, they supposed that they would thus at all times have a purchaser for the waste lands, or such territories as they might be disposed to alienate. It is necessary to keep this point in mind, as it affords a clue to many subsequent difficulties.

* Parliamentary Papers on New Zealand, 1845; p. 15.

† A shrewd and logical writer has, however, taken a different view of the bearing of this despatch.—*Vide New Zealand Question, and the Rights of the Aborigines*: by Louis Alexis Chamerodow, Secretary to the Aborigines' Society: p. 221, *et sequitur*.

‡ The *New Zealand Association* of 1837 made a marked distinction between "property in land," and "sovereignty as respects government," and acknowledged that "property in land, and the sovereign

Company towards the home government, whom the directors openly accused of being actuated in their proceedings by "*a malicious motive*," a desire to injure the Company, and punish them for their alleged misconduct.* The settlers, however, had soon reason to perceive that they were far more likely to receive protection and assistance from the representatives of the Crown, than from the Company, for (despite the promise given them) but few months after their departure from England, another settlement was planned, whose members, like those of Wellington, were doomed to struggle through long years of suspense, before receiving the "allotments," for which (under any circumstances,) they had given a most exorbitant price.† The following are the chief facts connected with the origin of the

NEW PLYMOUTH SETTLEMENT.—In the month of February, 1840, an association was formed in the west of England, termed the "New Plymouth Company," avowedly in connexion with the New Zealand Company in London, of whom the former was to purchase land, for the purpose of reselling it to capitalists, or leasing it to farmers who might be disposed to emigrate, and found a settlement to be termed the "Plymouth Colony of New Zealand." The directors of the branch Company invested the money of their shareholders by purchasing £10,000 of the stock of the London Company, at par, for which they were to receive a territory comprising 50,000 acres, clear of all streets, public places, roads, and native reserves. The land was to be specially selected by the surveyor of the Plymouth Company from such part of the Company's possessions as might hold out the best prospects for the commercial and general prosperity of the settlement. The town of New Plymouth, by the original plan, was to consist of 550 acres, *exclusive of all streets and public places*; to be divided into 2,200 town sections of a quarter of an acre, which were to be sold at £10 each; 200 sections to be reserved for gratuitous distribution among the native families dwell-

ling near the settlement. A belt of land round the town, containing 10,450 acres, exclusive of roads, was to be divided into 209 *suburban* sections of fifty acres each, nineteen of which were likewise to be reserved for the natives. The land outside this suburban belt was to comprise 57,500 acres, to be divided into rural sections of fifty acres each, and leased or sold.

Applicants for twenty-one years' lease, of one or more of the 50 acre rural sections, were to deposit a sum of money in London, to be returned to them in the colony, for investment in fencing and farming the land so leased; the rent of which was to be 3s. per acre for the first seven years; 4s. for the next seven years, and 6s. for the residue of the term. The Company were to advance money at the rate of ten per cent. interest to the lessee, on the security of the stock; and during the currency of this lease, he was to be at liberty to purchase the freehold of his farm, at the price of £3 per acre during the first seven years, and £5 per acre during the remainder of the term.‡

Before the land was selected in New Zealand for the new township, and on the strength of the assumed *twenty million acre* purchases of Colonel Wakefield, the allotments were put up for sale in England. The following is an illustration of the mode in which the sales were managed. At the drawing of the *lottery* for priority of selection of the New Plymouth suburban sections of fifty acres each, the secretary and managing-director drew the first lot, and the next thirty fell by chance (?) in the following manner; eighteen to the Company; one to the "native reserves;" two to directors; one to auditor; two to Company's agent; one to colonial surgeon, and two to friends of the directors.

Thus, in fact, until the thirty-one best selections were made, the *public* purchasers were not, under this pretended lottery, permitted a choice. The number of allotments were, in all, 209; of these, 113 were drawn for the Company, probably to be resold as in other cases at an advanced price.

* See Mr. Gibbon Wakefield's Evidence before Select Committee, July, 1840, p. 17.

† Governor Grey, in a despatch dated New Plymouth, 2nd March, 1847, when referring to the still unsettled state of the alleged land purchases of the New Zealand Company from the natives, says—"I found the settlers in a state of great distress; many of them who had brought large capitals with them from England, have now expended the whole of their money, waiting in the vain expectation that they

would at last be permitted to occupy their land, and living from year to year upon that capital which was intended to render their land productive, and which, having been now all wasted, will render their land comparatively valueless, when it is obtained for them."—Parliamentary Papers on New Zealand, Dec. 1847; p. 3.

‡ The Company afterwards refused to carry out these arrangements, which caused much disappointment.

In August, 1840, Mr. F. A. Carrington, a gentleman, whose maps and labours, while engaged in the Ordnance department (England), had established his character as a surveyor, was sent out to fix the site of New Plymouth. He examined the entire coast-line of the country between Capes Farewell and Campbell, (including the tract where the Nelson Settlement was afterwards placed,) but considered it unsuitable from the barren character of the land, and finally selected a portion of the district about Taranaki (Mount Egmont,) and the Waitera, on the west and south-west part of the Northern Island, as best adapted for an agricultural settlement. His choice was approved by Colonel Wakefield, who alleged that he had bought the whole district in October, 1839.

That the reader may understand the leading cause of the difficulties and disagreements which took place between the natives and the settlers, occasioning to both parties, especially the latter, severe and prolonged distress, it becomes necessary to explain, as clearly as may be, the peculiar circumstances under which the assumed purchase was made. Some five years before the arrival of the agent of the New Zealand Company, a powerful tribe, termed "Waikato," under their chief, Te Whero-where, conquered the aborigines of the Taranaki district (the Ngatiawa tribe) and expelled them from their rightful territory. Those who were taken prisoners were carried away as captives; some fled towards the country bordering either side of Cook's Straits; others took refuge in the mountains of Cape Egmont, or on the Sugar-loaf islands off the coast. It was from some of these latter that Colonel Wakefield professed to have bought the land in question,* in the manner thus described by a well-informed, and always truthful writer,†—

"Messrs. Wakefield and Dorset went in a vessel to the roadstead, and landed an illiterate whaling master (R. Barrett), who had a mere smattering of the native language, to negotiate the purchase of the whole adjoining district. With about forty men, women, and children an arrangement was made, and goods were given to them in exchange for the whole district—as the Company's agents said—but in exchange for those natives' lands, or parts of them only, in the nearest district alone—as the natives understood. The interpreter was incapable of explaining correctly what the natives meant."

Thus the New Zealand Company—

"Endeavoured to buy a tract of land from a few

* Parliamentary Papers, 12th Aug. 1842; p. 188.

† Remarks on New Zealand, pp. 29—31.

persons who owned about a thirtieth part of it, the great majority of the proprietors being then absent;" (they were, in fact, kept as prisoners of war by the Waikato tribe, who some years afterwards, at the instance of Christian missionaries, granted the captives permission to return to their own land, which, to their surprise and displeasure, they found occupied by Europeans.)

Such is Captain Fitz-Roy's view of this transaction;—Mr. Carrington's evidence before the House of Commons' committee, in 1844, places it in a far more unfavourable light, and leads to the conclusion that Colonel Wakefield's proceedings were dictated by a spirit of expediency (falsely so called), rather than honesty. For instance, Mr. Carrington produced a letter received by Richard Barrett from Colonel Wakefield, and dated "East Bay, Queen Charlotte's Sound, November 8th, 1839," from which the following paragraphs are quoted as sufficiently showing the object of the writer,—

"Sir,—I have to inform you that *I have purchased* for the New Zealand Company, from the chiefs of the Kafia and Ngatiawa tribes, *the whole of their possessions, rights and claims, on both sides of Cook's Straits*, between the thirty-eighth and forty-third degrees of south latitude, *an ample consideration having been paid for the same*. All the chiefs, including those of the small tribes, forming part of the Ngatiawas, having executed deeds of conveyance to the Company, and fully understanding that they are not to resell any portion of land or timber within those boundaries. I beg that you will make the sale known to European settlers in the Sound and its neighbourhood, in order that they may avoid the useless trouble and expense, and the collision with the Company, which will be caused by their making any purchases in these districts from *this day's date*. (Signed,) W. WAKEFIELD."

At this time, according to Mr. Carrington, "*no proceedings had been taken towards the purchase which is stated in that letter to have been completed*;"—and this assertion is, to a great extent, confirmed by the fact that *nineteen days after* the date of the letter in question; namely, on the 28th of November, we find it stated in Colonel Wakefield's journal, that he landed Richard Barrett at Taranaki on that day, with instructions—

"To assemble the numerous chiefs resident on a coast line of 150 miles, in a month's time, when I am to return to make the payment for the different districts, and receive the written assent of the chiefs to the sale; * * * I have every hope that on my return here, the *completion of the bargain* (between the many conflicting interests and divisions of the occupants) will be effected."†

A further corroboration of Mr. Car-

† Vide Appendix to the twelfth Report of the New Zealand Company, p. 131, F.

rington's assertion is, that in the *Adventure in New Zealand*, by E. J. Wakefield (vol. i., pp. 180—183), the nominal purchase of a considerable portion of this very district, is stated to have been made on the 15th of February, 1840. These and other circumstances (the opinion of Captain Fitz-Roy, Mr. Clarke, and others), seem to justify Mr. Carrington in declaring that "the report of Colonel Wakefield as to the purchase was not only false, as regards the time of the negotiation, but also false as regards the extent of territory acquired."*

In February, 1841, the surveys were commenced, notwithstanding the opposition of the natives, who, putting their arms round the trees, declared that they should not be cut down, neither should stakes be driven into their land; they performed their war dance naked, as is their custom when proceeding to conflict; and on several occasions brought their tomahawks hard down on the head of Mr. Carrington, with repeated threats, but he so far prevailed by patience and good humour, as to be suffered to proceed with the survey, on the faith of his promise, that their land should be paid for when the white people came to settle on it.

In the following month the first detachment of emigrants, called the *pioneer expedition* (144 in number) arrived at Taranaki, or, as we must now call it, *New Plymouth*, and were joined by the main body of settlers on the 3rd of September, 1841. Lots for the order of choice for *rural lands* were then drawn; but notwithstanding the much-vaunted promise of "a tenth" of their land being in every case reserved for

the natives, as some compensation for the almost nominal price† for which they were supposed to have sold the entire territory; no such reservation appears to have been intended in this instance, as (according to the testimony of the surveyor of the settlement,) no lots were drawn on their behalf. Another selection of rural lands was made in June, 1842; but again no sections were set aside for the natives, notwithstanding the remonstrances of Mr. Carrington, who urged upon the representatives of the Company, the agents, and the (so-called) landowners, that unless some spots were left for them (the natives) on the rivers Waitera and Waiongona, the settlers would not be suffered to occupy their allotments. The justice of this unheeded warning was evidenced when too late, by the fact, that many of those to whom it was addressed, never received the lands, which though not rightfully purchased, they had, nevertheless, dearly paid for; while others were obliged to resign their original selections on the before-named rivers, and take, instead, any they could procure within the block around the town; which itself was so disproportionately large, that "the building allotments" were frequently converted into arable land.

Meanwhile, the New Zealand Company having pursued, from the first, a course of illegal and unjustifiable proceedings, as well as of lavish and wasteful expenditure of money entrusted to them by individuals for a special purpose, found it necessary to alter for a time the contumelious and defiant tone‡ they had hitherto maintained

* *Vide* Letter to Viscount Howick, 1844.

† Mr. Wakefield alleged before the Parliamentary Committee of 1840, that the native reserves constituted the principal value of the sale made by the aborigines, and gave in an estimate of the value of 110 reserves, comprising 10,100 acres out of 110,000, in the Wellington district. By this estimate, one was worth £1,000; four averaged £800 each; four, £600; three, £500; three, £400; five, £300; thirteen, £250; five, £200; three, £180; three, £150; three, £140; seven, £130, and the remainder were stated at different lesser values; in all, amounting to £33,390. This witness added, "the lots drawn for the natives happened to be very good ones, and the consequence is, that the sections reserved for them have already acquired a very high value."

The evidence of Mr. Campbell, the government surveyor, is in direct contradiction to this assertion. He states that, with few exceptions, the native reserves (at Port Nicholson) have been selected in spots so distant from the *pahs*, and where the ground is so hilly as to render them almost useless to the natives for the purposes of cultivation."

Mr. Commissioner Spain quotes the above paragraph, in a report addressed to the local government of New Zealand, and declares that he "fully coincides in his (Mr. Campbell's) opinion.—Appendix to Report of Select Committee of 1844, p. 294.

Another authority on this subject corroborates Mr. Campbell's account, by describing some of the "native reserves" at Wellington, as having been adroitly marked down among the native *pahs*, which had never been alienated, or in spots already inhabited by, and belonging to resident natives, to which the New Zealand Company had not a shadow of right; and the majority of the "reserves" were so "partially" selected, as to render them unfit for cultivation, and ineligible for leasing." The total inadequacy of these much vaunted reserves for the subsistence, or for the amelioration of the moral or physical condition of the Maories, is sufficiently evidenced in the fact, that up to 1843, the trustees of the native reserves were unable to raise sufficient means to procure medical comforts for the sick.—Letter from the Protector of the Aborigines, 26th October, 1843.

‡ Mr. W. Hutt M.P., a director of the New

towards her Majesty's government, and direct all their efforts to the obtainment of a charter of incorporation, which should not only limit the liability of the shareholders to the amount of the capital respectively subscribed by them, but should also protect them from actions at common law, which might be brought against each proprietor by those who had paid money for land which they had never received, and had, in fact, been deprived of their property under false pretences. The urgency of the case would neither admit of delay in time, nor of hesitation as to the expenditure of money for the desired object. The support of several members of the legislature was procured; the services of some (in their legal capacity,) were obtained by retaining fees and other means available to a public Company, influential from the station of its directors (very few of whom, however, appear to have been really conversant with its affairs, or to have taken any active share in their management,) and rich so long as the public should continue credulous. Among other measures, the press, or at least a portion of it, was actively employed.

An arrangement was at length effected, one inducement to which, on the part of the government, was unquestionably a desire to enable the Company to relieve the Wellington settlers from the distressing position into which they had been inveigled.

On the 18th November, 1840, a statement of the terms on which a royal charter of incorporation would be granted, was transmitted to the New Zealand Company, by order of Lord John Russell, who, *pre-mising*, on the faith of the assurances given by the Company, that *an equitable purchase of several million acres of land had actually been made, of which the Maori titles were completely extinguished*, proposed, that an estimate should be made of the money disbursed by them for the purchase of land, the conveyance of emigrants, for surveys,

Zealand Company, and a member of the select committee of the House of Commons appointed in 1840 to enquire into the affairs of New Zealand, in reply to a question (No. 1,065,) addressed to him by the Chairman, on the 24th of July, stated that "the Company is disposed to question the proceedings of the government." He then read a series of hostile resolutions passed by the Directors of the New Zealand Company, on that morning, wherein the proclamation in the name of the crown respecting land (p. 140), issued on the assumption of British sovereignty, was declared an "unparalleled interference with private rights;" and a mode of procedure "so contrary to international law, and so

road-making, the erection of public buildings, and other incidental expenses. When the outlay of the Company should have been ascertained, a grant of land was to be made them from the crown, in the ratio of one acre for every five shillings reasonably expended by them for the above-named purposes. It was expressly stated, that the lands to be assigned to the Company were to—

"Be taken by them in that part of the colony of New Zealand at which their settlement has been formed, and to which they have laid claim, in virtue of contracts made by them with the natives or others, antecedently to the arrival of Captain Hobson, as her Majesty's lieutenant-governor at New Zealand," and should "comprise all tracts to which any persons have derived titles through them (the Company), provided that such tracts be situated at or in the neighbourhood of Port Nicholson, or at or in the neighbourhood of New Plymouth, and also provided that such tracts shall not collectively amount to more than 160,000 acres, and provided further, that no such tracts shall be such as, regard being had to the general interests of the colonists at large, ought to be reserved and appropriated for any purposes of public utility, convenience, or recreation. With the exception of the before-mentioned tracts, the land to be selected by the Company as aforesaid, shall be taken by them in one or more blocks. Of such blocks, any number not exceeding six, may be of the size of not less than 5,000 acres each, and the rest of a size of not less than 30,000 acres each. Every such block to be, as nearly as possible, a solid parallelogram, bounded by the natural land-marks of the country."

The Company, on their part, were—

"to forego and disclaim all title, or pretence of title to any lands purchased or acquired by them in New Zealand, other than the lands so to be granted to them as aforesaid."

Of the other terms upon which her Majesty's government proposed to grant a charter to the New Zealand Company, the following clauses are necessary to be borne in mind, as materially affecting the interests of a large portion of the British and Maori population of the Wellington and New Plymouth settlements:—

"The Company having sold, or contracted to sell, lands to various persons, her Majesty's government disclaim all liability for making good any such sales

utterly repugnant to justice, as to require that this Company should employ every legitimate means of resistance to the enactments of government taking effect." Another resolution intimated that measures would probably be adopted to prevent the Maori chiefs "on the Company's territory" from acknowledging the sovereignty of the Queen of England. According to a statement made by Mr. Williams (Church missionary) to Captain Hobson, by whom he was sent to Port Nicholson, to obtain signatures to the treaty of Waitangi; the attempt was made, and Mr. Williams was "not able to obtain the signatures required at Wellington, owing to the opposition of Colonel Wakefield and others to the treaty."

or contract; it being nevertheless understood that the Company will, from the lands to be granted to them as aforesaid, fulfil and carry into effect all such their sales and contracts. It being also understood that the Company had entered into engagements for the reservation of certain lands, for the benefit of the natives, it is agreed, that, in respect of all the lands so to be granted to them as aforesaid, reservations of such lands shall be made for the benefit of the natives by her Majesty's government, in fulfilment of, and according to the tenor of such stipulations."

With regard to the incorporation of the Company, it was proposed that the charter should be granted for the term of forty years, but should contain provisions for its resumption by the Crown, and for the "purchase of the lands and other property of the Company, on just and equitable terms, if the public interest (meanwhile) should require such a resumption and purchase."

From the foregoing abstract of the proposed arrangement, it must be evident that Lord John Russell's offer was simply that of granting to the Company a charter of incorporation on certain conditions, and of legalizing, by titles from the Crown, the claims of the Company to a portion of the land to which they, on their showing, were presumed to have *fairly and fully* extinguished the native title.

Considering their previous unjustifiable proceedings, these terms were more favourable than any they could reasonably have anticipated; and, in the reply of the governor (Mr. Somes), on the following day, (19th November, 1840), the above propositions are described as framed on "liberal and judicious principles," and declared to be such as the Company had "no hesitation in accepting."

In acknowledging this acceptance of his offer, Lord John Russell (through Mr. Vernon Smith) apprized the Company of the intention of government to apply to all other British subjects the same rule to which they (the Company) would be subjected in respect to their land claims, viz.—that all claimants should, after due investigation by a special commission, have the titles to land granted them "by the chiefs of those islands, according to the custom of the country, and in return for some adequate consideration," confirmed by the Crown, in the ratio of one acre for every five shillings invested. "This

advantage, however," it is added, "will be offered only to those whose lands were acquired before the 5th January, 1840, the date of the proclamation issued by Sir G. Gipps on the subject.*

The charter was granted on the 12th of February, 1841. By its provisions the subscribed capital of the Company, was fixed at £300,000 in shares of £25 each, of which two-thirds were to be paid up within twelve months; with power to increase it to £1,000,000, and also to borrow on mortgage to the extent of £500,000†.

No lands could in future be purchased by the Company from natives, but on any purchase from her Majesty's government to the extent of 50,000 acres, paid for in ready money, ten per cent was to be remitted as discount,‡ together with an allowance for surveys. All crown lands in New Zealand in future to be sold at 20s. per acre. The clause to limit the duration of the charter to forty years, and to give the Crown within that period a power of resumption, and the right of purchasing the lands and other property of the Company, was objected to, and not inserted in the charter.

Mr. Heale, in commenting upon this charter, declares, not without some reason, that it contains "no troublesome clauses to bind the Company—no restrictions as to the price at which they were to sell,—no fixed portion of the proceeds allotted to emigration, not a shadow of control reserved to the government."‡

Mr. James Pennington, an accountant, to whom a statement of the disbursements made by the New Zealand Company was submitted, gave it as his opinion that the expenditure of the Company on which its right to receive land might be immediately admitted, was £60,000 + £101,560 = £161,560; but considered that a decision with regard to the further sum of £87,696, likewise asserted to have been expended in the manner stipulated, was a subject for future inquiry and consideration. By the result of this investigation, the Company became immediately entitled to receive (*out of their purchases from the natives in 1839*) a crown title to 646,240 acres, and in the event of the latter sum being found to have been duly invested, to

* Parliamentary Papers, New Zealand, 11th May, 1841, pp. 85—96.

† The rate of discount was afterwards changed, at the solicitation of the Company, to twenty per cent. for the first two years from the date of the agree-

ment, and fifteen per cent. at the expiration of that period.—Parliamentary Papers, New Zealand, 1841.

‡ *New Zealand, and the New Zealand Company.* London: 1842; Preface, p. 7.

an additional extent of 350,784 acres. The grounds on which Mr. Pennington founded an award so favourable to the Company, (provided the native title to even a very limited portion of their twenty million acres *should have been extinguished*) are by no means satisfactorily stated. Lord John, in proposing the arrangement, had expressly stipulated that an estimate of the outlay of the Company, under distinct heads, should be made, in which estimate "no item shall be admitted which shall not be found to have been just and moderate in amount, and fairly demanded by the exigencies of the service to be performed."* It is much to be regretted that this stipulation was not rigidly enforced, and still more, that a clear exposition of the affairs of the Company had not been made a preliminary condition to the grant of the charter; for a due regard to the interests of the public demanded that before important concessions were made by the minister of the Crown on their behalf, it should have been distinctly understood what services the Company had rendered, or were likely to render, to entitle them to such consideration, and especially, whether their dealings with the public had been characterised by good faith and discretion. To this end it should have been shewn how much of their own capital the Company had invested, — what they had actually paid the natives, and how much they had expended of the money placed in their hands by various persons, *in trust*, for the purchase of land, and other specific purposes, and in what manner. An account should likewise have been given of the sums which had been paid to different individuals for rights and privileges, real or assumed;† of the payments, salaries, and expenses (reported to have been most unreasonable), which had been allowed to the promoters and agents of the Company, both in London and the colony; what moneys had been paid, and under what contracts, to Mr. Somes (the governor),‡ and others. On

* Parliamentary Papers, New Zealand, November, 1840.

† The large sum of £45,000 appears to have been paid to a few members of the New Zealand Company of 1839-40, for the pretended rights and privileges of the inchoate New Zealand Company of 1825, and the New Zealand Association of 1837, whose members had repeatedly declared, that their efforts were purely patriotic, and had no connection with joint-stock speculations. By a remarkable coincidence, however, the same names are prominent in the proceedings of 1825, of 1837, and of 1839-40.

‡ The *Times* of 28th January, 1851, alludes to the

all these points the government had unquestionably a right to demand, and record for the benefit of the public, full information; in place of which, we have a jumbled statement of £161,560, and £97,696 = £259,256 expended by the Company, who claimed in their own right a proportionate award of land without reference to the settlers, to whom by far the greater part of the money rightfully belonged, having been entrusted by them to the directors, upon certain conditions, most of which remain to the present moment unfulfilled. Between the Company and its land-purchasers, *the government*, it should be remembered, could have no right to interfere, and in enabling the Company to fulfil their promises, (provided their repeated assertions respecting the equity of their extensive territorial purchases should prove correct), her Majesty's ministers had really done more than could have been expected, under all the circumstances of the case. We find even the deluded Wellington settlers eventually acknowledging this, and ascribing to the unjust and ill-advised proceedings of those in whom they had placed implicit confidence, the sole blame for their failure.

The Company had received from them (in all), £128,040, of this large sum £25 per cent, or £32,010 was to be retained for the profit, and to meet the expenses of the management: the remaining £75 per cent = £96,030 was to be held *in trust* by the Company, and to be appropriated towards emigration, and for the benefit of the land-purchasers, who aver, that although the Company, "as trustees, had no right to derive any profit from such expenditure;" yet that on account of having disbursed this £96,030 trust-money, the Company obtained from the Crown "384,120 acres, of which they allotted to them (the Wellington settlers) only 127,790 acres, and appropriated the other 256,330 acres to their own use and benefit," in addition to 128,040 "enormous difference" in the rates paid by the New Zealand Company, from the years 1839 to 1844, inclusive, for the conveyance of emigrants, compared with those paid by her Majesty's government for a series of years, and by the Canterbury Association in 1850. It is to be hoped that parliament will direct a searching investigation to be made into the manner in which the New Zealand Company have expended nearly one million of money, of which a large portion has been contributed from the taxes levied on the people of England. In every quarter, the question is put—"What has become of the money?"

acres awarded them on account of the 25 per cent = £32,010, retained according to the agreement for their profit and expenses.

In addressing the directors, the "purchasers of land in the first and principal settlement," state their case simply and forcibly :—

"If you lay claim to these 256,330 acres, what becomes of the stipulation that the Company shall only retain twenty-five per cent. for its own profit? If, for example, you receive from government 400,000 acres for the first £100,000 paid by purchasers, and only allot them 100,000 acres, keeping for yourselves the other 300,000 acres, do you not, instead of twenty-five per cent., reserve for the Company seventy-five per cent.? Is there not here a most gross breach of a most clear and explicit agreement?"

"We will suppose, however, for the sake of argument, that you were not clothed with the character of *trustees*, and that you never stipulated that you should retain for your own use *only* twenty-five per cent., still we must ask—have you any claims superior or equal to ours, to appropriate to yourselves all the advantages conferred by Lord John Russell's agreement? Can you show any peculiar merit which would entitle the Company to keep to itself the territories thus awarded? You cannot deny that the lands in question (256,330 acres) have been acquired *by means of the expenditure of funds which we furnished*. You cannot pretend to have incurred any personal risks. You have admitted, that whatever value the lands to which you have become entitled possess, is derived from our sacrifices. You can, in short, urge, in regard to these lands, no other merit than that of having expended our money; and for this you have been paid a commission fixed by yourselves—a commission which must be deemed most ample. For instance, you have received, for expending the first £75,000 paid by us, £25,000, which entitled you to 100,000 acres. You have, in fact, been awarded 100,000 acres of land, for the trouble of expending £75,000, received from the first purchasers. And yet you are not satisfied! but are *endeavouring to appropriate to your own use the lands acquired by our funds—purchased by our sufferings—we might almost say, by the blood of our fellow-settlers.*"*

On these and other grounds set forth, the settlers at Wellington tell the directors of the New Zealand Company,—“You trample upon the rights of all whom you believe to be too poor—too distant, and too unprotected to resist your injustice.”

It was not, however, until some years after the grant of the charter in 1841, that

* Memorial to the Directors of the New Zealand Company, from the land-purchasers at Port Nicholson; pp. 43, 44.

† The relative advantages or disadvantages of Auckland and Wellington for the capital of New Zealand, are fully and ably set forth in a letter to Lord Stanley, dated 20th September, 1841, (*vide* Parliamentary Papers on New Zealand, 1842, pp. 68—72) from Roy and Co., solicitors, London, on

the deluded “land-purchasers,” convinced that there was nothing to be gained by continuing to pursue, towards the directors, the conciliatory policy they had long maintained without advantage, poured upon them the full tide of their wrath. In the interim, they vented their complaints on the local authorities, uniting their efforts with those of the New Zealand Company in endeavouring to procure the removal of the seat of government from Auckland to Wellington,† it being rightly foreseen, that such a measure could alone prevent the latter from becoming (as it was for several years) a complete failure. To this end, not only were the most exaggerated descriptions of the advantages of the latter, and the disadvantages of the former, put forth in every possible way, but the colonial servants of the Crown, from the highest to the lowest, were stigmatized as “land-jobbers,” “grasping menials,” “incapable,” “tyrannical,” and “corrupt.” Governor Hobson came in for the largest share of vituperation, on account of the straightforward honesty with which he endeavoured to place before the home government the real facts of the case. The following extract from his despatch of 10th November, 1840, is important in many respects, and may serve as an illustration of the “plain-speaking” which rendered this good and public-spirited governor so thoroughly unpopular and “impracticable” in the eyes of those whose manœuvres he fearlessly exposed :—

“The industry with which the New Zealand Company have circulated throughout the United Kingdom, by means of the press, most exaggerated descriptions of the land at Port Nicholson, and very incorrect statements of the extent of country at their disposal, has had the effect of deluding the people of England into a belief that the nature of the soil, and the facilities for cultivation throughout that district, present advantages which are nowhere else to be found; that their title to the land is undisputed, and that the port is the finest in the colony; all which reports are, in my opinion, unsupported by fact.”

“The utmost quantity of land available for cultivation is 25,000 acres, and this is to be found in detached spots, and in situations difficult of approach, and all heavily timbered.”

“The title of the Company to the land they have

behalf of several settlers in Auckland, and persons possessing property in its neighbourhood, who are not named, but among whose number may be included an association called the Manukau Company, who, through their agent, Captain Symonds, laid claim to a considerable tract of country in the vicinity of Auckland, of which, however, only a small portion was eventually confirmed to them by the grant of a crown title.

resold is at least questionable: it is disputed by the natives, by the Church Missionary Society, who have bought extensive tracts of the land claimed by the Company, in trust for the natives, and by many British subjects, on the grounds of priority of purchase. The port is certainly most spacious, and is free from danger within its heads; but its very great extent, and the tremendous violence of the prevailing winds, generate so heavy a sea within itself, as to suspend, for many days together, all operations connected with the shipping.*

The justice of the opinions expressed by Governor Hobson, respecting the utter unfitness of Wellington for the capital of New Zealand, received full confirmation from his successor, Captain Fitz-Roy, who, on occasion of visiting Wellington, in 1844, declared that—

"Words could not express the surprise and disappointment with which Port Nicholson and the town of Wellington were seen for the first time. The port is too large to be sheltered, even from prevailing winds; and it has a long, narrow entrance from the open sea, between threatening and really dangerous rocks, making it almost a blind harbour. It is nearly surrounded by high hills covered with forests, and appears to have but little level, cultivable land in its immediate neighbourhood. The stormy climate, the straggling, exposed, and indefensible nature of the town, and the depressing prospect for the future in such a locality, during at least the present generation, might well cause sorrow that such a situation should have been chosen."

When it became evident that neither cajolery nor specious reasoning could tempt or mislead Captain Hobson into sacrificing the interests of the colony at large, to those of the Company and its settlers, a series of petty persecutions was commenced, sufficient to have harassed a far less sensitive mind, and worn out a far stronger frame, than those of the unfortunate governor. Public meetings were held at Port Nicholson, and resolutions adopted to petition her Majesty for his recall, on the ground of partizanship and neglect of public duty; the only specific charge against him, beside the great one of not deeming Port Nicholson a fit site for the capital, being, that he had "seduced" four pair of sawyers, four carpen-

* On the 19th April, 1841, Lord John Russell communicated the despatch of Governor Hobson on Port Nicholson to the directors of the New Zealand Company, "in order that they might inform the public" of the unfavourable view taken by him of the position and capabilities of Wellington. This suggestion, it is almost needless to say, was not adopted; the policy invariably pursued by the Company being, to let nothing meet the public eye calculated to impede their land sales. Even their own agents complain of the unfair use made of their reports, only such portions being put forward as served the immediate interests of the directors; the remainder, however important, being suppressed.

ters, two masons, and five labourers, required for the construction of public buildings at Auckland, to migrate thither from Wellington, where there was a redundancy of labour, and where the agent of the New Zealand Company ultimately obliged the unemployed, skilled, and unskilled labourers to become "squatters," in order to relieve the Company from the expense of their support.† But the pretext was a plausible one in the sight of the English public, who were ignorant that in consequence of the proceedings of the Company, the settlers, however enterprising, could employ but little labour, having spent the best part of their capital, without acquiring land upon which to employ the remainder.

This petition produced from the British colonists in the northern portion of the island one to an opposite effect, applauding the measures adopted by Captain Hobson, and praying her Majesty to retain his services. In commenting on these petitions, in a despatch dated 26th May, 1841, Captain Hobson says—

"It is quite evident, notwithstanding the extraneous matter introduced into the Port Nicholson petition, that the whole matter resolves itself into the simple fact, that I have not studied the exclusive advantage of the Company, by fixing the seat of government at Port Nicholson; and it is equally certain, that the counter-petition must be attributed to my having chosen my position on the Waitemata."

He adds—

"Had I been base enough to prefer my own comfort to what I believed to be the public benefit, I could have established myself at Port Nicholson, where, surrounded by a compact society, all personally identified with the place, I might have left it to the Company's agents, or their press, to answer any censure which might flow in upon me from other quarters. Or had I been still more base, and kept in view my pecuniary advantage, there could have been no scheme devised better calculated to ensure my own fortune and that of my friends, than presented itself at Port Nicholson; it needed but to have speculated largely in the Company's shares, and having raised their value by the location of government, to have sold off my interest whilst they preserved their artificial value.

Dr. Dieffenbach, in a letter to Governor Hobson, dated 17th February, 1841, states, that the New Zealand Company "*did not* faithfully report his researches, and only those parts which suited the purposes of the Company were published." (Parliamentary Papers on New Zealand, 12th August, 1842, p. 89.) Mr. Carrington, the head surveyor of New Plymouth, makes a similar complaint in his letter to Viscount Howick, and declares, specifically, that some of the statements put forth in the Company's fifth report, "were not true, and had cruelly deceived the public." (Page 89.)

† Parliamentary Papers on New Zealand, 12th August, 1842; pp. 29, 30, and 155.

"But, my lord, I claim no merit for resisting these temptations; for had I yielded to them, the moral debasement would have sunk me to the grave.

"In my public capacity, I came to this country without bias to any interest whatsoever; I judged from what I saw, and what I learned from authentic sources, from which I formed a strong conviction that this portion of the country united in itself the numerous qualities requisite for the seat of government of this promising colony; and I therefore chose this situation."

There are other portions of this despatch which shew that Captain Hobson, notwithstanding the vexatious and offensive opposition which the Port Nicholson settlers had maintained towards him, appreciated their energy; considered them "a valuable class of colonists;" was earnestly desirous "to disabuse their minds of the evil prepossessions instilled into them by the Company's agents and their press;" and was at that time anxiously deliberating on the steps most likely to obviate their difficulties. To this end he proposed, for the benefit of the settlers at Wellington, and other places at a distance from the seat of government at Auckland, the institution of general, quarter, and petty sessions of the peace, very nearly assimilating to those held in England: to bring home justice to settlers in remote (chiefly whaling) stations, a magistrate was to be appointed for the purpose of occasionally visiting such places, and holding petty sessions on the spot. To these measures was to be added the establishment of courts of requests, for the recovery of debts of small amount. The governor further declared that it would hereafter become necessary to hold circuit courts for the trial of capital offences and issues in civil actions; and proposed to grant to the settlers of Port Nicholson or of any other town where the inhabitants might be sufficiently numerous to carry out the details, and afford the expense of managing their own affairs, charters of incorporation; with power to elect their own civic officers, and confer on them the authority generally vested in English corporate bodies, so as to afford the colonists much local control, and relieve the government "from the enormous expense attendant on the establishment of new towns."*

This valuable despatch† likewise contains some excellent remarks on the state of the

* These propositions received the approval of Lord Stanley on the 24th of January, 1842, and were afterwards embodied in Ordinances.

† Despatch of Governor Hobson to her Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies, 26th of May, 1841.

colony, calculated to convey a clear, and (according to the testimony of a very high authority on this matter),‡ a correct idea of the general condition of affairs in New Zealand at this period. Of these the most interesting are the following:—

"Those persons who have settled at Port Nicholson under the auspices of the Company are, from their rank, their numbers, and their wealth, by far the most important in the colony. But it is to be regretted that, from the impunity with which they have heretofore, in defiance of the government, encroached on the land, they assume a tone of dictation and authority, which is totally subversive of all government, and which must eventually be overcome, or the sole management of the affairs of the island must be surrendered into their hands.

"On a recent occasion Sir George Gipps gave them the permissive occupation of 110,000 acres around Port Nicholson, on condition of their confining themselves to that limit, with a promise to recommend to your lordship to obtain for them from her Majesty a free grant to that extent, in return for the expense the Company had incurred in importing immigrants to the colony. But almost coincident with that act of grace, they spread themselves over the lands of Wanganui, to a distance of ninety miles, in direct opposition to a notice simultaneously published both by Sir George Gipps and myself, respectively.

"To this encroachment they have since added the lands of Terranake (Taranaki), which they have assigned to the Plymouth Company; and there is great reason to apprehend that none of this vast territory has been legally purchased from the aborigines. But this is a question I will not prejudice.

"I design shortly to visit Port Nicholson, when I will require the agents of the Company to submit their claims for examination to the land commissioners.

"The natives in the neighbourhood of these new settlements have evinced considerable dissatisfaction at the occupation of lands, to which they lay claim; and more than one tribe has called on me to remove the intruders, threatening to dislodge them by force, if I do not afford redress. I hope, when I visit them, to reconcile these differences, and if necessary, to require a further payment to be made to satisfy their claims.

"Besides the natives, there are many Europeans who claim large portions of these lands in virtue of prior purchases; but these latter will furnish cases for the land commissioners to decide."

To maintain anything approaching to chronological order in narrating the leading events in the history of New Zealand, it is necessary very frequently to change alike the immediate subject and scene of action. We must now return to the proceedings of the directors of the New Zealand Company. The money received by them for land in the Taranaki district (New Plymouth),

‡ Captain Fitz-Roy, in his *Remarks on New Zealand*, says, "his (Governor Hobson's) representations of the real state of the country, true to the letter, were slighted, and his opinions, now proved sound were bitterly assailed."—(p. 14).

being soon swallowed up by their expensive establishments at home, abroad, and their various disbursements (including a dividend to the shareholders of ten per cent.), they resorted to their old expedient for procuring a fresh supply, by the formation of another settlement. The following narrative of the most important circumstances connected with the establishment of Nelson was drawn up by Mr. Tuckett,* who received the appointment of chief surveyor to the new settlement, and was sent out in charge of one of the vessels of the pioneer expedition. That he proved fully equal to his position is attested by the unqualified approval of his proceedings pronounced by the directors. Mr. T. C. Harington, the secretary of the Company, in forwarding to Colonel Wakefield the copy of a resolution passed by the committee of management, and confirmed by the court of directors, says,—

"The attention of the Directors has been drawn to the numerous occasions on which the agent at Nelson has found occasion to bring under notice the very zealous and satisfactory manner in which Mr. Frederick Tuckett, the chief surveyor under his orders, has performed his duties, and the unusual

* While engaged in collecting materials for the present volume, I sought to obtain information from men of character and standing, who had been actors in, or eye-witnesses of the transactions in New Zealand, which I desired truthfully to record. Among others, I sought to benefit by the experience of Mr. Tuckett, because in his public capacity he had acquired the reputation of having strenuously endeavoured to fulfil his arduous duties, not only to the New Zealand Company, but also to the land purchasers, whose future prospects were necessarily so dependent on the judgment, zeal, and integrity of the individual to whom the important task was confided of selecting the site of the future settlement. Much stress was laid by the directors on the undoubted qualifications of Mr. Tuckett, at the time of his appointment, as affording an additional ground of confidence on the part of the land purchasers, with whom his interests were purposely identified by his remuneration being made to consist chiefly of land in the Nelson settlement. Unable to reconcile these facts with the grievous and glaring error committed with regard to the ineligible site eventually chosen, I applied to Mr. Tuckett, who thereupon informed me of the circumstances attendant upon the establishment of Nelson, adding, that he availed himself gladly of every opportunity of declaring to the public, that he could and would have fulfilled his duty to the land purchasers, by the selection of a site suitable for a prosperous settlement, had he been allowed to do so by the New Zealand Company, there being no impediments on the part of the aborigines, or the government, which would have prevented the accomplishment of this object. Mr. Tuckett's statements coincided so closely with those I had already recorded concerning Wellington and New Plymouth, and, together with his evidence and opinions concerning the character and conduct of the natives, appeared

rapidly with which, by means of his exertions, considerable portions of land have been rendered available to the Company, and purchasers enabled to obtain possession of their allotments; the Court of Directors therefore expressed their marked approbation of that gentleman's conduct, and of the zeal, ability, and judgment with which he has performed the duties entrusted to him." (June, 1843.)

"NELSON.—Doubtless encouraged by the credulity of the public, and the eagerness with which the lands already offered for sale to constitute the settlements of Wellington and New Plymouth, had been purchased, without waiting to ascertain whether the seller had really possessed that which was offered for sale, or whether, if possessed, it was desirable for occupation, the New Zealand Company, late in 1840, brought before the public the scheme of a new sale of lands, by which it proposed to form a third, and a greater and more inviting settlement than either of the former; this third settlement to be called Nelson.† Professedly in order that it should be more advantageous to the future proprietary, as well as to all the members of this new settlement, the price of the land was appointed to be thirty shillings per acre, in lieu of twenty,‡ the New Zealand Company undertaking that proportionately greater advantages should be realized, by its expenditure of the money committed to its trust by the confiding purchasers. For it will be readily understood, that the sum of £300 was not paid by the purchaser merely for an allotment of 201 acres of suitable land: on the con-

to me, to form so valuable and interesting a narrative, that I have been induced to insert it in the form in which it was communicated to me, with few and trifling alterations; believing that the graphic and truthful view it contains of several important matters in the history of New Zealand, will abundantly atone for any minor defects in style, attendant upon a sketch not originally intended for publication.—R. M. M.

† By the terms of the prospectus issued by the Company in London, on the 15th of February, 1841, 201,000 acres of land were offered for sale, divided into 1,000 allotments of 201 acres each, which were to comprise three sections, viz.:—"150 acres of rural land, 50 acres of 'accommodation land,' in the immediate proximity of the town, and one town acre." The town was to comprise 1,000 acres, exclusive of reserves for streets, squares, churches, cemeteries, markets, and public gardens or parks. The price of each allotment of 201 acres was fixed at £300. Priority of choice for the three descriptions of sections was to be determined by three several lotteries in London. Of the £300,000 purchase-money, £150,000 was to be appropriated to the exclusive purpose of emigration to this particular settlement; £50,000 to defray the expenses of the Company in selecting the site and establishing the settlement; £50,000 to public purposes, including £15,000 towards a college, £15,000 for religious uses and endowments, and £20,000 for the "encouragement of steam navigation, by way of bounty;" the remaining £50,000 was to go to the Company, "for its expenses, and profit on the use of its capital." A quantity of land equal to "one-tenth" of the 201,000 acres was to be reserved for the natives, "so that the quantity of land to be appropriated will, in fact, consist of 221,100 acres, and the town of 1,100 acres."—Parliamentary Papers of 11th May, 1841, p. 135.

trary, the land was to constitute but a small portion of the value which the proprietor was entitled to receive from the New Zealand Company. And here it is necessary to observe one very important clause in the covenant, namely, that *the best remaining site in New Zealand should be carefully selected* for the new settlement. * * * A circumstance which greatly conduced, in its effect, to the prejudice of the Nelson settlement, and which, of itself alone, was sufficient to prevent the New Zealand Company from acquiring and delivering the quantity of land which it had presumed to offer, and to receive the purchase-money for, was the inflexible persistence of its agents in refusing to purchase of the true proprietors, *the resident natives*, what was required for the settlement. They, the agents, were willing, it appears, to make presents to the resident natives everywhere, on taking possession, and, in some instances, even to an amount of value exceeding that at which these resident natives would have sold them the land, but only on condition, that in accepting these presents, they, the natives, should acknowledge that these lands had been previously sold to the Company's principal agent, Colonel W. Wakefield. It is conjectured, either that this procedure had its motive in some latent view of the sense in which might be understood the letter of the award which the New Zealand Company had obtained from Mr. Pennington, acting on behalf of the government, or else that, planting the settlement of Nelson on the shores of Blind Bay, without the concurrence of the governor, Captain Hobson, they thought to do so with greater security, if they could show that they could there obtain lands which had been purchased for the New Zealand Company before the British government had assumed the sovereignty, or appointed a governor. Whatever may have been the real motive, their conduct, in this respect, as well as in long persisting to disallow the authority of the land commissioner to investigate their claims to land, was almost the sole cause of all the opposition subsequently manifested by the natives, and of the consequent inability of the New Zealand Company to acquire or deliver to the purchasers, or their agents, the lands for which it had received their money. And these points of obstruction have another and even stronger claim on the consideration of the reader; for if overlooked, it might be readily imagined that the natives were insatiable and unfaithful, and thus great injustice would be done to them; whereas, if understood at the outset, and borne in mind, it will, in the sequel of the events which are to be recorded, be evident that the natives were an example to the colonists in self-respect and a love of honour and integrity. It will be seen, that whilst a very few fighting chiefs could be tempted to sell and to resell as often as a purchaser should offer a fresh consideration, however trifling, the greater part of the three islands, or any extent, small or great, as each fresh land-shark might desire, yet that the true proprietor, the resident native, in almost every case, and in every case if he had embraced the profession of Christianity, was eminently faithful to his engagement, however little he had received, and could not be tempted to accept a much greater gain, if on the condition of being unfaithful to his engagement, or a party to a lie. Another great impediment to success which the policy of the New Zealand Company created, arose out of its entire neglect and disregard of a numerous class of adventurous settlers, chiefly British, who had braved many dangers, before Chris-

tianity had shed its powerful and benign influence on the inhabitants of New Zealand, and prepared them for civilization. Many of these had formed connections with the natives; the daughters of influential chiefs were the mothers of their children; they had much influence with the natives; and not a few of them merited the influence to which they had attained. Domestic animals had been introduced and reared by them; horticulture, and, to some extent, agriculture was pursued by them: they had taught the natives to construct better residences, and to use boats; and their women to wash and bake, and to sew—improving them until they had become more helpful and companionable. They would have cordially welcomed the colonists, and used their influence with the natives to facilitate the colonization of the islands, if their prior rights and interests, and those of their children and the mothers had had just and fair consideration. But these were utterly disregarded, not only by the New Zealand Company, but by the government. And this injustice to this class of adventurous men, the first colonists, has been, and is yet, an ever active cause of distrust and opposition.

"In addition to the continuous series of errors to which may be attributed the inability of the New Zealand Company to fulfil its engagements, is the exceeding folly of its arrangements—so unwise, that it presents a great demand on the credulity of the most unsuspecting mind, to believe that the New Zealand Company ever really cared for the success of its settlements. Imagine a town to be founded at once in a new country by a handful of emigrants, in extent not less than two and three square miles; that the allotment of land must be purchased as a whole, though it comprised three sections, or three estates; that the actual and valuable colonist must not only wait until the whole town was surveyed and distributed, though he should have no want of a town lot, but that he had to wait until land could be found sufficient to afford the entire number of sections required in the whole scheme of the settlement, before he might select or obtain one; because the order of choice was not in the order of purchase, or of arrival in the colony, but was determined in the most injurious, not to say illegal and immoral method, by making a lottery of the whole. Can it be reasonably believed that the New Zealand Company was actuated rather by patriotism and philanthropy, than by the hope of gain by land-dealing, in which it might doubtless have well succeeded, had it not, in each successive step, by unparalleled and systematic indirectness of procedure, frustrated its own interests, as well as those of all who entrusted to it theirs. Of the latter, the most numerous and the most flagrantly deceived, were those of the labouring class, whom it induced to emigrate. For whilst it urged one class of its victims to purchase land at a high price, on its assurance that the cheapness of labour in the colony would make it profitable as an investment or for occupation, at the very same time, it gave each labouring man who emigrated an expectation of obtaining £2 per week wages, and promised to employ them itself at thirty shillings, should other and better employment not be offered them.

"The purchaser of land paid money on the assurance that the labourer would be prevented from becoming a cottier, and thus competing with his employer, or with the resident proprietor, in supplying the market with produce, and yet from the commencement the principal agent had made cottiers of

the labourers as rapidly as possible; and more, in Wellington and Nelson, their becoming cottiers was made the condition of receiving employment or other assistance. At the outset it had only this rational ground for hope of success; viz., the supposition that Australia could not grow grain to supply its own consumption, and that New Zealand afforded great facilities for growing it for consumption and for exportation.

"But when the settlement of Nelson was formed, the New Zealand Company knew that the facts were exactly the reverse, and that Australia would export to New Zealand; that the land of Australia was inexpensive to cultivate, and that the land in New Zealand which it claimed to have purchased was, for the most part, ruinously expensive to bring into cultivation; and yet the New Zealand Company continued to urge on the public the advantage to be derived from purchasing land of it. For the sake of human nature, we would fain hope that its career stands, and will ever remain unparalleled in its extreme of unmitigated folly and injustice. The only pleasure the reader can derive from perusing the narrative of the events of any of the settlements, is the evidence ever prominent, that the wicked has been overthrown by his own wickedness; but then there must be also uppermost the painful conviction, that this wickedness has involved hundreds, and thousands, if we embrace both the natives and the emigrants, in sufferings and crimes, for which no reparation has been made, and which no human tribunal could ever cancel.

"The preliminary expedition for the formation of the settlement of Nelson sailed from the Thames in April, 1841. It consisted of two vessels, the *Whitby* and the *Will Watch*, in which were embarked about eighty picked labourers, and the surveyors; the resident agent, Captain Wakefield,* in the *Whitby*, with half of the party; the chief surveyor (Mr. Tuckett) in the *Will Watch*, with the remainder. It being provided so that one party in either vessel should be sufficiently complete to be able, in the event of the loss of one of the ships, to carry into execution the instructions of the directors in regard to the preliminary steps preparatory to the arrival of the emigrants. These gentlemen, the resident agent and the chief surveyor, had each verbal and written instructions to the effect, that after their arrival at Wellington, they were to proceed to visit such localities as might be recommended to their attention by the principal agent, Colonel Wakefield, and that if none of these appeared to them to be good enough, that they should explore New Zealand further for a better, and the chief surveyor was specially instructed that should he arrive there first, and should the resident agent not arrive within a month later, he was to proceed with his party to execute the foregoing instructions. The labouring men who embarked in these ships were for the most part married men, but their wives and children did not accompany them. It was considered that the selection of a suitable site, and the preliminary labours necessary to prepare for the arrival of families, would be a work occupying a considerable time, on which account it was determined that the women and children should not embark until six months later, but the directors pledged themselves that the comfort and best interests of the wives and families should receive

their best attention, both in reference to their comfort, welfare at the depot, and subsequently on the voyage. With such assurances the party left their fatherland in good spirits, and after a favourable passage, both ships arrived at Wellington, New Zealand.

"It appears from the printed correspondence appended to the twelfth Report of the Directors of the New Zealand Company, that preparatory to the sailing of the preliminary expedition, the directors had solicited Lord John Russell, to instruct the governor to give them an extended field of selection, and had intimated that, on their part at least, there would be no objection to making this settlement of Nelson, or some future settlement identical with the seat of government. In making this request they acknowledged that they had not the power of unlimited selection, notwithstanding that in their addresses to the public, this was assumed without any qualification, they receiving the purchase-money for land in the settlement of Nelson, on the pledge of selecting the best remaining site.

"Lord J. Russell acceded to their request, giving some directions to the governor to extend their field of selection, but expressly prohibiting him from amalgamating the seat of government with any existing or future settlement of the New Zealand Company. Captain Hobson, with the best disposition to facilitate the wishes and enterprise of the New Zealand Company, met the preliminary expedition for the settlement of Nelson, on its arrival at Wellington; and on being applied to by the principal agent of the Company, to point out a district suitable for the proposed settlement, he invited the agents to examine three districts, either of which he engaged to put them in possession of, at Maoranghi, or on the Thames, or on the Waipa.

"But the agents of the Company refused to examine these, and specified Port Cooper, Banks' Peninsula, to be the site which they required for the new settlement.

"The governor refused his consent to the settlement being formed at Port Cooper, or anywhere in the Middle Isle. The agent utterly disregarding the covenant of selection of a site made by the New Zealand Company with those who purchased land in the future settlement of Nelson, then proposed to the governor an arrangement, by which the settlement of the Company should be confined to a territory on both sides of Cook's Straits, to which he proposed to have a valid title.† It was eventually determined to form the settlement on the shores of Blind Bay, and accordingly the preliminary expedition, leaving Port Nicholson, proceeded to Astrolabe roads, having embarked as guide or pilot, a Mr. Moore, who had already, with other settlers from Port Nicholson, visited the district, reported to their employers at Wellington, that it was suitable for the intended new settlement of Nelson, and had induced the resident natives to erect some large rude buildings at the entrance of a narrow valley, called the Rewaka, for the accommodation of the emigrants on their arrival. On quitting Port Nicholson, the *Whitby* and *Will Watch*, were compelled by the wind to approach near to the opposite shore of Cloudy Bay, and from each vessel was observed with no little surprise, the extensive plain of the Wairau, and the grassy hills to the east, since, of the probable eligi

* A brother of Colonel Wakefield, and of Mr. E. Gibbon Wakefield.

† Vide Colonel Wakefield's Letter, August 24th, 1841.

bility of this land for a settlement, with the contiguous harbour of Port Underwood, no rumour had transpired whilst the ships remained at Port Nicholson. Without examining either, they proceeded, beating through the straits, endeavouring to reach the island of Kapiti. The wind continued adverse, and increasing in strength after sun down, the *Will Watch* entered Queen Charlotte's Sound, and anchored in Ship's Cove. On weighing anchor next morning, desirous of learning whether there was any land on the shores of the sound, more available for occupation than the steep and stony-faced hills around these coves, the *Will Watch* stood up the sound as far as the north-west entrance of the narrow strait called the Tory Channel, and returning much disappointed at the aspect of the promised land, bore across the straits for Kapiti island, meeting the *Whitby*, at the appointed rendezvous. The object of calling at Kapiti was to acquaint the chief Rauperaha, that they were going to settle on the lands on the shores of Blind Bay, which he had sold to the principal agent. It does not appear that this chief offered any objection to the step, nor was it likely that he should, as he had pretended to sell that, which by native usage he had no authority to sell, and was probably almost the only party up to that time who had benefitted from the transaction. He listened to the intelligence respecting the great number of British, whose arrival at the settlement might be shortly expected, with a manner and expression in which something of alarm was scarcely concealed, but in which disbelief of the truth of the statement was clearly predominant. The principal chief of another tribe, E. Hiko, an inoffensive man, vain, and of weak mind, and who lived in much terror of his crafty and sanguinary neighbour, Rauperaha, was also visited and conciliated; as among the natives resident at Blind Bay, some were of Rauperaha's tribe, and others of E. Hiko's. Sailing from Kapiti, the ships proceeded to Astrolabe Roads, where having anchored, they were soon visited by the natives from the nearest pah, the *Motueka* and *Rewaka*, who seemed delighted at their arrival. A time having been appointed for a formal interview on shore, the agent, Captain Wakefield, informed them that on coming to take possession of the land which the principal agent, Colonel Wakefield, had already purchased, it was his intention to make them a very liberal present, in proof of the good-will of the colonists towards them; he explained to them the extensiveness of the contemplated plan, the numbers of British that might be expected to arrive to occupy the land, the quantity of land (one-tenth), that was to be reserved for them, (the natives,) and promised them that they should retain their present cultivations. Their reply was to the effect that they were well satisfied with his intentions and assurances, and welcomed the arrival of the British, provided he was disposed to purchase the land, but they indignantly declined to receive presents from him, on condition of acknowledging that the land had been already acquired by purchase. The conference broke up without any arrangement being made, each party being resolute as to the terms.

"Subsequently, by the exertions of Messrs. Moore, Heaphy, and the interpreter, and the threat of the departure of the expedition to favour another district, and the temptation of an augmented amount of presents, the majority of the influential natives reluctantly acceded to the condition imposed by the agent.

"Three parties of the surveyors proceeded to look for available land, and also for an available port, since there was no land in proximity to Astrolabe Roads. One of these parties, guided by Mr. Moore, landing at the buildings already alluded to as erected at the mouth of the *Rewaka*, proceeded up that valley, and retracing their steps, returned to the ships at Astrolabe Roads, and reported to the agent on the delightfulness of the country and the vast extent of excellent land which they had seen. Another party, conducted by Mr. Heaphy, landed at the same spot, and crossing the little plain near the mouth of the *Motueka*, followed inland the course of the narrow valley of that river to a distance from its mouth of about fourteen miles, and then retracing their steps, returned to Astrolabe Roads, where Mr. Heaphy reported to the agent that they had seen abundance of land for the requirements of the settlement of Nelson.

The third party consisted of the Chief Surveyor, one of his assistants, and a party of natives; passing by the *Rewaka* and *Motueka* rivers, he landed at the mouth of the *Moutere*, and then, directing his course first eastward, and then inland to the south, he examined a tract of country of about ten miles square, and returning after an absence of several days, also examined the plain of the *Motueka*, its valley, as far as there was any considerable breadth of available land, not extending more than seven miles from its mouth inland, and likewise all that was eligible of the narrow valley of the *Rewaka*. He reported to the agent, that *the quantity of prime land which they had seen did not exceed 4,000 acres; that of second-rate land he estimated the quantity at 8,000 to 10,000 acres; and that the rest of the country was utterly worthless for subdivision into sections:** and that, therefore, the settlement could not be formed on that side of Blind Bay. But he further informed the agent, that from a summit of a ridge of hills which he had gained, he had looked down upon a large plain, through which flowed a river called by the natives the *Waimea*, which discharged its waters into the sea at the south-eastern extremity of the bay, where much more available land could be obtained, should its quality be good, and where a port might possibly be found. The agent commented with much dissatisfaction on the discrepancy between this report and those of the two other exploring parties, and expressing his satisfaction with the other reports, assumed the responsibility of deciding on the sufficiency of the district examined, and directed the chief surveyor to make the necessary arrangements for the commencement of the survey of a site for the future town, from the little bay or cove of *Kaiteriteri*, extending along shore to the mouth of the *Rewaka* valley. The chief surveyor requested to be allowed to examine and report on the nature of the country on the shores of *Massacre Bay*; but this the agent would not permit. The survey of the town-site was commenced accordingly by the first assistant surveyor, Mr. Stephens; and the chief surveyor was then dispatched by the agent to explore the *Waimea*, the approved describer, Mr. Heaphy, being sent with him. At the same time, Mr. Moore, accompanied by an assistant surveyor and an able Deal boatman, was sent to the opposite and south-eastern shore of Blind Bay, to see if any port existed

* The italics throughout are mine, not Mr. Tuckett's.—R. M. M.

there. The latter, landing on a narrow boulder bank, found within it a tidal harbour, known to the natives as the *Wakatu*, but previously unvisited by Europeans, the entrance to which proved to be accessible at high-water to ships of 500 or 600 tons. Returning with this intelligence to Astrolabe Roads, they also informed the agent that there was much good land north of and around the haven of *Wakatu*. The chief surveyor and Mr. Heaphy were absent more than a week, occupied in exploring the plain of the Waimea, and further inland, its valley, and the hills intermediate between the valley of the Waimea and Motueka rivers, at a distance in a direct line from the coast of about twenty-six miles, penetrating into the interior beyond the limits of good land. The chief surveyor informed the agent that he judged there could be obtained on the course of the Waimea, as much as 60,000 acres of land available in point of level surface, which varied much in quality; but would afford a much greater quantity of good land than was to be obtained in the district of the Moterea, Motueka, and Rewaka.

Mr. Heaphy then, and afterwards, in England, reported to the effect that the quantity of available land on the Waimea far exceeded the requirements of the settlement, and that its quality was all that could be desired. In consequence of these united reports of the greater advantages of a location on the other side of Blind Bay, the survey of the site for the town at Kaiteriteri was stopped, the whole party re-embarked, and the ship sailed from Astrolabe Roads and entered safely the *Wakatu*, now called Nelson Haven. But still, with the unexpected advantage of this new district of the *Wakatu* and the Waimea, which was unknown at Wellington, and had, perhaps, never before been trodden by a European, the chief surveyor felt convinced that he could not obtain anywhere on the shores of Blind Bay (not less than ninety miles of coast), or in the interior, as far as the land was available, more than one-third of the quantity of land required to complete the scheme of the Nelson settlement. Therefore, although well satisfied with the port of *Wakatu*, and the land contiguous, merely as a site for a town, he yet felt that its extent demanded that it should be placed where access could be had to the requisite quantity of land; and therefore, when directed to quit and discharge the *Will Watch*, and commence the survey, he again protested against the procedure, and demanded of the agent that he should be permitted, in conformity with the instructions given to him in London, to explore New Zealand further for a better site.* But the agent insisted on planting the settlement in Blind Bay; the *Wakatu* was therefore chosen as the best site on its shores. The survey was commenced and carried forward with energy and rapidity—the surface being for the most part unwooded, only covered with a growth of fern, flax, or bulrush;—the assistance of extra surveyors, who worked by con-

tract, being obtained at the suggestion of the chief surveyor. By the first opportunity, Mr. Heaphy was dispatched to England with the intelligence of the location. Here it may be mentioned, that in London, associated with a Mr. Brady (who had been one of the early Wellington adventurers), Mr. Heaphy advertised *Soirées* for the purpose of enlightening the public on the advantages to be derived from purchasing land from the New Zealand Company; in much the same manner as is now being done, in order to induce persons to purchase land in the Canterbury Settlement.

"Within two or three months after the party of the preliminary expedition had landed at the *Wakatu*, three ships arrived with emigrants. One of these brought the wives and some of the children of the men of the preliminary expedition: but many of the children had died on the passage from gross neglect, and many of the women had led a dissolute life during the passage, the captain and his crew frequenting their apartments, and abandoning themselves to disgraceful disorder, to the great grief and discomfort of such of the women who acted virtuously. The conduct on board one of the other two ships which brought emigrant labourers, with their families, and also cabin passengers, was scarcely less immoral and disgraceful. The proportion of emigrant labourers to cabin passengers or proprietors, who might be expected to become employers, was even in the first two ships greatly in excess, although subsequently this pernicious disproportion became even greater and greater. Amongst the proprietors who arrived at an early period, was a Mr. Thompson, who had purchased three allotments of land, and obtained the appointment of police magistrate. Early in 1842, the principal agent arrived from Wellington, and spent a day or two at Nelson. He expressed dissatisfaction at the number of men then employed on public works, and paid by the resident agent; and also at the rate of wages they were receiving. He directed that the number and the rate of wages should be kept as low as possible, that they might be compelled to become cottiers. On this being objected to by the chief surveyor, as contrary to Mr. E. G. Wakefield's plan of colonization, which the New Zealand Company had adopted, and as a violation of the conditions on which the proprietors had purchased land, and the labourers had been engaged to emigrate, the principal agent observed, that his brother's plan was impracticable, that he had made cottiers of the labouring emigrants from the time of their first arrival at Wellington, and that the same course must be pursued with them at Nelson. Subsequently, the resident agent endeavoured to carry out these instructions; the number of men employed had alarmingly increased by every fresh arrival; they were all entitled to employment; and the rate of wages paid was only that which had been fixed in London by agreement. It was then reduced to nearly half. The men turned out, and, as a body, waited on Captain Wakefield, and protested against

* The disadvantage of the position selected for the settlement of Nelson, is fully set forth in the *Nelson Examiner*, in 1846. A detailed exposition is given of each district, and although the writer is desirous of taking as cheering a view as possible of the prospects of the settlement, he demonstrates how little land, suitable for the agriculturalist, is available within a distance of fifty to one hundred miles of the town of Nelson, with which regular communication

either by land or water, throughout the year is impracticable.

In the following table, the writer puts down the comparatively level land on Massacre and Blind Bay, at the Wairoa, &c., as 306,000 acres, of this he admits that 90,000 acres is a mere guess; it may be a true estimate or otherwise. The quantity of average land available for cultivation out of 306,000 is put down at 132,000, but of this more than one-half

the injustice of these proceedings. Finding that no discretionary power was vested in him, after some days spent in declamation and threatenings, they determined to resume work, at least nominally, and to accept the reduced wages; at the same time, they resolved *not to be cottiers*, to claim constant employment of the New Zealand Company, and to do as little work as possible. This course of action they steadily pursued for about fifteen months from that time, doing, on an average, not more in the week than they would have done in England, or by piece-work, in a day and a-half; and on every fresh arrival

is also guess work, and the other half is in many parts covered with trees, that would cost at least £20 an acre to clear, or consists of swampy or flooded land—which it would be equally expensive to clear. Some small spots of alluvial soil are in ravines and gullies—almost inaccessible.

Rough Survey of the "probable" amount of comparatively level land, within the supposed boundaries of the Nelson settlement:—

Localities.	Gross Amount of land, known or supposed to be level.	Estimated amount of fair average quality, or available for cultivation.
	Acres.	Acres.
Massacre Bay—		
Aorere ¹	115,000	10,000
Takaka and Motupipi ² . . .	30,000	15,000
Blind Bay—		
Motueka ³	10,000	5,000
Moutere Cliffs ⁴	15,000	—
Moutere Wood ⁵	5,000	—
Upper Motueka and Motupika ⁶	18,000	5,000
Wai-iti, and tributaries ⁷ . . .	6,000	5,000
Nelson suburbs, Waimea W. and Waimea Island ⁸ . . . }	7,000	2,000
Pelorus, including Kaituna Pass and tributaries ⁹ }	15,000*	15,000
Queen Charlotte's Sound, including Waitohi Pass and tributaries ¹⁰ }	15,000*	15,000
Wairua—		
Kaipariti-hau ¹¹	20,000*	60,000
Wairua Plain ¹¹	100,000	
Wairua Valley ¹¹	50,000*	
	306,000	132,000

The asterisk (*) indicates that the figures thus marked are rough estimates by the eye, or derived from vague information.

¹ Heavily timbered. ² A small part open land, the rest timbered. ³ Some hilly, open and timbered; much good soil, but very difficult of access. ⁴ One mass of barren clay hills, covered with stunted fern; a small portion of rather better land near the cliffs. ⁵ Low undulating clay hills. ⁶ A large portion of very broken ground, a tract well suited for pasturage, but much subjected to floods. ⁷ A series of narrow gorges; soil of medium quality. ⁸ Best portion consists of marshy ground; Waimea W., barren clay hills; Waimea Island, common sand hills. ⁹ Greater portion timbered, land said to be fertile. ¹⁰ Finely timbered. ¹¹ Prevailing character pastoral; portion most suited for agriculture lies within the lower half of the plain, some of it swampy and difficult of drainage.

of emigrants, they instigated the newly-arrived labourers not to accept employment from the resident proprietors under the rate of wages promised in London, at the New Zealand House, or by its agents in the country, and to importune the agent for employment, until he sent them to their predecessors, on the so-called public works. Great deterioration of character, and general demoralization and ill feeling was necessarily induced by this disgraceful bad faith, and unprofitable administration of the power and affairs of the infant settlement. As the surveys of the districts already named drew towards completion, it became manifest that the estimates of the chief surveyor of the settlement *had been erroneous; but only in this wise—that he had, in each instance, over-estimated the land, both in respect of quantity and of quality.*

"It was necessary to obtain lands somewhere else: for 200,000 or 220,000 acres, inclusive of the natives' reserves, were to be subdivided into sections; and the 1,000 or 1,100 sections of fifty acres, called suburban, though many were twenty and thirty miles distant from the town, had all to be found and surveyed, before selection or distribution of any could be had by the few and needy proprietors who had come out to be residents; and the 1,000 or 1,100 sections of 150 acres each, called rural, likewise must also all be obtained and surveyed before any could be chosen or delivered. The chief surveyor, having heard that there was good land, and also coal, in Massacre Bay, was pressing to examine that district, as being the nearest, and probably the best, from whence the natives were already in the practice of bringing their produce to the Nelson market. The agent was reluctant to have it annexed. It appeared that the principal agent opposed it. The Wellington interest probably thought it to be too good, on account of the coal, to become part of the Nelson settlement; and the agents well knew, that there at least it would appear, as declared by Governor Hobson, 'that the lands were claimed by other parties.'

"At length, finding that the survey could not otherwise proceed, the agent allowed the chief surveyor to proceed to Massacre Bay, and examine the district. Supplying him with goods, he directed him to treat with the natives, as had been done in the first instance, on their arrival at Astrolabe roads, with the natives of the Motueka, viz., to require them to acknowledge the land to have been already purchased by the principal agent, and to receive the goods as a present, in proof of the friendship of the colonists, on the occasion of their taking possession. Having procured a small schooner, and with a few labourers, in addition to the crew, to enable him to load her with coal and limestone, in the event of finding either or both accessible without much preliminary labour, Mr. Tuckett, accompanied by a Mr. Drummond, proceeded to Massacre Bay, and anchored near the principal pah. The natives gave him a friendly and cordial reception, but refused to receive the goods on the condition required, to which they knew that their neighbours, the natives of the Motueka, had submitted. The chiefs denied the statement that their land had been purchased by Colonel Wakefield: they stated, that they had sold to others, or to another, some of the land, and that they were willing to sell more, if the chief surveyor came to purchase. When informed that the land was claimed for the New Zealand Company, by virtue of its having been purchased by its principal agent of Rauperaha, they treated with much indignation and

contempt the pretensions of Rauperaha to sell *their* land, or any other land which did not belong to him.

"The natives, persisting in their determination not to accept the goods on the condition required, the chief surveyor informed them, that he would proceed to examine the lands on the Bay (a coast line of about fifty miles), and would return to them after a few days, and that, in his absence, he wished that the men whom he had brought with him for the purpose, should be occupied in boring the coal-seam, to ascertain its depth. The natives appeared not to object to its being done; but on his return to the schooner, after some days' absence, he found all hands on board, and learnt that the natives would not permit them to go to the coal, nor even to procure wood or water, unless they would purchase it. Proceeding immediately to the pah, he reproached the chief for his opposition to his wishes, and his inhospitality and meanness in desiring to sell wood and water; to which the other replied, that it was the custom of the white man at Sydney to sell water; and in respect to the coal or stone, that he would not allow it to be touched; but if the chief surveyor wished to purchase any, his people would get it, and bring it to the schooner. The chief surveyor then informed them, that as they refused the goods, they must go to Nelson, and treat with the Company's agent respecting their mutual claims; but that having come for the purpose, he should not return without loading the schooner, for which purpose he should proceed, with his boats, to the coal-bed, and obtain there the quantity that he required. The chiefs first threatened that they would meet him there, and prevent him from doing it; then they urged on him very strongly the consideration, that in doing as he proposed, he would be a thief; and lastly, they offered to get some for him, and to put it on board without payment, that he might have a specimen to take back with him on his return to Nelson. He endeavoured to explain to them, that it was not all good; that they did not know the good from the bad; that they had not the tools needful for working it; and lastly, that he was instructed to take possession of it as the property of his employers, and that on the morrow, he would take as much coal as he required, and stake the land, by way of marking possession. The chiefs repeated their threats of preventing him by force. The next day, as soon as the tide was favourable, and having first sent on shore to the chief to inform him that he was going for the coal, he left with the boats, and returned to the schooner with as much coal as the boats could carry, without having been interrupted, and without having seen any native. The interpreter, who had lived several years in New Zealand, and had much experience of the violence of the natives, as *heathens*, and in association with the European squatters and whalers, many of whom were also like heathens, expressing much alarm at his determination to take the coal, was left on board the schooner. When the lading was completed, (sufficient limestone had been previously obtained), a canoe came off from the pah, having on board the three chiefs, *unaccompanied*, two of whom came on board, the third remaining in the canoe. The principal chief, on looking at the coal, appeared to become almost convulsed with rage, and went through a most extraordinary pantomimic exhibition of passion, as an accompaniment to a vehement oration, frequently interrupted by jumping into the hold, and casting overboard large lumps of coal. One of the

European party was so alarmed by this very powerful acting, that he ran to the cabin, reappeared with a fowling-piece, and proposed to the chief surveyor to fire on the chief. He was immediately requested to keep himself and the gun in the cabin, and on no account to interfere. Fortunately, he complied forthwith; and though what passed did not interrupt the declamation and pantomime of the chief, the action of the man, and the instant reproof which he received, was all intelligently appreciated. When his passionate demonstration was brought to an end by exhaustion, the chief entreated that what had been taken might at least be paid for, that the surveyor might not have the disgrace of thieving. Next followed a somewhat similar performance, in two acts, from the other chief. They then remained still and silent for about ten minutes, when the principal chief walked forward, and with all the calmness of subdued grief, he offered his hand to the surveyor, and went down into his canoe, the other chief, after a short pause, very gravely doing the same. The third chief, who had remained in the canoe, stepped on board the boat, offered his hand with a look of kindness, and retired.

The relater of these incidents* is convinced that it was only because he did not bear arms for defence, and because he did bear and distribute to the natives the New Testament, that he and his companions, under Providence, owed their safety, and that they were enabled with success and impunity to make that aggression on the property or rights of these natives, because these natives had embraced Christianity, and therefore were most reluctant to do violence to any—much more to one who professed Christianity, and who having the book (the Bible), probably appeared to them to be some sort of missionary. The natives on the shores of Massacre Bay, at each village were found to be professed Christians, zealously observing the sabbath-day, and assembling daily to public prayers; and yet, at that time, they had not been visited by any European missionary. A few young natives after residing a while at the mission-station of Mr. Ironside, at Port Underwood, Cloudy Bay, having learnt to read and write; and accustomed themselves to the mode there observed of conducting divine worship, returned to their own people and became their instructors. On this journey the surveyor visited Wanganui, on the west coast, as well as those districts which discharged their waters into Massacre Bay. Returning to Nelson, arrangements were made for the survey of the available lands in Massacre Bay; and almost simultaneously, a company of picked labourers were associated as a coal company, and induced by the agent to undertake, with assistance, in the shape of rations and tools, the enterprise of commencing, simultaneously with the survey, to work the coal and to burn lime. The survey and the coal-working detachments, together, formed a party rather formidable in numbers. The agent accompanied them; and endeavoured to overcome the opposition of the natives, to induce them to accept presents, and acknowledge the land to be the property of the New Zealand Company; but all his efforts were vain. Some weeks, of course, elapsed before the men had constructed houses for their

* Viz., the chief surveyor, Mr. Tuckett, who shared the views entertained by the Society of Friends respecting the unlawfulness of war.—R. M. M.

shelter. Whilst thus occupied, the Christian natives were friendly and kind to them; but as soon as the former commenced directing their labour to raising and uncovering coal, the natives assembled and obstructed them, not by blows, but by re-covering the coal, and filling in their diggings with earth, and boughs, and stones, whenever they stopped work, at meal times, or during the night. The natives were careful that the European labourers should feel that they had no ill-will towards them personally, but only that they would not be robbed. Of course, the associated labourers, sent to Nelson frequent reports of the obstruction which they met with, and it was soon apparent that the enterprise must be abandoned, if the interference of the natives could not be prevented. The agent pressed the police magistrate, Mr. Thompson, to proceed to Massacre Bay, and arrest the chiefs, but he, for a while, firmly resisted such solicitations, on the ground of his responsibility to the government, as well as because the natives had done nothing illegal. At last came tidings, that one of the chiefs had broken in the heads of some casks which had been filled with lime to be shipped to Nelson, on which the agent required of the police magistrate to issue a warrant for the arrest of this chief, and to accompany him, and an armed party, to Massacre Bay. To this plan the magistrate reluctantly consented: it was carried into execution. The chief refused to present himself before the police magistrate, on which two men were ordered to carry him thither by force, which they did, under the protection of an armed party. The police magistrate required him to pay a fine for the offence, or to be taken to Nelson, and imprisoned there. The chief would not yield to pay a fine. Had an attempt to send him on board the ship as a prisoner been made, the natives would have probably attacked the colonists. Both parties were saved from a dilemma by the interference of the chief's wife, who procured the money, paid the fine, and liberated her husband. The police magistrate returned to Nelson, not a little gratified and elated at the safe and successful issue of an expedition in which he had engaged with much reluctance, and evident doubt of its wisdom or legality. Meanwhile the surveyors met with no interruption, the measuring of the land being a matter unimportant in the view of the natives, in comparison with the taking away of their coal and limestone; and very soon after the interference of the police magistrate, the cause of strife ceased, by the breaking up of the association of coal-workers, from the simple fact, that as the coal was not good enough for exportation, and too sulphurous for forge work, and as there was abundance of wood for home consumption; there was no demand for it, either out of the country or in it. Of the whole party three only remained, who chiefly occupied themselves in sawing timber and burning limestone. The natives had been undoubtedly somewhat intimidated by the armed interference of the police magistrate, which left them no alternative but to fight, or to be passive. They forbore from fighting, but firmly and patiently persisted in not renouncing their right, or that of other purchasers, to the land, by accepting goods as presents on that condition. They were subsequently further discouraged and weakened by the loss of two of their most influential chiefs, who, in the prime and vigour of life, were drowned in the heavy swell and surf not far from the shore and their home.

"The purchase of land was not effected until long

after these events. They refused in 1844, the sum of £290, proposed by the government land commissioner, and the affair was not concluded until 1846, when, through the aid of the government representative, and the Church and Wesleyan missionaries, they were at length prevailed with, to conclude with the resident agent a sale of the lands, Mr. Crawford probably not insisting on their protecting further, his prior claim. The whole of the available land on Massacre Bay, afforded less than half the number of the rural sections of 150 acres each, required to complete the scheme of the settlement, *all of which was to be obtained and surveyed before the distribution of any could take place.* The survey having been carried north-west to Cape Farewell, a distance of about seventy miles from the town and port of Nelson, and all that was interjacent and available, and much that was valueless having been laid out in sections, it became necessary to explore further, and in the opposite direction, for available land. Persevering, but fruitless efforts were made to find a feasible route to the south, in hope of annexing land on the plain on the east coast of the Middle Island. On one of these expeditions a tolerably easy route was found to the east, by which the valley of the Wairau was reached, and by descending the valley, the plain of the Wairau, on the shore of Cloudy Bay, opposite to Port Nicholson, and distant from Nelson, by water, about ninety miles, and by land 110. The chief surveyor, accompanied by an assistant, Mr. W. Davidson, and by a proprietor in the settlement, Captain England, having examined the Wairau Plain, and its facilities of communication with three tidal waters, viz., Port Underwood, the head of Queen Charlotte's Sound, and of the Pelorus, as also the overland route to the town of Nelson, reported it to be the *only available surface between Cape Farewell and Cape Campbell, the entire extent of the northern coast of the Middle Isle*, sufficient to afford the number of sections required to complete the settlement. The resident agent (Captain Wakefield), reluctantly determined on its being included in the survey of the settlement. There seemed to be, as in the former instance of Massacre Bay, opposition on the part of the principal agent (Colonel Wakefield), either from fear of the effect of its future occupation by, and annexation to another town and port, being prejudicial to the interests of the opposite town of Wellington, or from anticipation that the Company's claim to the Wairau would be resisted by other claimants and by the natives.

"Intelligence that the Wairau had been examined by the chief surveyor, and that it was intended to commence surveying it, soon reached the old heathen chief Rauperaha, on which, accompanied by two other chiefs, E. Hiko and Ranghiaiaia, he left the Northern Island, and crossing the straits, proceeded to the town of Nelson. The resident agent gave the chiefs an official interview in the house of a Dr. Wilson; and in the presence of many of the colonists, Rauperaha informed Captain Wakefield that having heard that persons had gone from Nelson to the Wairau, and that it was their intention to survey it, he had come to inform the agent that *they must not go there, as he had not sold the Wairau to the principal agent, and was not then disposed to do so; but if he should sell it, the payment must be considerable—"the cask of gold very great."* In reply to him, the resident agent claimed the Wairau as belonging to the Company; insisted on its having

been already purchased, and informed them that it must be surveyed. Ranghiaiaia denied the sale; refused to sell; and desired the interpreter to tell the agent that if he went there he would meet him and take his head. Captain Wakefield calmly replied that if Ranghiaiaia interfered with, or interrupted the survey, he would take with him 300 constables, and arrest him (make a tie of him.) Ranghiaiaia then, and daily whilst he remained at Nelson, continued to threaten each one whom he regarded as a leader of the colonists with death, in case they proceeded to the Wairau, unless they could kill him; in that case his conqueror should be welcome to the disputed territory. Rauperaha fawned, and begged daily for presents, declared Ranghiaiaia to be a bad fellow, and mocked the violence and vehemence of his utterance; entreated the surveyors not to persist in going to the Wairau, but said there should be no violence done them even if they did. He requested the agent to refer the claim to the decision of the government commissioner; but *the agent refused to recognise the commissioner's jurisdiction, in the claims of the New Zealand Company.* Rauperaha, on his departure with his companions, informed the agent that he should immediately request the Queen's land commissioner to examine the claim, and decide between them. The chiefs of the natives resident at Port Underwood, who occupied land there, had vast numbers of pigs in the Wairau, and frequented it for the purpose of procuring these animals for sale; and, at the proper seasons, for eels, ducks, pigeons, &c., for their own food. They had, under the instructions of Mr. Ironside, a Wesleyan missionary, embraced Christianity subsequent to their conquest of the former proprietors and inhabitants of the Wairau, and parts adjacent. The three principal chiefs were brothers, and they were the sons of an elder brother of Rauperaha. The eldest of the three, named Puaha, was much esteemed by Mr. Ironside and by his own people, and was a sincere and exemplary Christian, habitually exercising great self-control, and evincing much true refinement: his brothers were Christians only in name; could be gentle and courteous as long as they were pleased, or very much otherwise if anything thwarted them; one of these two was the Charley mentioned by the principal agent in his account of his purchases of land, and afterwards very active in the Wairau conflict. The chief surveyor had become acquainted with them at their pahe; had been received by them in a friendly manner; informed by them that the Wairau was theirs; that they had never sold it, and that Rauperaha could have had no right to sell it. They had manifested pleasure at its being approved of, and desired by the surveyor, at the same time they evidently wanted to defer any negotiation about it, until they had extended their cultivations there, and consequently increased their claim for compensation in disposing of this district.

"No sooner had Rauperaha and the other heathen chiefs of the Northern Isle quitted Nelson, than these latter arrived. They feared that Rauperaha had received payment for the Wairau, or that he had negotiated for it; and accordingly, their object in coming was to deny his right, and to assert their own. The resident agent (Captain Wakefield) had always been disposed to act justly and liberally towards the resident natives, as far as the restriction of not purchasing, but only of making presents, imposed on him by his employers would permit, and in this instance, all his sympathy

was on the side of the pretensions and claims of Puaha. Before giving him an official interview he was desirous that Puaha's acquiescence with the terms he could not depart from, should be secured. Puaha was offered a schooner for himself, for which he was known to have a strong desire, and any reasonable amount of goods that he might specify, and of which he should have the distribution amongst the people whom he considered to be, with himself, the joint owners of the Wairau, *provided he would acknowledge the purchase to have been made by the principal agent; which he firmly refused to do.* The following day the resident agent received him and his brothers, and asserted the Company's right to the Wairau, by virtue of two purchases, one made by a Captain Blenkinsop, repurchased of his widow by Colonel Wakefield; and the second a direct purchase made of Rauperaha by Colonel Wakefield, and enumerated, amongst different districts within certain degrees of latitude.

"Puaha denied the authenticity of both the alleged sales, and explained that the Wairau did not appear in the original deeds, but *had been inserted, on an erasure, or by interlineation,* and also that if Rauperaha had sold it, the act was invalid, as it could not be purchased without his consent, which he had never given. The agent repeated his former assertions and claim, and Puaha his counter statement; and this was renewed for three successive days, at each interview, on which occasions, Puaha never for a moment lost his temper, and won the admiration and respect of the agent and all who had an opportunity of observing him. Neither party would yield, and the three brothers left Nelson to return to Port Underwood, protesting, but without using any threats, against the intention of the agent to have the Wairau surveyed."

The relation of the fatal consequence of persisting in this unwise determination, must be postponed until the events which took place in other parts of New Zealand simultaneously with the early establishment of Nelson, have been detailed. These were all more or less connected with the "land question," which, owing to the proceedings of Colonel Wakefield, was becoming extremely complicated. The natives, as British subjects, urgently appealed to the local government to maintain their rights, and protect them from the encroachments of the settlers. Thus as early as August, 1840, Lieutenant Shortland when dispatched to Wellington by Governor Hobson, to put a stop to the "provisional government" established there, found the place in so disturbed a state from disputes respecting lands claimed by the New Zealand Company, by settlers unconnected with the Company, and by the natives, that he found it necessary to issue a proclamation warning all persons on their allegiance to their sovereign from assembling under arms without being duly authorised so to do. Lieutenant Shortland states that the natives behaved

exceedingly well; and that although on arriving at the piece of land in dispute (*one of their inhabited paha or villages*) he found it full of armed Europeans, yet the natives were quiet and unarmed.*

In this instance, and in several others, the mediation of the local government was successfully employed in effecting a compromise between the natives and the settlers, and might, without doubt, have been exerted to a far greater and more beneficial extent, had not every such endeavour been thwarted and misrepresented, in accordance with the mischievous and crooked policy pursued by Colonel Wakefield, who, there is great reason to believe constantly "aimed at keeping up a continual agitation against Captain Hobson, in order to withdraw the settlers from the real cause of their misfortunes,"† viz., the inexcusable proceedings of the Company, and of himself as their agent. To this end the local newspapers were made the only channel of communication between the governor and the discontented settlers of Port Nicholson and New Plymouth, whose grievances were fostered by the New Zealand Company, and used as arguments for the recal of the governor. Every effort was made to prejudice the natives against him, and likewise against their old and stanch friends the missionaries, who, Mr. E. J. Wakefield informed them were "only shoemakers or tailors, who received money from people in England to preach the Gospel to them,"‡ but that the *rangatira* or "chief" missionaries might soon be expected.

On 9th June, 1841, an ordinance was passed by the Legislative Council at Auckland to repeal the land act passed on behalf of New Zealand by the government and council of New South Wales in September, 1840, and to terminate any commission issued under the authority of the said act. New Zealand having since been made independent of New South Wales, the new ordinance enacted that—

"All unappropriated lands within the colony of New Zealand, subject however to the rightful and necessary occupation and use thereof, by the aboriginal inhabitants of the said colony, are and remain Crown or domain lands of her Majesty, her heirs and successors, and that the sole and absolute right of pre-emption from the said aboriginal inhabitants, vests in, and can only be exercised by her Majesty, her heirs and successors."

* Parliamentary Papers, New Zealand.

† See Appendix to Report from Select Committee, 1844, p. 278.

‡ *Adventure in New Zealand*, vol. i., p. 173.

All titles to land however obtained, "either mediately or immediately from chiefs or individuals of the aboriginal tribes," unless allowed by the Crown, were declared absolutely null and void.

Under another clause the governor was empowered to appoint commissioners to hear, examine, and report on claims to grants of land in virtue of titles acquired from the natives, such claims to be made at latest within twelve months from the date of the ordinance. The said commissioners to be—

"Guided by the real justice and good conscience of the case, without regard to legal forms and solemnities;" no grant of land to be recommended by them "which shall exceed in extent 2,560 acres, unless specially authorized thereto, by the governor, with the advice of the Executive Council, or which shall comprehend any headland, promontory, bay, or island that may hereafter be required for any purpose of defence, or for the site of any town or village reserve, or for any other purpose of public utility; nor of any land situate on the sea-shore within 100 feet of high-water mark."

Persons claiming to have bought or acquired territory in the positions above referred to, were to receive an equivalent or compensation in land not so situated. The commissioners were to be authorized to summon witnesses, and to punish by fine or imprisonment those who should fail to appear or refuse to give evidence.§ The rate of purchase|| between the years 1815 and 1839 was to be the same as that fixed by the New South Wales Act of September, 1840 (see p. 167), but fifty per cent. was added above these rates for persons not personally resident in New Zealand, or not having a resident agent on the spot. Goods when given to the natives in barter for land were to be estimated at three times their selling price in Sydney at the time. A scale of fees to be paid by land claimants was scheduled with the ordinance, and Captain Richmond and Colonel Godfrey, who had been previously selected by Sir George Gipps, governor of New South Wales; were reappointed land commissioners by Captain Hobson.

Up to the 1st August, 1841, about 600 claims had been referred by the governor to the commissioners for hearing, some of which had regard to small patches of ground, others to millions of acres; the rights of different parties being in many

§ Parliamentary Papers, New Zealand, 1843, p. 122.

|| See Schedule (B.) annexed to Ordinance.

instances asserted to the same tracts of land.

About this time intelligence reached the colony of the arrangement entered into by the home government, whereupon Colonel Wakefield addressed the following letter to the governor, which is given verbatim, as clearly evidencing the premises on which alone the New Zealand Company, by their own showing, expected, in common with all other purchasers, to receive a crown title to a certain portion of the territory over which the native titles had been extinguished:—

“Port Nicholson,, August 24, 1841.

“SIR,—On behalf of the New Zealand Company, with a view to carry out the arrangement entered into in November last, by her Majesty's secretary of state for the colonies, and the Company, and to effect the settlement of the Company's possessions in Cook's Straits, by the purchasers of land from them; upon the faith of that arrangement, I have the honour to submit to your excellency's consideration the following observations and proposals:—

“It is presumed in the arrangement, that the Company has acquired a valid title from the natives to a very large territory on both sides of Cook's Straits, to which they lay claim, and to which their settlements are to be confined. The colonial minister, upon that presumption, authorizes the selection by the Company (within six months of the receipt of a copy of the arrangement by your excellency) of certain portions of land within that territory, to the extent of four times the number of acres of pounds sterling expended by the Company, including 110,000 acres in the neighbourhood of Port Nicholson, and 50,000 acres in the neighbourhood of New Plymouth.

“The amount of acres thus to be selected will probably be found, when the account is taken of the Company's outlay up to that time, to exceed 600,000. At the same time a commission, to be named by her Majesty's government, is to decide on the validity of the presumed purchases from the natives by the Company. Under these circumstances, and pending the investigations of the commission, it seems desirable that purchasers of land from the Company, on the faith of this arrangement, should be enabled to locate themselves on land under your excellency's protection, and yet that no violation of the intentions of the government, as regards titles derived from natives, should take place. I therefore submit—

“First.—That an extension of time should be accorded to the Company by your excellency, for the selection of their lands, until the commission has decided on the titles; and—

“Secondly.—That to meet the other conditions of the arrangement, and to forward the prosperous settlement of this part of the colony, your excellency should guarantee to the British subjects who claim lands in New Zealand, as purchasers from the New Zealand Company, a sure and indefeasible title to all such lands as have been surveyed, or may be surveyed, for the purpose of satisfying their claims as such purchasers as aforesaid.

“Provided always, that if any part of the said lands shall, upon due inquiry, be found not to have

been validly purchased from them before the date of the alleged purchase by the New Zealand Company, full compensation shall be made to the natives, or the previous purchaser, as the case may be, by the New Zealand Company. In the case of the former, the compensation to be decided by the native protector, and an agent of the Company, or in case of difference, by an umpire named by them; and in the latter, according to the scale fixed in clause No. 6 of Sir George Gipps' act, in respect of claimants of land considered necessary for purposes of public utility, who might be dispossessed by the government. Provided also, that the New Zealand Company shall not, in any case, until the decision of the said commission, interfere with the site of any pah actually occupied by the natives, or with any place held sacred by them on religious grounds, or with any land hitherto unsold by the natives, and which they absolutely refuse to dispose of.

“I have, &c.,

“W. WAKEFIELD,

“Principal agent of the New Zealand Company.”

Colonel Wakefield forwarded a copy of the above letter to the directors in London. Their despatch to him, in return, bearing date April 30th, 1842,* proves how entirely their view of the agreement assimilated with that expressed by him, concerning the necessity it involved of extinguishing the native titles. In it he was assured by the secretary of the Company, that—

“The Court entirely approved and commended his conduct of the important negotiations with the governor; and that with reference to the claims of the natives alleged to be unextinguished, the directors, feeling the importance of placing the Company's title to the lands within its settlements above all doubt or question, authorize you to take such steps to that end as you may deem most advisable; and hereby place at your disposal, for that purpose, the sum of £500, and 1,000 acres of land.”†

Governor Hobson, on his part, notified to Colonel Wakefield, that the Crown would forego its right of pre-emption to certain lands, including the Wellington and Porirua district, 50,000 acres at New Plymouth, and 50,000 at Wanganui, and would grant to the Company legal titles to all such lands as might “by any one have been validly purchased from the natives, the Company compensating all previous purchasers, according to a scale to be fixed by a local ordinance.” This offer, the justice of which, so far as the “previous purchasers” were concerned, was at least questionable, was so decidedly favourable to the immediate interests of the settlers of the New Zealand Company, that Captain Hobson might reasonably have expected to find it gratefully accepted. On the contrary, we find Colonel

* Appendix to Select Committee of 1844; p. 544.

† Appendix to Report of Select Committee, 1844; p. 570.

Wakefield assuming the tone of an injured person, and informing the directors, that—

"Captain Hobson expressed himself favourable to my request, that he should guarantee a title to all past purchasers from the Company, as against white people; but positively refused to look upon the native title as fairly extinguished, by reason of the advantages secured to the aborigines by their reserved lands, and the introduction of civilization among them. This view of the subject, so inimical to the quiet progress of the Company's settlements," Colonel Wakefield adds, "has been taken by Captain Hobson, in consequence of his treaty of Waitangi."

The governor appears to have acted, both towards Colonel Wakefield and the natives, in good faith, and with a sincere desire to prevent hostilities he wrote to the former, assuring him of his readiness to sanction any equitable arrangement that might be made to induce the natives to yield up possession of their habitations within the limits of the territory before referred to, but at the same time warned him privately, that no force or compulsory measures for their removal would be permitted.

Captain Hobson clearly saw the gathering wrath of the natives; the chiefs who waited upon him on the occasion of his visit to Wellington, "expressed the greatest confidence in her Majesty's government, and their willingness to obey any order he might give them; but united in *demanding protection from the encroachments of the Company*, who they asserted had most unscrupulously appropriated their lands."* In November (13th), 1841, Governor Hobson transmitted to her Majesty's Secretary of State for the colonies, a report from the chief protector of aborigines, setting forth the hostile feelings of the Maories to the claims of the Company at Porirua, Wanganui, and Taranaki.

On every side the settlers were met by the aborigines with the most determined opposition. On the 12th March, 1842, Governor Hobson reported to Lord Stanley,—"the natives violently resist the claims of the Company at Wanganui, and seem to threaten pretty generally great opposition to parting with their lands throughout the districts sold by the Company." The Taupo tribe numbered 900 to 1,000 men; the Waitotera about 300; the Waikanai people, including their supporters from New Munster, at least 2,000. It was with extreme difficulty, that the Rev. Messrs. Had-

field and Mason, who had great influence over these tribes, prevented bloodshed, by assuring the chiefs that the proprietorship would hereafter be determined by the governor, or by a commissioner: the natives however declared—"you may take our land, but you shall break our necks first."†

Mr. Gilbert Francis Dawson, the police magistrate at Wanganui, in 1842, protested publicly in writing "against the settlers proceeding to occupy lands, the possession of which the natives declared they would defend with violence."‡

A few words must here be said of the formation of *Wanganui*, as an illustration of the plan adopted by the Company's principal agent to dispose of the unfortunate emigrants, of whom so many ship loads had been sent out by the London directors, before any due provision had been made for them.

Tyrone Power has given a short, graphic, and only too correct account of the place, and its unlucky founders. Wanganui, he says—

"Is one of the unwholesome mushroom settlements engendered by the New Zealand Company, for the purpose of removing to a distance a portion of the clamorous scrip-holders, who on arriving from England, looked, and looked in vain for their land. A prospectus issued by the agent of the Company, describing all imaginable advantages in this new Eden, and promising a town acre to all who would have their titles to land in the Wellington district transferred to Wanganui, was eagerly caught at by numbers of the gullible adventurers, who, with large families on their hands, and living at great expense in Wellington, without a hope of getting possession of the land originally assigned to them, were glad enough to see a prospect of settling themselves anywhere. The titles for *Wellington mountain and swamp* were exchanged for an equal quantity at Wanganui, with an addition of a town acre to every holder of a section of 100 acres; and the unfortunates were shipped off to a distance of 120 miles, where, clamour as they might, very little could be heard of them. Not a single individual was able to get possession of the land, with the exception of the town acre, which had formed the bait. On this many of them have vegetated up to the present day (March, 1847), now six years of hope deferred and disappointment."—*Sketches in New Zealand*, p. 81.

At Porirua matters were assuming as alarming an aspect as at Wanganui. Rangihiaia, the powerful chief already referred to (see p. 185), had, from the first, opposed the settlement of any of the land around the harbour, affirming that he had not sold, and would not sell it; that he wished it for his children, and would maintain his rights. He acknowledged himself a Bri-

* Parliamentary Papers on New Zealand, 12th August, 1842; pp. 262—171.

† Parliamentary Papers on New Zealand, 12th August, 1842; p. 173.

‡ Letter dated Wanganui, 24th February, 1842; pp. 286—287. Appendix to Report of Select Committee, 1844.

tish subject, declared that he did not understand the "native reserves," and could not be certain that his children would enjoy them in perpetuity. In the early part of the year 1841, he caused the road, or rather track opened through the forest, to be blocked up, and the tent of the surveyor to be taken down; and repeatedly stopped the progress of the surveys. In consequence however, of being assured that whether surveyed or not, the Land Commissioners would decide with equal justice between him and the Company, he suffered the surveyors to proceed; but always under protest, and with an unqualified assurance that he would not allow a single person to settle in the Porirua district under the alleged purchase of Colonel Wakefield.

In defiance of Ranghiaiaata, and without waiting the decision of the commissioner, Colonel Wakefield issued leases of four sections near Porirua Harbour, of which, in April, 1842, the lessees proceeded to take possession, to build houses, and make preparations for the erection of a saw-mill. Two of the houses were nearly finished, and the other two had been commenced, when intelligence of these proceedings reached the chief, who thereupon gave notice that he intended to pull down the houses, which he did on the following day, coming for the purpose attended by a large body of natives. "No unnecessary violence, however, was employed, and no wilful destruction of property was committed."*

The first accounts of this occurrence which reached Wellington, were of the most exaggerated nature. A warrant was obtained for the apprehension of Ranghiaiaata, but not attempted to be carried into effect; and a public meeting assembled at Wellington to consider the course to be adopted. Mr. Hanson (the Crown prosecutor), was present, and heard an avowal publicly made by Colonel Wakefield, as agent of the New Zealand Company, of a course of proceeding so totally at variance with the true interests, both of the British and Maori population, that he deemed it his duty, as holding an official and responsible position, at once to report it to the governor.

Without pretending to give the exact words used by Colonel Wakefield, Mr. Hanson declared that he could vouch for the substantial accuracy, in every particular, of

* Vide Mr. Hanson's letter to Governor Hobson, printed in 1842.

the reply made by him to certain questions put by one of the settlers, to the effect,— "had he done his utmost to give the purchasers under the New Zealand Company, peaceable possession of their lands?" Colonel Wakefield's answer was, that—

"On the occasion of Ranghiaiaata having blocked up the road, he had applied by letter to Mr. Murphy, and he read a copy of the letter; that when the governor was in Port Nicholson he had referred to the same subject, and had requested the presence of troops, which had been refused on the ground of the inadequacy of the force in the colony; but that he had not treated with the natives for a settlement of their claims. He added that he had not been very strenuous in his applications to the government, for although his instructions from the New Zealand Company directed him to yield all assistance in his power to the government, yet the directors did not wish him to take any pains to procure the removal of inconveniences by means of representations to the governor; they rather wished these inconveniences to be employed as grounds of complaint against the government, and as arguments in aid of their efforts for the removal of the governor. With a noticeable inconsistency, he however attributed the non-interference of your excellency to a settled design to injure this settlement, and concluded by reading a letter which he had addressed to the directors in England, complaining of the want of efficient protection in this and other particulars."

Mr. Hanson adds,—

"Here is an individual to whom a public body in London has thought fit to entrust, so far as they are able, the management of affairs involving the property of hundreds whom they have encouraged or induced to emigrate to this colony, openly proclaiming that he has consciously risked the destruction of property, and has even hazarded the loss of life, by refusing to take the measures within his power to settle the claims of the natives, in order that the evils which he had encouraged might be made a ground of complaint against the governor."

The arrangement entered into by Governor Hobson with Colonel Wakefield, by which the claims of the New Zealand Company to land were to be held valid as against all save native titles, and the ordinance passed by the governor and the Legislative Council in confirmation of this argument as an amendment of the ordinance of June, 1841, created great dissatisfaction among those whose prior claims were thus to be over-ridden by the Company. The new ordinance was disallowed by the home government, and the preceding one remained in force; but a portion of the population, numbering some of the oldest and most respectable settlers, were kept meanwhile in a state of feverish suspense. The natives likewise began to look upon the proceedings of the local government with suspicion and distrust in which feelings they were encour-

aged by disaffected Europeans. Captain Hobson, however, took an excellent means of disabusing them, by issuing a gazette in the Maori language, and distributing it among the chiefs, who were really very far from having any rightful cause of complaint against him, except that of not having sufficiently defended them from the encroachments of the settlers of the New Zealand Company, which he was quite unable to do. His own dealings with them for land had been perfectly straightforward; his experience in New Zealand, previous to being appointed lieutenant-governor or even consul, had convinced him of the difficulty of inducing the natives to alienate any considerable tract of country, and in procuring the quantity required by the exigencies of his position, he had judiciously employed the mediation of the missionaries.

The investigation of the claims of the New Zealand Company commenced on the 16th May, 1842; when Mr. Spain, who had been sent from England as special commissioner, opened his court at Wellington on that day.

Both Colonel Wakefield and the chiefs welcomed him warmly, and expressed themselves willing to abide by his adjudication; the latter assuring him of their perfect confidence in her Majesty's government, adding that their only wish was to be allowed to live peaceably with the Pakeha (stranger), and to cultivate the lands to which they were habituated, but that the boundaries of the land of the white man and of the Maori must be clearly defined.

Colonel Wakefield on his part showed equal pleasure at the arrival of Mr. Spain, who, he informed the directors, a few days before the opening of the court, "sincerely desires to settle the question of titles, with a view to the speedy and prosperous colonization of the country."

Dr. Evans appeared as counsel for the Company, to prove their purchases from the natives, but afterwards gave up to Colonel Wakefield, at his request, the advocacy of the cause, which the latter conducted in person for three days, and then again entrusted it to Dr. Evans. The claim to the Port Nicholson district was the first investigated, and all went on smoothly until Mr. Spain having examined Messrs. Dorset, E. J. Wakefield, and E. Puni, as witnesses for the purchase, required more evidence, which Colonel Wakefield declared to be quite unnecessary. Mr. Spain's persistence in this demand appears to have made him

for the first time aware that the investigation was not to be carried on as a mere form, but that it was really intended to give all parties a fair and impartial hearing. Upon this he immediately assumed a different tone, endeavouring by every means in his power to embarrass and impugn the acts of the commissioner, and indirectly and by inuendo to deny the jurisdiction of the commission. The counsel for the Company kept the commissioner daily waiting for hours after the opening of the court, by failing to bring before him natives living in the neighbourhood, who were said to have been parties to the conveyance to the Company of the Port Nicholson District.

Colonel Wakefield apprized the directors of the course adopted by Mr. Spain, expressing his surprise at the "searching inquiry" that had been set on foot, instead of, as he had expected, one which should have been "little more than a matter of form." He adds,—

"At the same time I was not forgetful of the assumption in the agreement (of November, 1840), that the lands had been purchased from the natives, and of some passages implying a proposed investigation into the titles; still less could I put out of sight the mischievous treaty of Waitangi. * * * In assuming the native title to be extinguished, and in appropriating the land, the Government would be conferring a positive benefit on the aborigines."*

On the receipt of this intelligence, Mr. Somes, on the part of the New Zealand Company, immediately addressed Lord Stanley (24th October, 1842), and asserted *for the first time*, that the title of the Company to land in New Zealand was derived from the agreement with the Crown of November, 1840, and was in no manner dependent on the validity of its original purchases from the native chiefs. This communication was followed by a long correspondence between the Colonial Office and the Company, in which the latter adhered to the view of the agreement above stated, and the former entirely dissented, maintaining that the Company were only entitled to confirmatory grants from the Crown of lands of which they had previously extinguished the native titles by purchase.

In September, 1842, Governor Hobson died at Auckland, his demise being without doubt accelerated by the numerous and increasing difficulties of his position, embittered as they were by factious and malicious opposition. Although it is difficult to form

* Appendix to Report of Select Committee of 1844; pp. 291 295.

a fair estimate of his abilities as a financier, from his conduct under the peculiar difficulties of his brief and troubled administration, it is yet scarcely possible to exonerate him from the charge of having committed that grave error in the governor of an infant colony, of entering upon a system of expenditure not warranted by its available resources. Strict frugality would have been the best and most honourable example the local government could have shown; if the colonists could not appreciate or would not follow it, the blame would have rested with them. One of the influences which tended to induce the adoption of an opposite course, was the existing state of affairs in Australia at the period of the establishment of British authority in New Zealand. Speculation was then at its height, and money abundant. Extravagance of every kind spread thence to New Zealand; every one lived beyond his means; money was borrowed at exorbitant rates of interest for the purpose of purchasing land, especially town allotments and water frontages, houses were built on a scale far exceeding the reasonable requirements of a small and struggling community, and farms were laid out which could not be stocked or cultivated, without much greater means than their owners could procure. The erroneous policy of offering lands for sale by auction, at a high upset price, though at one time the means of drawing some thousands of pounds to the government coffers, was really injurious to all parties by the reaction it caused; to the settlers especially, because it drew from them the capital which might profitably have been invested in the tillage of the soil, and to the governor also, by leading him to form and act upon an exaggerated estimate of the local resources. The expenses attendant upon the government of six or seven distinct and widely scattered settlements, several of them established in defiance of the natives, who as strongly as the colonists, and with equal right, appealed to Captain Hobson for protection, were necessarily very heavy. The whole revenue which could be collected in 1840, to meet an expenditure of £19,798 was only £926; that of 1841 (exclusive of the money raised by land sales, a large portion of which was to be appropriated to emigration purposes) amounted to but £5,507, while the expenditure had increased to £34,743. The treasury of New South Wales contributed in 1840, and up to May, 1841, £43,347 in the form of a loan; this

resource was then stopped. Even the land sales at Auckland (to which fund the embarrassed governor was compelled to resort as the only available means of meeting the exigencies of his position) had greatly disappointed his expectations, having yielded in 1841 only £27,559, instead of the £50,000 which had been confidently anticipated. In January, 1842, Captain Hobson wrote to Lord Stanley, that it was "utterly impossible to carry on the government of the colony without the assistance of the home government," and soon after he commenced drawing bills on the British Treasury, with the advice of his Executive Council, intending to do so to the amount of £25,000, to cover the deficiencies of the year 1842. The Lords of the Treasury decidedly objected to these proceedings, but consented to meet the bills to the extent of £10,000, announcing at the same time that any future bills so drawn would be dishonoured. Before this intelligence reached the colony, Governor Hobson was deceased, and the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Willoughby Shortland, temporarily assumed the reins of government. The permission given by Governor Hobson to the Company's agent to make an equitable arrangement with the Maories at Port Nicholson for the cession of their rights was renewed by Mr. Shortland, before whom Colonel Wakefield, accompanied by Mr. Spain, proceeded to Auckland, to submit a correspondence with the commissioner, wherein he says:—

"With a view to the final settlement of a question upon which the prosperous settlement of no inconsiderable portion of these islands depends, *I propose* on the part of the New Zealand Company, to abide by the decision of yourself (Mr. Spain) and the Protector of Aborigines, Mr. Halswell, as to the amount of compensation to be made by the Company to all natives, in cases of disputed possession of, or title to, land."

To this proposition the acting-governor agreed, leaving the detail to be arranged at Wellington; referees were appointed, and Mr. Spain undertook to act as umpire. In September, 1843, Mr. Shortland learned, that although the land commissioner and protector of aborigines had been arduously engaged in negotiating for the adjustment of the native claims, their efforts were rendered abortive by "the Company's agent having failed to carry out an arrangement entered into *at his own request, and solemnly confirmed at a meeting with the native chiefs at Port Nicholson.*"*

* App. to Rep. of Select Com. 1844; pp. 332, 333.

ADMINISTRATION OF GOVERNOR FITZ-ROY. —When the intelligence of the death of Captain Hobson reached England, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Lord Stanley, offered the vacant governorship to Captain Fitz-Roy, R. N., who had then newly completed an interesting *Narrative of the Surveying Voyages of H.M.S. Adventure and Beagle, between the years 1826 and 1836, in the Southern Hemisphere.*

Towards the close of this expedition, of which for the greater part of the time he had held the command, Captain Fitz-Roy visited New Zealand, and on his return home, in the volumes referred to, and in his evidence before the select committee of the Lords in 1838, had evinced considerable acquaintance with its actual state, and ably expressed his opinions on the character and capabilities of the aborigines. Captain Fitz-Roy accepted the appointment, although it involved the resignation of his seat in Parliament (for the city of Durham), and of his honourable and lucrative position as an elder Brother of the Trinity-house, and as Conservator of the Mersey, in exchange for a most arduous, and (then) scantily remunerated office at the antipodes. The conscientious motives which actuated him were evident, and all really interested in the welfare of the colony, especially the Church and Wesleyan Mission Societies, rejoiced in the appointment of a governor, whose personal character and station in society peculiarly fitted him to stand in the breach between the two races, as a successful mediator. Neither Captain Fitz-Roy, however, or any other individual in this country, and few even in New Zealand, could then form an adequate idea of the difficulties which awaited him, and which had rapidly augmented in the few months immediately succeeding the death of Captain Hobson.

In the first place the ill feeling between the Europeans and the Maories, was becoming daily more evident; both parties were brave, and in too many instances inclined to settle their disputes by the trial of battle, the former especially from having formed a very false estimate of the courage of the natives, who *as heathens* are essentially warlike, but *as Christians* exhibit a practical conformity with the peaceful doctrines of the gospel, which communities far more advanced in the arts and sciences of civilized life would do well to imitate. The proportion of real converts to our holy faith, was, it is true, in New Zealand as elsewhere,

very inferior to that of merely nominal ones, but still this influence had no small share in inducing their countrymen not to commence hostilities with the *Pakeha* (strangers), who had encroached on their territories, but to abide the decision of the land commissioner. This was in itself a great point gained, considering the overwhelming superiority which more than one hundred thousand natives, *supplied by Christian colonists with fire-arms and gun-powder in abundance*, and with fortified pahs and mountain fastnesses to resort to, in time of need, could not but have over a few thousand Europeans, residing in widely scattered settlements, possessed of nothing deserving the name of military defences, and with women and children to protect.

Yet though remaining passive, the natives watched with no unreasonable alarm, the arrival of ship after ship full of emigrants, and openly avowed their fear that the settlers were only waiting for a sufficient increase of numbers and force, to appropriate their lands, and reduce them to the condition of slaves. A very high tribute to their conduct during the trying period of the investigation of the land claims was given by the commissioners who assisted Mr. Spain (Colonel Godfrey, and Captain Richmond) who when officially asked by the acting governor (on the 4th May, 1843,) whether the conduct of the natives in the investigation of the land claims had not caused a great alienation of feeling between the parties? and whether a disposition had not in some cases been manifested to get returned to them lands which they had formerly sold? informed him in reply, that they had then examined more than half of all the claims, yet had never remarked such a consequence in any of their investigations. In some instances, boundaries had been inserted by the purchasers, *after* the signature of the deeds by the natives; then the latter, while admitting that some of the land mentioned had been sold, boldly denied, and with apparent truth, the extent alleged to have been alienated, and willingly pointed out to the surveyors the lands actually sold. Even the natives more than ordinarily dissipated, and corrupted by habits of intoxication, never, say these witnesses, "made any unjust attempts to repossess themselves of their lands." Except on most rare occasions, "when the morality of the buyers appeared quite as questionable as that of the sellers," the commissioners could "scarcely recal

to mind a single investigation in which the testimony given by the natives was not deserving of the most entire credibility."*

The English on their part, misunderstanding the cause of the forbearance of the natives, behaved most unwisely, evincing a diminishing regard for the rights, and for the feelings of the chiefs, excluding them as much as possible from their dwellings, instead of welcoming them as at first, and threatening them on trifling occasions with the penalties of British law; while some designing or imprudent persons told them that they were now the slaves of Queen Victoria, who had the entire control of their country, and of themselves, adducing in proof that they were no longer permitted even to dispose of their own land.

A high spirited race, democratic in the extreme, as regarded others, but equally aristocratic in respect to their own rights and dignities, keenly felt and warmly resented these taunts; they found they were indeed no longer the principal personages in their own country; they saw the land which they had parted with for a trifling consideration (long since consumed), resold for perhaps twenty or thirty times the value they had received; fences were rising in every direction, by which they were prevented freely traversing the country as heretofore, and more than all, when they offered some of their lands to the governor for sale, they were informed that he could not buy (not having the necessary funds), and that they must not sell to any one else.

The colonists themselves were divided into three distinct and antagonistic classes,—first, the independent settlers at Auckland and elsewhere, who felt aggrieved by the

concession of their just and prior claims made by Governor Hobson and Lieutenant Shortland to Colonel Wakefield; second, the population of the New Zealand Company's settlements, who were living in a state of open hostility to the local government, and were besides (not without excuse), jealous beyond measure of one another—the Wellington, of the Nelson people—the Wanganui adventurers, of their brethren at Porirua, and so on; the third class consisted of whalers living in widely scattered stations along the coast-line of the three islands, some of whom had married native women, and were earning an honest livelihood; but the greater portion were escaped convicts or runaway sailors, leading lawless and immoral lives, and neglecting no opportunity of prejudicing the minds of the heathen chiefs against any and every form of government calculated to restrain their excesses.

The proceedings of the Company, in repudiating the arbitration of the land commissioner so soon as they found it unfavourable to themselves, notwithstanding their voluntary and public promise to abide by it; their refusal (made through their authorised agent,) to compensate the natives or previous purchasers, in violation of the condition on which alone they had been suffered to hold any portion of the lands in dispute;† and their strenuous endeavours to induce the government to set aside the treaty of Waitangi—placed great difficulties in the path of the representative of the Crown. The missionaries, on their part, beheld the new position assumed by the Company, with alarm and indignation. They steadily refused to countenance any

* Appendix to Report of Select Committee, p. 334.

† Mr. Commissioner Spain says that Colonel Wakefield's conduct in this matter, produced in his mind "the inevitable conclusion, that on no future occasion would it be safe for the government to enter into any similar negotiation with the principal agent of the Company, who could so far overlook his own moral and legal obligations, in a case at once involving the just pretensions of the aborigines, the ruin or prosperity of a large and respectable body of enterprising settlers, and the good faith and substantial interests of the Company—his employers."—(Appendix to Report of Select Committee, p. 305.) Among the settlers generally, whether sent out by, or independent of the Company, a strong feeling of indignation appears to have been excited by Colonel Wakefield's proceedings (see Appendix to Report of Select Committee for 1844, p. 231); and an able local historian, Dr. S. M. D. Martin (subsequently a

member of the Legislative Council of New Zealand), comments severely upon them; placing, however, the blame far too exclusively on the agent, who, there is reason to believe, strictly adhered to the orders he received from England. After alluding to the "mess" which Colonel Wakefield "had made of the Company's affairs at Wellington," Dr. Martin observes, "it appears to me, that what is called a *cunning man*, is never fit to manage affairs properly for another party, because he invariably keeps them in the dark regarding his operations; and such, I am certain, has been the case with the agent of the New Zealand Company. Had he honestly informed them of the facts of the case regarding his *pretended purchase at Port Nicholson*, matters might have been rectified long before now. As it is, this vainly-wise man has ruined both the Company and the private individuals who were unfortunate enough to purchase their lands."—*New Zealand, with Historical Remarks, &c.*, London, 1845, p. 160.

infraction of the treaty, the letter and spirit of which, they considered, alike vested the proprietary right to the whole of New Zealand, in the natives, and declared, that on that understanding only, they had assisted Captain Hobson in obtaining the consent of the chiefs, who could not have been induced to sign it upon any other condition.

Another cause of embarrassment, which embittered and aggravated every other, was the financial distress of the colony; the land-fever had subsided, and the torpor of reaction had taken its place. The brisk trade for pigs, potatoes, and native labour, which on the first arrival of the emigrants was so lucrative, had, to a great extent, ceased, partly by reason of the mercantile pressure, and partly from the absence of an adequate monetary circulation.

The delusive hopes which the colonists entertained on their arrival, of being able at once to become exporters, had been soon dispelled; a very short time having sufficed to show that there was, at that time, no article of export in New Zealand, which could be depended upon to procure the balance of trade necessary to the success of a commercial community. Timber, flax, and oil, were the three articles on which the most sanguine expectations had been founded. With regard to the first, they were rendered nugatory by the great expense of bringing it to the water-side, added to that of shipping it to a distance of 14,000 miles, and further by the fact of large and sound spars being comparatively scarce.* The shipment of a different description of wood, at that period, was quite out of the question, the price of sawn timber in New Zealand itself, in 1841-2, being 32s. per 100 feet; and the importation of planks from Europe having met with success.

The export of flax prepared by the natives had dwindled away almost to nothing, as their increased intercourse with Europeans had enabled them, by a slight degree of agricultural labour, to obtain all the commodities they required. The abundance of this valuable plant was, therefore, of little benefit to the colonists, who had vainly sought to discover a cheap mode of dressing it.

The export of oil had proved equally

unsatisfactory, for from the ruthless and improvident manner in which the whale-fisheries had been conducted during a series of years, without regard to the preservation of the dams or their young, during the calving season, a profitable and important trade had been well-nigh destroyed.

It had been confidently assumed that the ships of the several nations engaged in the whaling trade, would resort to New Zealand for refitting, as being the centre of the southern whale-fishery; instead of which, on its becoming a British colony the whalers deserted it, and went to Otaheite, or some other of the Polynesian Islands, where they could obtain supplies at a cheaper rate, without the intervention of Custom-house regulation or fiscal dues.

Before leaving England, Captain Fitz-Roy solicited from Lord Stanley special instructions on certain points regarding the land question, of which the first was—to whom should land belong which had been validly purchased from New Zealand aboriginals in excess of the quantity (2,560 acres) prescribed by the land ordinance of 1841? His lordship replied, the excess was “vested in the sovereign, as representing and protecting the interests of society at large.” In other words such lands would become available for the purpose of sale and settlement.

This decision caused great dissatisfaction in New Zealand, where the prerogative of the crown in annulling all purchases made by its subjects without its consent, was very imperfectly understood. Yet the hardship, as far as the buyers were concerned, was greater in seeming than reality, when the extremely low price at which most of the purchases had been effected is taken into consideration, and also the liberal scale on which all just claims were to be confirmed, in the proportion of an acre for every crown expended in colonizing. Besides which, the lands held under the award of the land commission, were enhanced in value by the appropriation of the surplus by the sovereign as trustee for the public to redispense of them, or render them available for purposes of general utility; and yet more by the guarantee for the security of life and property afforded by the presence of British authority.† With respect to the sellers, the question arises whether a conside-

* The Cowrie or Kauri timber is not found farther south than the districts of Auckland and Manakao.

† See *New Zealand Question*, by L. A. Chamerov-zow, Secretary to the Aborigines Protection Society, pp. 291, 292.

able and defined portion of the surplus of the land commissioners' award ought not to have immediately reverted to them as having been parted with under a misapprehension of its value, or have been appropriated in some special manner for their sole use and benefit.

The next inquiry was—"Under defined restrictions, may the Crown's right of pre-emption be waived in certain cases? Lord Stanley declined giving an answer until he should receive a local report from Captain Fitz-Roy, accompanied by such suggestions on the subject as, after inquiry on the spot, he should deem it expedient to make. In offering these suggestions, two points were to be particularly kept in view, viz., the prevention of land coming into the possession of Europeans at a cheaper rate if bought from the natives than if bought from government, and the ensuring a contribution on such purchases being made from the purchaser to the emigration fund."*

The information and instructions given for the guidance of Captain Fitz-Roy in his dealings with the New Zealand Company and their agents was to the effect, that the government would confirm their title to as many acres as they had expended crowns in purchase, emigration, &c., provided they proved the validity of their purchase; and to facilitate the adjustment of their titles, a *prima facie* title to the district included in the original agreement, was conceded to them under the condition that the validity of their purchase should not be successfully impugned by other parties. The Company were to be allowed to take land without the districts claimed by them in exchange for an equal quantity of land claimed by them within those districts, provided that their purchase should be satisfactorily proved.

Lastly, Captain Fitz-Roy was assured that

there was no reason for saying that any specified quantity of land was due to the Company from the government (unless under direct purchases from itself), or that the government was bound to make compensation to the Company for its expenditure.†

Thus the grant from the Queen depended in the first instance on the extinguishment of native or other proprietary rights by Colonel Wakefield. How could it be otherwise, since even supposing the government to have been disposed to bestow on the Company, in return for systematic insult and wilful misrepresentation towards itself, and deception and charlatanism towards the public, a free grant of about a million acres, it had not the power to do so, without first purchasing them from the native or other proprietors.‡

If the loudly vaunted validity and liberality of the purchases of their agent, which had received the unqualified approbation of the directors, conveyed in the substantial form of a present of a thousand guineas and an increase of salary, should on investigation prove worthless, by whom was the penalty to be borne? Were the taxes of the people of England to be augmented because a body of individuals associated for a "purely commercial speculation," had overreached themselves? or were the natives of New Zealand to be defrauded under the pretence of being protected by an unrighteous administration of the laws, under whose jurisdiction they had freely placed themselves.

The latter was the mode of procedure avowedly anticipated by the Company, whose expectations were completely disappointed by the searching investigation instituted by the land commissioner into the grounds of their so-called purchases. On receipt of this intelligence the directors, as we have

* Appendix to Report of Select Committee of 1844, page 188.

† Appendix to Report of Select Committee, 1844, page 106.

‡ "The mode in which it was intended that the local government should procure land with a view to reselling it, is stated in Lord Normanby's letter of August, 1839—"The resales of the first purchases that may be made will provide the funds necessary for future acquisitions, and beyond the original investment of a comparatively small sum of money, no other resources will be necessary for this purpose." To suppose that Lord John Russell intended to grant to the Company for nothing, nearly a million of acres so acquired, is obviously incompatible with the very fundamental principle of such a sys-

tem; to suppose that he intended to apply either to parliament or to the local legislature for a grant to enable him to make a special purchase for the benefit of the Company, is to hazard a supposition for which not the slightest ground of probability can be shown. But neither will the letter of the arrangement itself bear out any such construction."—See *Memorandum* on the twelfth Report of the Directors of the New Zealand Company in refutation of the assertion of the directors, that "the flagrant character of the wrong done to their shareholders by Lord Stanley's interpretation of Lord John Russell's agreement virtually annuls that contract between the Crown and a body of her Majesty's subjects."—Appendix to Report of Select Committee of 1844, p. 1.

seen, immediately assumed a new position, by endavouring to place upon the agreement of 1840 a construction which up to that time they had never even hinted at,* and which was at once declared by the government to be wholly unwarranted. (See page 191, div. v.)

Yet they persevered with their accustomed tenacity, in maintaining the view of the case which favoured their interests; although contrary to truth and common sense. Laying aside the statements and the arguments they had formerly used, they adopted with marvellous facility, directly contrary ones. For instance, in the earlier stages of their proceedings, they had been among the strongest advocates for the national authority and individual rights of the Maories to the proprietorship of the whole soil of the three islands; their reports, books, and newspapers had teemed with eulogy of the natives, whose amalgamation with the Europeans by marriage was urged as probable and desirable, while their shrewdness and capacity for understanding and entering into engagements or contracts was highly lauded. Hence, when Colonel Wakefield first landed at Port Nicholson, he hoisted the *national* flag of New Zealand, and his three contracts made the 27th of September, 25th of October, and 8th November, 1839, for the purchase of "about twenty million acres" were written with all the formality of a legal conveyance. But when the directors found that Lord John Russell refused to acquiesce in the "claim advanced by the Company to have acquired from the natives a title to *one-third* of the whole territory of New Zealand;"† and that those natives, whose shrewdness and sagacity they had so highly lauded, were on their part determined to maintain and defend their possessory rights to the soil, by means of the muskets and gunpowder with which they had themselves furnished them, in defiance of the precepts and example of the missionaries,—then an entire change of policy and language took place; the continuous measures adopted by her Majesty's government in regard to New

Zealand, were designated,—*shams, lies, † solemn grimace, fiction, foolery, fuss, and humbug*; the whole race of aborigines were described as something worse than savages and cannibals, and the treaty of Waitangi (well called by Captain Fitz-Roy, the *Magna Charta* of New Zealand), which had been approved and ratified by the Queen, and was as binding in all its provisions as any treaty into which the Sovereign of England ever entered, was thus spoken of by the governor of the New Zealand Company,—

"We have always had very serious doubts whether the treaty of Waitangi made with naked savages, by a consul invested with no plenipotentiary powers, without ratification by the Crown, could be treated by lawyers as anything but a praiseworthy device for amusing and pacifying savages for the moment."§

The answer of Lord Stanley to this extraordinary communication was worthy of his name, and of his position in the cabinet of his sovereign. His lordship, through Mr. Hope,|| reminded Mr. Somes that he had previously offered on the part of the Crown, as a matter not of right, but of grace and favour,—

"To instruct the governor to make them a conditional grant, subject to prior titles to be established as by law provided, not only of such portion of the Wellington settlement as is in the actual possession of settlers under them, but also of all parts not in the occupation or possession of others; the extent of such grant, of course, not to exceed that to which they are entitled under Mr. Pennington's award. Further than this, Lord Stanley cannot consent to go, consistently with the obligations by which the Crown, as he conceives, is bound. Lord Stanley is not prepared, as her Majesty's Secretary of State, to join with the Company in setting aside the treaty of Waitangi, after obtaining the advantages guaranteed by it, even though it might be made with 'naked savages,' or though it might be treated by lawyers as 'a praiseworthy device for amusing and pacifying savages for the moment.'"

"Lord Stanley entertains a different view of the respect due to obligations contracted by the Crown of England, and his final answer to the demands of the Company must be, that as long as he has the honour of serving the Crown, he will not admit that any person, or any government acting in the name of her Majesty, can contract a *legal, moral, or honorary obligation to despoil others of their lawful and equitable rights.*"¶

The new governor, before leaving Eng-

* On the contrary, in the third Report of Directors of New Zealand Company of May, 1841, page 4, it is expressly stated that "the Company has been put in regard to its purchases of land previously to the date of Governor Hobson's proclamation, on *precisely the same footing as any private individual.*"

† Letter from Mr. Vernon Smith on behalf of Lord J. Russell to J. Somes, governor of the Company, 20th of February, 1841.—Parliamentary Papers of 1841, v. 97.

‡ Speech of Mr. Charles Buller in the House of Commons, 17th June, 1845.

§ Letter from Mr. Somes to Lord Stanley, 24th of January, 1843.—Appendix to Parliamentary Committee of 1844, p. 30. See also Memorandum, p. 1.

|| Appendix to Report of Select Committee, 1844, p. 333.

¶ The late Sir Robert Peel, in speaking of the treaty of Waitangi, took the same view of it as Lord Stanley; he said in the debate in the House of

land, made several attempts (as his predecessors, Captain Hobson and Lieutenant Shortland had done,) to obtain the force he deemed indispensable under the peculiar circumstances of the colony, to the support of an effective administration; he pointed out in the strongest manner the necessity both of troops and of a ship of war being permanently stationed there. His verbal and written applications, alike met with decided discouragement, and it was even proposed to withdraw the handful of soldiers of the line then at New Zealand, and substitute in their stead 100 marines for the protection of the whole of the scattered settlements until a militia could be raised in the colony.

Captain Fitz-Roy therefore was given to understand that he must depend solely on moral influence for the maintenance of the Queen's government, and for the protection of the lives and property entrusted to his guardianship. He left England in July, and reached Sydney, New South Wales, in November, 1843. Here he received tidings calculated to impress him most forcibly with the sense of the necessity for the exercise of the utmost discretion, judgment, and promptitude, in the adjustment of the land claims, as, under providence, the sole means of averting a war of extermination between the two races. A fearful tragedy had resulted from the persistence of the Company's agents in surveying land at the Wairau, without the sanction of the local government, and in defiance of the threats and entreaties of the native proprietors, who had repeatedly urged them to wait the decision of the land commissioner, appointed by their mutual Sovereign to judge between them. Here we may resume the narrative (see p. 186, div. v.) of Mr. Tuckett, the chief surveyor; himself an important actor in the scenes which he graphically describes:

"The survey of the Wairau Plain having been let in three contracts, the contractors, Messrs. Barnicoat and Thompson, Mr. Cotterell and Mr. Parkinson, each with as numerous a party of labourers as could be advantageously employed, proceeded to the Wairau. An interruption of the survey on the part of the native claimants being under the circumstances highly probable, a clause for indemnity in case of loss to the surveyor by such interruption was appended to each tender, and acquiesced in by the

Commons, 19th June, 1845, "it is an absolute engagement, which, according to a proper construction of it, ought to be respected. Whatever are the honourable engagements which this country has contracted, they ought, in my opinion, to be fulfilled. I ask, will you commence your relations with the colony by an abandonment of the relations you have

resident agent on the part of the New Zealand Company. At the outset the contractors encountered some annoyance and obstruction from the resident natives, especially in sawing timber for staking the sections of the survey; but as the latter refrained from any actual interference by force, the contractors were enabled, by good temper and quiet perseverance, to proceed rapidly with the execution of their contracts, and Messrs. Barnicoat and Thompson had already nearly completed theirs, when tidings reached them that Rauperaha and Ranghiaiaata had crossed the Straits from the Northern Island, accompanied by an armed force, with the intention of entering the Wairau, and removing the surveyors. The contractors, therefore, dispatched a letter to Nelson, requesting the chief surveyor to come to the Wairau, to examine and certify the sections which had been surveyed, as also to endeavour to induce the chiefs from the Northern Island to allow the surveys to be completed. On receipt of their letter, the chief surveyor, accompanied by Mr. Patchett, the principal agent for absentee proprietors of land, immediately left Nelson, proceeded to the mouth of the Wairau river, where he was met by Mr. Cotterell, who informed him that his survey-station had been visited on the previous day by Rauperaha, Ranghiaiaata, and their men, in two large canoes, that they had burnt his hut, or warré, and compelled him and his assistants to leave the spot, and proceed to the old pah at the mouth of the river. Mr. Cotterell likewise stated that Mr. Thompson had already started with most of their men to return to Nelson overland, having completed their contract, but that Mr. Barnicoat remained, with one or two men, to take care of their effects, and wait the inspection of the survey; adding that he believed the chiefs were then in search of Mr. Parkinson and his party, and intended to bring them also down to the pah at the mouth of the river. The chief surveyor hastily wrote a few lines in pencil to the resident agent, stating the circumstances as related by Mr. Cotterell, and his (Mr. Tuckett's) intention to endeavour to remain at the Wairau until he heard from him. This communication he forwarded by Mr. Cotterell, who, at his request, left immediately with his men for Nelson. The chief surveyor then went up the river in his boat as far as Mr. Cotterell's survey station, and pitched a tent on the spot on which had stood the warre of Mr. Cotterell, Mr. Moline, Mr. Cotterell's assistant, accompanying him. The next morning, leaving the boat and its crew, with instructions not to offer any resistance to the natives, other than by not being removed unless carried, should they interfere with them in his absence, which he intended should be for three or four days, accompanied by Messrs. Patchett and Moline, he walked inland in quest of Mr. Parkinson's station, and on coming within sight of it observed a party of armed natives around it, and one or two on the roof, apparently keeping watch. Accosting the native who appeared to be the leader of the party, he inquired for Rauperaha and Ranghiaiaata, and being informed that they were away in the wood, he desired him to go to them, to acquaint them of his arrival, and tell them

entered into. I will say that if ever there was a case where the stronger party was obliged by its position to respect the demands of the weaker; if ever a powerful country was bound by its engagements with a weaker, it was the engagement contracted under such circumstances with these native chiefs."

that he was going to examine a plain called the Kaiparatahau, to the east of the Wairau, whence he expected to return in three days to Mr. Cottrell's station, and should wish the chiefs to meet him there. The natives undertook the errand, and offered no incivility or any opposition to his going away to the Kaiparatahau. This party of natives, although they had just arrived at that station, had not encountered Mr. Parkinson or any of his party, who were at work at some distance from their usual lodging and store-houses.

"The chief surveyor on his return from the Kaiparatahau found Rauperaha and Ranghiaiaata, with their followers, at Cottrell's station, waiting his arrival, together with his own boatmen and Mr. Parkinson's party, none of whom had received any ill-treatment from the natives. Rauperaha addressed him calmly and civilly, informing him why he had obliged Cottrell and the other surveyors to leave the ground, and requiring him also to quit the Wairau. The chief surveyor explained to Rauperaha that it would be doing an injury to the surveyors and their men, who maintained themselves by the wages obtained by work, to prevent them proceeding with their contracts; also that he had sent Mr. Cottrell to Nelson with information of Rauperaha's arrival and interference, and that he expected his superior, the resident agent, would come down on receipt of the intelligence, with whom they could discuss the question of right; meanwhile he felt bound to wait Captain Wakefield's arrival or reply. Rauperaha would not consent to the delay, and desired him to direct his own men to remove the tent, &c.; on his refusing to do so, Ranghiaiaata came towards him, and, with much violence of manner, ordered him to be off, reminding him of the warning which he had given him at Nelson not to come there—adding, that if he was so fond of the Wairau, he (Ranghiaiaata) would bury him there. However, on the chief surveyor telling him quietly that he would have nothing to say to him unless he could keep his temper, and behave as a gentleman and a chief ought to do, Ranghiaiaata took the reproof in good part, and walked away. Notwithstanding his passionate temper, it was evident that he was restrained by Rauperaha, who acted in accordance with his promise given at Nelson, 'that if they did go to the Wairau no violence should be done them.' After a pause Rauperaha came forward again, and explained that on leaving Nelson he went to the Queen's commissioner (Mr. Spain), informed him that the survey of the Wairau was likely to be commenced, notwithstanding his remonstrance, and requested him to prevent all discord by appointing an early day to investigate the claim. That the commissioner had appointed a day, and that he (Rauperaha) promised in return that the natives would not previously enter the Wairau, or interfere with the surveyors. That they had crossed the Straits, and remained at Tory Channel and Port Underwood, until a week later than the time appointed by the commissioner, when finding that he did not come, and knowing that the survey was going on, and that if finished they should lose the land, they entered the Wairau and stopped the survey. Rauperaha professed himself still willing to appeal to the decision of the commissioner, and again requested the chief surveyor to have his tent, &c., removed by his own men. The latter repeated his refusal, claimed the right to remain on the ground, and expressed his intention to do so until he had received a reply from Captain Wake-

field, upon which Rauperaha ordered his men to remove the tent, &c., to the boat. This being done, the chief surveyor considering any further opposition needless and useless, embarked with his party, and, accompanied by the two chiefs in their canoes, proceeded to the pah at the mouth of the river. The weather had been fine; but the wind, which blew strong in the straits subsequent to Mr. Cottrell's departure, still continuing, the natives represented to the chief surveyor that he could not go out with safety, and showed no impatience for his departure, although for three days the surf at the mouth of the river (the gale of wind heaping up the bar) was in their opinion too great to be safely encountered. During that time Ranghiaiaata and his followers evinced neither ill-will nor exultation, but they kept aloof, seeking neither favour nor intercourse.

"As the contractors were entitled to compensation, in the event of loss incurred in the survey, the chief surveyor inquired of Mr. Barnicoat and Mr. Parkinson, if any of their property had been taken by the natives. The latter informed him that one of his men had lost a handkerchief and a bill-hook, which he had seen in the possession of one of Ranghiaiaata's men; the chief surveyor therefore requested them to accompany him, in order to inform Ranghiaiaata of the circumstance. His reply was, that he had some bad men as well as good men, among his followers, and so, doubtless, had the chief surveyor; that he came there to defend his own, not to thief; but that if the white man would point out which of the Maories had taken the things, he would make him restore them, or he should have 'utu' (compensation), instead. During this time Rauperaha was most fawning and conciliatory, daily professing his great friendship for the pakeha (foreigners), and representing that Ranghiaiaata was a very brutal, rude fellow, and hostile to the pakeha. Up to this stage in the affair, Ranghiaiaata, however fierce, appeared the nobler of the two.

"As the chief surveyor's boat would not carry the effects of the party, the Chiefs made no objection to their remaining until other boats should arrive for them, or until they could be removed to one of the whaling stations at Port Underwood. Mr. Barnicoat and Mr. Parkinson preferring to remain, the chief surveyor left with Messrs. Patchett and Moline, to return to Nelson. They reached the French pass that night, and by noon on the following day had got pretty nearly to Nelson, when they observed the colonial government brig, from which a gun was fired as a signal for them to come out to her. On doing so, they learnt that the brig had just sailed, and was proceeding to the Wairau with the police magistrate (Mr. Thompson), the Company's agent (Captain Wakefield), Captain England, J.P., Mr. Cottrell, and some other gentlemen of the settlement, accompanied by the chief constable and twenty or twenty-four labouring men, who had been sworn in as special-constables. The returning boat was taken in tow, and the party, on board. The agent informed the chief surveyor that Mr. Cottrell had narrowly escaped being lost on his passage to Nelson, and had been detained on the way, waiting for the gale to subside; and that after receiving the note of which he was the bearer, and hearing his report of the circumstance, further delay had occurred before a vessel could be procured in which to proceed to the Wairau. The chief surveyor related to the agent all that had passed with the

natives whilst he remained at the Wairau; recounted Rauperaha's statement respecting his interview and appointment with the land commissioner (Mr. Spain), and his disposition still to refer the claim to the commissioner's decision; and also that Rauperaha had stated that he had not burnt Mr. Cottrell's hut until he had removed everything belonging to Mr. Cottrell; and that both chiefs had carefully avoided doing or permitting any injury, either to the persons or property of the surveyors. He represented to the agent, that the party of men on board, with those who might subsequently join them, would probably not exceed half the number of the natives then on the Wairau, if the natives resident in the vicinity should remain there; he reminded him that he (Captain Wakefield) warned Ranghiaiaata, in reply to his threat uttered at Nelson, that he would take several hundred men to arrest him; and he strongly urged, that however confident they might feel of the result, in the event of a conflict, that considerations of humanity to the natives demanded that their superiority in numbers should be so apparent, as to render resistance manifestly useless, and acquiescence not humiliating. He also handed to the agent the kind and judicious letter which Mr. Ironside had sent to him, when on his way to the Wairau.* Captain Wakefield expressed himself most gratified with the sentiments and counsel conveyed in Mr. Ironside's letter, and quite satisfied with the departure of the chief surveyor from the Wairau, under the circumstances; as also with the reasons which he had adduced against proceeding thither to attempt to carry into effect with so small a party, the intention with which they had embarked, especially after the intelligence which had transpired, and the vacating of the ground by the surveyors. Captain Wakefield went into the cabin to the police magistrate, and requested him to read Mr. Ironside's letter, stating that from that and the other considerations urged by the chief surveyor, he had come to the conclusion that it would be better at once to return to Nelson. Mr. Thompson urged, in reply, that they should be laughed at if they returned, and that it was very important not to lose the opportunity of giving to the natives a 'prestige for the law,' and to the government an 'initiative' in the right mode of dealing with such fellows, expressing his conviction, that if the authorities at Wellington had so acted, all annoyance from Ranghiaiaata or other natives would have long since ceased. Another of the party, a gentleman who filled the office or had the title of crown prosecutor, begged that the expedition might not be given up, saying, 'It is only a lark; do let us go on,' meaning that he regarded it as a pleasant excursion, not likely to be attended with any serious consequences. The agent yielded to their wishes, and it was determined to proceed. The chief surveyor, apprehending very disastrous results would ensue, earnestly remonstrated with

the police magistrate, especially on the ground of the impropriety of his proceeding to execute his warrant or summons with an armed force. The police magistrate admitted that such an act on his part would be highly improper, and warmly complained of it as an injurious imputation, to assume that he could be capable of doing so. He explained that he did not know that he should land the men; certainly, he should not give out the arms or take the men into the presence of the natives, until he had first addressed them, accompanied only by the chief constable and interpreter, adding, that if (which he did not anticipate), the chiefs should refuse to obey his summons to come on board the brig with him, that the charge against them might be *there* investigated, he should then return to the party, and decide whether or not to use coercion. Notwithstanding this declaration, on arriving off the mouth of the Wairau, the men and the boxes containing ~~fire~~-arms were landed the same evening.

"The next morning, the whole party were ordered to get ready to proceed up the plain. The natives had left the old pah at the mouth of the river, on seeing the brig approaching, and were reported to be in a wood about five miles inland, and on the bank of the river. Perceiving that the police magistrate would not go to them unaccompanied by the force which he had brought, the chief surveyor addressed himself to the agent, and offered to go in his place, accompanied only by the chief constable and interpreter, if the police magistrate would allow the force to remain. The agent gladly accepted the offer, and easily persuaded the police magistrate to acquiesce. The chief constable was ordered to get ready. Presently he came forward, with a cutlass at his side, a brace of pistols, and a pair of handcuffs in his belt, and a pair of leg irons in his hand. The chief surveyor called attention to these accoutrements, expressing his conviction that the sight of the irons would exceedingly exasperate the chiefs and all the natives. He therefore requested that they might be left behind, and that if the constable wished to carry pistols, at least they should be concealed, so as to convey no appearance of an attempt at intimidation. On this, the police magistrate ordered the constable to put away the irons, and immediately added, that the whole party should proceed together, as he had, in the first instance, directed. To this determination he fixedly adhered. First, it was attempted to go up the river in boats, but it being ebb tide, and the wind not favourable, the boats, when filled, could make little way against the current. The men, therefore, landed, excepting Mr. Cotterell and his hands, who remained in a whale-boat. Much time was lost ere the party started: the track along the river (a survey line) afforded bad walking; the excitement of the excursion had been damped by the night's bivouac and the cold air of the morning; and it was evident that

* The letter of the Rev. Samuel Ironside, dated June 12, 1843, addressed to Mr. Tuckett, and delivered to him on his way to the Wairau, expressed great anxiety lest a collision should arise out of the subject of the claims to land, which would eventually terminate in the extinction of the native tribes, as had been the case in other countries settled by Europeans. Mr. Ironside urged on Mr. Tuckett not to be precipitate in endeavouring to include the Wairau in the Nelson survey, adding, that "the

natives were almost fighting amongst themselves about the land, and that the resident natives felt themselves greatly aggrieved, because, as fast as Puaha and his party cleared the land, Rauperaha and his party took possession of it; in consequence of which procedure on Rauperaha's part, Puaha had expressed an intention to withdraw with his people from the Wairau, and to treat with the Nelson agent for the sale of it.'

the illusion of its being a pleasure party had vanished. They made but very slow progress. Going along, the agent alluded to the natives as not being a fighting people, but, on the contrary, a trading people, and expressed his conviction that they would not fight; the chief surveyor told him that he was convinced they would fight, if the police magistrate, by force, attempted to arrest the chiefs. On their way, they met with Puaha and his people, who were on the bank of the river, near to their canoes, having separated from the natives of the Northern Island, and being on their way to return to Port Underwood, quitting the Wairau (as had been foreseen by Mr. Ironside). Their countenances bespoke much alarm and grief, especially that of Puaha; so much so, that the agent made some remark at the time about it; and again, during the night, alluded to it as having painfully impressed him. The police magistrate assured Puaha that he had not come to interfere with him, and explained that he had granted a warrant against Rauperaha and Ranghiaia, because they had burnt Mr. Cotterell's hut. He inquired where those two chiefs were; and on being informed that they were further in the interior, he requested Puaha to go and inform them for what object he had come. Puaha, at first, declined; but at last reluctantly undertook to bear the message: but he advised and entreated the police magistrate not to take the armed men with him when he went with the Queen's warrant, otherwise nothing which he, Puaha, could say, would make them believe that the police magistrate was not come to fight with them. Puaha then left on foot, his people following in their canoes up the river. The party from Nelson soon crossed the stream, and took up their position, until morning, in the wood already mentioned, about five miles from the mouth of the river, where the natives had been encamped the previous night. That evening the police magistrate frequently expressed his fear that he should not have the opportunity of arresting the chiefs, professing to believe that as soon as Puaha got to them, they would disperse in great panic, and had probably already got out of the Wairau. The resident agent, always grave and somewhat reserved, became unusually so, and in the opinion of a survivor, entertained a deep foreboding that the morrow's work would prove an unfit theme for heartless or feigned levity. The deep gloom which had fallen on the countenance of Puaha, and his prediction of the consequences of their persisting in their mode of procedure, evidently troubled him, for he recurred to it on awaking during the night. It was observed, in explanation, that there must necessarily have been a great struggle in the mind of Puaha, whether he, a chief, and once a warrior, should show himself to be faithful to his relatives and elders in the coming crisis, or stand aloof in fidelity to his Christian convictions of the sinfulness of shedding man's blood. To this remark Captain Wakefield assented, with an expression of respect for Puaha. The following morning, the camp of the natives was easily distinguished at a distance of about two miles, by the smoke of their fires. It was in a strong position, affording particular facilities for retreat, should it be desirable, through a thickly-wooded valley, leading to Queen Charlotte's Sound. The Nelson party being mustered, and sixteen to eighteen rounds of ball cartridge served to each man, proceeded on their way. They numbered forty men, bearing muskets, bayonets, and cutlasses, besides ten to twelve

gentlemen, apparently unarmed, of whom two, Mr. Cotterell and the chief surveyor, were really so, in accordance with their principles and practice. On approaching the native camp, a deep, narrow, canal-like stream intervened, called the *Tua Marina*, or still-water. The natives were on a little grassy plot, surrounded by bushes, with but few timber-trees. On the bank where the colonists halted, the trees were numerous and large: it was the wooded slope of a hill-ridge which separated this valley from the plain, forming the western boundary of the latter. The stream was there not a hundred yards from the hill-ridge, which, as well as the slope on the other side, was unwooded.

"As soon as the armed force became visible to the natives opposite, they hailed it, inquiring loudly if they came to fight. The police magistrate replied that they did not, and explaining his purpose, requested the natives to place a canoe across the stream, that he might pass over to them. They replied, that they would not permit the armed men to cross, but that the gentlemen might come alone, if they were so disposed. This offer was accepted, a canoe was laid across, and the police magistrate, having left the armed men under the command of Captain England and Mr. Howard, to act if called on to do so, went over, accompanied by the agent, the chief surveyor, Mr. Cotterell, Mr. Patchett, the chief constable, and the interpreter. The canoe was then withdrawn, and laid as before alongside the stream by the natives. Three women,* the wives of Rauperaha, Ranghiaia, and Puaha, sat in the centre; the party of the resident natives on one side, and the armed natives of the Northern Island on the other side of the group. Puaha stood in the centre, with a Testament in his hand, reading to the natives, and exhorting both parties to peace. Ranghiaia was in the background, out of sight. Rauperaha advanced, unarmed, to meet the police magistrate and his companions, and inquired his object in coming there. The police magistrate informed him of the charge on which he had issued a warrant, and required him and Ranghiaia to come on board the brig, where he would investigate the charge. Rauperaha replied by denying the accusation; explained that he had had everything belonging to Mr. Cotterell and his party removed before he ordered his people to set fire to the wood and grass which formed the sides, and supported the sail-cloth covering of the hut; that he had not burnt anything but that which had been taken from his own land. He appealed to Mr. Cotterell, who admitted the truth of his statement. The police magistrate remarked that he would not there discuss the matter, but that the two chiefs must obey the warrant, and go on board the brig, where he would listen to both sides, and decide the case fairly and impartially. Rauperaha replied that he would not go on board the brig, and so place himself in the power of the police magistrate, but that he would let him judge the case there, and though he considered himself to be the injured party, yet, rather than there should be any fighting, if a 'utu' or compensation were required, provided it were not excessive, he would comply. The police magistrate still insisted on their going on board the brig, adding that they might be accompanied by their men, if they wished it. He desired the interpreter to put it to him

* The presence of women is an invariable demonstration of the peaceful intention of the Maories.

whether he would go or not. Rauperaha, with much firmness, replied that he would not; on which the police magistrate, pointing to the opposite side of the stream, exclaimed, 'then tell him there are the armed party; they shall fire on them all.' A stranger native from the Bay of Islands, who understood the English language, told the armed natives that an order to fire had been given, upon which they sprung to their feet, levelled their muskets at the police magistrate and his companions, and stood waiting the order from Rauperaha to fire. Mr. Patchett and the chief surveyor approached and assured them that only a threat had been uttered, not an order to fire. They then resumed their former posture, squatting on the ground. Presently, Rauperaha persisting in his refusal, the police magistrate repeated his threat, and at the call of the stranger native, the armed natives again sprung to their feet, and levelled their muskets as before. At this moment Ranghiaia left his concealment, and rushed forward, menacing the police magistrate with his hatchet. Mr. Patchett exclaimed to the chief surveyor, 'do interfere, or we shall be all murdered;' the latter, addressing the agent, remarked that being completely in the power of the natives, in consequence of the separation interposed by the stream, it was desirable that they should immediately return to their party on the other side, before, from the uncontrollable passion of Ranghiaia, it should be too late to do so. Puaha came forward at the same time to learn what was being suggested. The agent approved the proposed step, and Puaha, in answer to his request for permission, desired him to take the canoe and pass over, in spite of the vehement opposition of the stranger native, who urged that as soon as the English had joined their party, they would fire. The agent, taking a pole, stepped into one end of the canoe, desiring the chief surveyor to remain on the bank, and move the other down the stream, until he could bring his end to a convenient landing, at a place free from thicket. Having accomplished this, he stepped out on the bank where the armed party stood, and addressed them with, 'men forward! Englishmen forward!' Several of them sprang into the canoe to cross over to the natives, while the police magistrate and the others entered it from the opposite bank. A momentary confusion and stoppage took place, and the canoe was nearly capsized; during this time a gun was discharged on the side occupied by the colonists (it is believed by a man accidentally falling). The natives instantly fired on the armed English in the canoe, killing the two foremost, and their fire was at once returned from the opposite bank, and then kept up on both sides. In the midst of this fire the police magistrate and the other gentlemen passed over the stream unhurt. The natives must have purposely abstained from shooting them, from a principle of honour, believing them unarmed, for they could have touched some of the hindmost with the muzzles of their muskets. The chief surveyor, when all the rest of his party had passed him in the canoe, entered the water, and with the aid of one hand, on the canoe, reached the opposite bank, the last of those who had crossed to the side on which the natives were; he then stood, as he supposes, about ten minutes exposed to the native fire, at a distance of perhaps twenty yards, whilst some fourteen or fifteen of the armed labourers returned it steadily and rapidly. His friend, Mr. Patchett, Mr. Barnicoat, and Mr. Cotterell, stood near him, as did also the chief constable. Mr.

Patchett and the constable were both shot, the former mortally; two or three of the labouring men fell there, whilst others received wounds. Meanwhile, the leaders of the expedition were not in sight, having retreated from the borders of the stream to the foot of the ridge, accompanied by Captain England, Mr. Howard, and the majority of the armed men; they had doubtless retired to consult on what course to pursue, for shortly one of them hailed the chief surveyor by name, telling him that they were going up the hill, and desiring him to come away with the rest of the men, who had till then effectually prevented the natives from crossing the stream. The instant that they turned to leave the ground, the natives, carrying their muskets high with one hand, dashed through the water, took possession of the position just vacated, and from thence, under cover of the trees, fired on the retreating men, exposed to their aim as they proceeded up the bare ridge of the hill, outside the skirts of the wood, following their party in their precipitate retreat. On overtaking them at the first headland of the rise, they found the agent calling on the men to form and charge; the majority of those who had first proceeded up the hill continued their ascent, but more than a third stood with the gentlemen of the party; the natives meanwhile taking aim at a short distance from behind the trees. One of the armed men (who had been in the artillery), told the agent, that there was no one to be seen to charge on, and that it was folly to stay there to be shot down like crows by the natives, who had got possession of the wood; so saying he strode away. The opinion was right; the agent followed his example, and advanced with those who remained further up the hill. Having gained a distance at which the native fire ceased to be very dangerous, he determined to attempt a negotiation. Captain England and Mr. Howard consented to return towards the wood, carrying a white handkerchief on a stick, as a flag of truce. The agent, the better to ensure their safety, that the natives might understand the intention, desired all who remained to disarm, and lay down on the ground. This done, Captain England and Mr. Howard approached the wood; the natives left off firing, and some of them putting aside their arms, came out to meet them: but the larger party of the colonists who, when the retreat was so unwisely determined on, seized with some degree of panic, had continued to ascend the hill, regardless of the subsequent order to form, now seeing the rest of their party on the ground, halted on the summit of the hill, and commenced firing at the natives, who, confiding in the flag of truce, had come out of the wood. On this seeming treachery, the natives retreated hastily to the wood and resumed their arms, Captain England and Mr. Howard ran back up the hill to their companions, and reached them, untouched by the renewed fire of the natives: upon which the police magistrate and his companions sprung to their feet. Most of the party evinced great self-possession, but no orders were given, and most of the men did not resume their arms; they commenced walking up the hill, which the others on the summit perceiving, immediately continued their retreat. Some went off into the wooded valley on their left; but the greater number went forward up the ridge. As they moved away, the chief surveyor, who had lain on the ground between the police magistrate and the agent, stood still, and addressing the party, urged that they should descend to the plain on the right

hand, believing that they could not easily reach the coast in pursuing the ridge. He repeated this suggestion twice, but no one replied to it, nor acted on it; then, as all had left the ground, he started off, descending obliquely into the plain, in the course which he had recommended, calling on Mr. Barnicoat by name to come with him, which he did. One of the labouring men, named Gay, also turned off after him; Mr. Cotterell stopped for a moment as if about to do so likewise, but presently followed the others in their retreat up the hill.

"The moment the natives perceived that the retreat was resumed they proceeded up the hill, and on arriving at the point where the chief surveyor had left the ridge, five armed natives followed on his track, firing as fast as they could, whilst the larger number ascended the ridge after the main body of fugitives. Puaha hastened up the hill, and called back the five natives from the pursuit of the chief surveyor and the two who accompanied him. Soon after the chief surveyor observed Mr. Cotterell turn back, and meeting the natives surrender himself, and saw the rest of the gentlemen of the Nelson party overtaken and surrounded before they had arrived at the further summit of the hill.

"At the first commencement of this most ill-advised retreat from the wood at the foot of the hill, a merchant from Sydney, who was a passenger in the brig, on her calling at Nelson, and who had accompanied the Nelson colonists up the Wairau in the expectation of having a pleasant excursion, returned to the boats with one of the armed men who had been disabled by an extremely painful wound of the hand, taking the whale boat, and the man who had charge of the boats; these three, leaving the large boat, descended the river, and gained the brig. A few others, at the same time, retreated by another route, going inland up the Wairau valley, and thus back to Nelson. Before the chief surveyor and his two companions reached the coast, they were joined by seven or eight others who had descended from the hill into the plain, and seeing them coming, waited their arrival. One of these had received a severe wound in the shoulder, which bled profusely, but which he bore with great fortitude. The chief surveyor proposed their dividing into two parties, one to go to the pah at the mouth of the river, the other to the shore at the west boundary of the plain, and thence along the coast towards Port Underwood, thinking that thus there would be greater probability of some of the party gaining the brig. He desired whoever should first do so to tell the captain that his immediate departure for Wellington would afford the best protection for those who were or might be in the power of the natives. The men, however, refusing to separate, he determined to gain the sea shore on the side nearest to Port Underwood. On reaching it, at that very point, they found the crew of a whale boat fishing and watching for whales. Very reluctantly, and after urging strong objections, the head man of the boat consented to receive the whole party, ten or eleven in number, and to convey them on board the brig, distant seven or nine miles, a heavy swell setting in shore on the boat's beam the whole way. Even after having made the promise, he declared that he must turn back, and take them to Port Underwood, or all would be drowned. Fortunately, when his resolution was at a low ebb, a rival whale-boat came out in rapid pursuit, imagining that the one in advance was in chase of a whale. The idea of the mis-

take of their pursuer took the crew's fancy, all thought of danger vanished, and before the other boat could approach them near enough to perceive their mistake, it was as well to proceed to the vessel as to return. As soon as the colonists were on board the brig the whalers were informed that the party from Nelson had retreated from the natives, into whose hands the leaders had fallen, and that the others had dispersed in various directions. The chief surveyor obtained from them a promise (which however was not fulfilled) that they would return to Port Underwood, and acquaint the rest of the Europeans with the circumstance, that they might consider what was best to be done for the safety of all, and what measures to adopt for the relief of those who had dispersed. The ship's boats were sent out along shore to pick up any stragglers who might arrive at the beach. Soon after sun-set a great fire was seen flaming on shore near the old pah, at the mouth of the river: it was important but very difficult to ascertain whether it was made by the natives or by the fugitives, since there was great danger at dusk on account of the bad bar and the surf, beside the probability of the natives being there. A boat which was sent to reconnoitre returned not quite certain who was on shore, but believing that it was a party of natives, as it afterwards proved to be. The captain of the brig at first inclined to enter Port Underwood, but on being urged by the chief surveyor to cross to Port Nicholson, he acquiesced, and before day-break next morning landed him at Wellington. The wounded men were landed and left; one of them had to undergo immediate amputation of his arm at the socket-joint of the shoulder. Great excitement was produced there both amongst the colonists and natives by the news of what had taken place, a large party of volunteers at once embarked, to go over for the forcible rescue of the Nelson colonists; but a gale of wind came on which prevented the brig sailing, and made the volunteers sea-sick and discontented, and better counsels prevailed. The volunteers re-landed, and the principal agent (Colonel Wakefield), the land commissioner and his interpreter (Mr. Meurant), the Protector of Aborigines, with some magistrates and surgeons of the settlement embarked, convinced that if those who had been taken were yet alive, their liberation would be more easily and safely effected by the negotiation of their friends, than by an attack, or threats of armed interference. The brig resailed in the night. On arriving at Port Underwood, the Wellington gentlemen, who were apparently almost without apprehension respecting the safety of their countrymen, received the appalling intelligence that all who had surrendered had almost immediately perished, and that the natives had then precipitately left the Wairau, taking with them the large boat as well as their canoes; that they had held a council at the mouth of the river, some wishing to attack the brig, whilst others objected to doing so. They then quitted the river for Port Underwood, and had gone thence intending to return to the Northern Island, accompanied by most of the resident natives, who were all in consternation at what had been done, anticipating that it would be revenged. Of the colonists who had escaped, the most part had found their way to Port Underwood, some of whom had suffered much from wounds, and also from protracted hunger. Mr. Ironside, the Wesleyan missionary at Port Underwood, had proceeded to the field of combat, as soon as the afflicting tidings reached him, accompanied in

his boat by a few attached natives. He entered the Wairau river when the state of the weather would have deterred others less habituated in self-sacrifice. Mr. Spain the land-commissioner, immediately engaged whale-boats and crews to proceed with the party on board the brig, to the assistance of Mr. Ironside, but the boatmen could not be induced to attempt to enter the river, until the weather had moderated. Colonel Wakefield, the brother of the deceased resident agent, having intimated that it would be satisfactory to him if the bodies were interred on the spot, and all feeling that the removal by boats, and then by the brig to either of the settlements, could not be easily accomplished, as soon as the weather permitted, the party entered the Wairau, intending to inter them there. But it was already Saturday, and Mr. Ironside could not remain longer absent from his station, both on account of his other duties, and for want of provisions; therefore having seen the brig returning from Wellington, and receiving no assistance or message in the ensuing two days, he had been compelled, unassisted, to prepare the graves, and commit to them the bodies of the slain, and had already nearly completed the painful and fatiguing service before the arrival of the party from the brig. But afterwards, on extending the search, two more bodies, probably of some who had crawled away mortally wounded, or of fugitives who had been overtaken, were found and buried. Those who fell in the combat in the wood, five in number, were interred there, and those who were killed on the hill after their surrender (fourteen) were interred close by.

"Mr. Ironside found that the bodies had not been in any way mutilated, neither had their clothes nor their personal property been interfered with. The watch of the agent was the only article missing: it appeared to have been snatched from his person; the guard-chain was broken, but remained under his vest; and the watch had probably been drawn out unintentionally, and fallen to the ground, in a struggle for life. One of his pistols, the cap of which had missed fire, was laid across his throat. It appears that he was the only one of the party who attempted to defend himself.

"Returning to Port Underwood, Mr. Spain obtained information of property belonging to the slain, which had been sold or given away by the natives, who, in descending the river, had taken possession of much property belonging to the deceased, which had been left at their last sleeping-place in the wood. Two young native men were found, who had been present in the conflict at Wairau, and being wounded there, had remained at Port Underwood with female relatives connected with the whalers. Their depositions were taken the next morning by Mr. Spain, and the other magistrates, on board the brig. They concurred in representing, that as soon as the gentlemen were overtaken, Puaha, who was one of the first to approach them, offered them his hand, telling them he had counted the dead, and that the number was the same on each side; that, therefore, there was no need (even according to Maori usage) of any further bloodshed. That Rauperaha, on coming up, also acquiesced in Puaha's sentiments and assurances, only requiring a large payment in satisfaction for the injury which had been done to him and his people. At this moment, Ranghiaiaata had rushed up furiously enraged, and demanded the lives of the whole party, to avenge the death of his wife, bidding Rauperaha remember his

daughter. Rauperaha appears to have admitted this claim, and Puaha, and the resident natives to have been intimidated by the armed followers of the heathen chiefs of the Northern Island. The native witnesses further stated, that Ranghiaiaata almost immediately killed the lamented colonists with his own hand, though it is probable that others of his followers must have assisted in the merciless slaughter.*

"All information having been obtained that could be had, the party prepared to return to Wellington, taking with them the wounded. Those of the Nelson party who had escaped uninjured, left for that settlement, some preferring to return overland, the rest proceeding in two whale-boats. Before parting, the principal agent handed to the chief surveyor an official letter, appointing him to the office of acting agent for the settlement, until the pleasure of the directors of the New Zealand Company should be known.

"The body of Mr. Maling, the chief constable, not having been found, and others who were missing not arriving at the settlement of Nelson, which it was hoped they might have reached subsequently, Mr. Ironside kindly returned to the graves, both to have them protected by some enclosure, against disturbance by pigs, and to search further, if any bodies should remain uninterred. He was successful in finding two bodies—those of the men who entered the canoe on the order being given for them to cross the stream, and who fell in the water on the first fire from the natives. The bodies, which at first sunk, had subsequently risen to the surface. The chief surveyor, on leaving the brig, though the weather threatened to be very bad, determined to go up Cook's Straits, outside all land, lest his return to Nelson should be interrupted by the natives in Tory Channel, or Queen Charlotte's Sound, the party in the other boat, though directed to keep company, went into Tory Channel, and were detained by the natives for a week. The wind was fair, but about sunset it blew a gale, accompanied with heavy rain. Running with the smallest possible sail before the gale, the French Pass was reached in unusually short time. The sky clearing a little, a new danger presented itself. They could distinguish the Deal boat which the natives had taken possession of in the Wairau, entering the Pass close in on the opposite shore. The whale-boat not being easily distinguishable within the same distance, the boat was beached, and a short stay made, to permit the boat on the opposite shore to pass the narrows of the straits. Then launching it again, and passing through the rapids, keeping as close as possible in shore, they gained the further entrance of the Pass on the side of Blind Bay, just as the Deal boat was being hauled up on the beach of a little bay on D'Urville's Island, by a large party of men apparently all in dark European clothing, or else having their bodies blackened. However, the whale-boat either passed unobserved, or else the natives did not care to encounter, in the night, the very heavy sea which was then rolling into the Pass, and in about sixteen hours after leaving the brig, the colonists arrived in safety at Nelson Haven.

* *Vide* the evidence of these witnesses, which was penned before the magistrates, in the brig, by a Mr. Marshall, now residing at Plymouth, who, with a Captain Wilson, of Nelson, were on board the brig on her departure from Nelson, and who remained on board when the others landed at the Wairau.

"It would be impossible to describe the consternation which prevailed when the result of the expedition to the Wairau was first communicated there, on the arrival of the chief surveyor. The disorganization which ensued amongst all classes, has been the subject of many official and other statements, and will not here be pursued in the sequence of its details. But as the unsound state of the settlement, in respect to the want of employers and the excessive number of disappointed* emigrants of the labouring class, has been already portrayed, it may be necessary here to state, that all this evil was at once aggravated, the few private persons who had hitherto employed labour immediately diminishing or ceasing entirely the employment of labourers. All, consequently, came on the Company for employment; the number of claimants rose rapidly, in spite of impediments or delay, from 250 to 400. The inadequate performance of work by the men having always been known to the acting agent, in his capacity of surveyor and engineer, he could not conscientiously continue the former practice of paying them wages, unless they would earn them. This intimation produced resentment and resistance, which was secretly aggravated and kept alive by those tradesmen who were momentarily interested in a wasteful expenditure, and by the jealousy of others, although their true interests, like those of the settlement, depended on the improved industry of the labourers. The natives, in general, became the objects of fear, insult, and bad feeling; and the acting agent, in doing only impartial justice to their conduct and claims, largely shared in that expression of ill will. After much disorder from these causes, and alarm from unfounded reports of the intended attacks on the settlement by Rauperaha and Ranghihiata, and consequent unnecessary disposition of labour for the defence of the town, got up for the most part to keep the mass of the discontented labourers there, and so baffle the attempt of the acting agent to employ them in various districts more effectively; some degree of order and industry was at last restored, by the consent of the principal agent to the employment of the men, in future, by piece-work, which Colonel Wakefield would not permit, when first proposed to him by the acting agent, though he allowed his successor, Mr. Fox, to carry the suggestion into effect. At the same time, the men, feeling that the reputation of the settlement would fall in England on receipt of the intelligence of the disastrous loss at the Wairau, began to perceive that it would be wise to do some work on the land, so that if the worst came, they might have some food of their own raising for subsistence. They, therefore, generally consented, one set after another, to take land of the New Zealand Company, provided that it was *good* land, and that the labour by piece-work, in forming roads, was allotted them *near to such land*. By this arrangement, many hundred men became cottiers in a settlement, in

which the land was purchased by the proprietors on the condition that the men should be, as much as possible, prevented from becoming cottiers. It would have been only tardy and partial justice to the deceived labourers, if such an arrangement had been effected earlier. Under the circumstances, it was an unavoidable and irretrievable injury to the few proprietors who had employed labour in land, hoping to obtain a remunerating market for its produce. These, it must be clear, are equitably entitled to a liberal compensation, both for their purchase and for their expenditure of capital in the improvement of the land, as are all the *non-resident* proprietors, to the return of the purchase price of the land, with interest thereon. The land possessed and occupied by the proprietors was necessarily for the most part very inferior in quality, because the allotted district afforded very little fertile land, and *their* order of choice had been determined in London by the action of a lottery. But the labourers who were induced to become cottiers, in order to relieve the New Zealand Company from the obligation of maintaining them, selected the best portions of the best sections of lands, which the reserved land of the New Zealand Company, or that kept for sale in the colonies, would afford. With the assistance of the land commissioner, or even without it, *prior to survey*, the lands required might have been purchased *seriatim*, on the most reasonable terms, as fast as they were required. But the New Zealand Company insisted on surveying and occupying first, and determining their title afterwards. The completion of the survey of the Nelson settlement was stopped, the local government sending a notice to the chief surveyor that he was not at liberty to enter the Wairau, until the purchase should be completed."

It was not at Nelson, only, that the effects of the melancholy Wairau catastrophe were experienced; on the contrary, the shock it caused reverberated through the length and breadth of the land, but was especially felt in the vicinity of the Company's settlements. Mr. Commissioner Spain, writing two years afterwards, declared that this unhappy conflict had done much towards the estrangement of the two races, and that from the period of its occurrence, might be dated the existence in the native mind of a feeling of jealousy and animosity towards the European stranger, but little calculated to strengthen the bonds of intercourse between them, or to promote the advancement of civilization.† The handcuffs and leg-irons which Mr. Thompson

* The number of emigrants sent out by the New Zealand Company to Nelson, was, in—

1841—77, belonging to the preliminary expedition.

1842—403, arrived before September, guaranteed "employment in the service of the Company," when "unable to obtain it elsewhere."

— 231, arrived after September, not having any promise of employment from New Zealand Company.

1843—96, without promise of employment from New Zealand Company.

Total, 789. Certified by immigration agent. Nelson, 28th July, 1843.

There was no employment for the greater part of these immigrants, and it was therefore incumbent on the Company to employ or otherwise support them.

† Parliamentary Papers, New Zealand, 8th April, 1846, page 17.

had so unwisely taken with him, when about to attempt the forcible capture of Rauperaha, and Ranghiaiaata having fallen into the hands of the natives, were sent throughout the Northern Island, from tribe to tribe,* as evidence of what the encroaching foreigners, who had at first been supposed to be Christian colonists and peaceful traders, intended to do to the Maories, by-and-bye, when they should become sufficiently powerful. It was then that the marked alteration took place in the tone and bearing of the natives, consequent upon the illegal encroachments of the New Zealand Company's settlers, who wished to make it appear that they (the natives) were striving to retain possession of lands which they had willingly alienated, which there is abundant evidence to prove was not the case.

The Wellington and Nelson colonists, after the Wairau affray, spoke and acted as if their unhappy countrymen had been the victims of an unprovoked, savage, and murderous attack upon them. They rose *en masse*, made the most hostile speeches regarding the natives, which they followed up by every warlike demonstration—drilling, exercising, constructing batteries, and practising themselves in the working of cannon.†

Acting-Governor Shortland, perceiving the necessity of taking some step to quiet the excitement of the population, both British and Maori, sent Major Richmond, with fifty-three men, (more than half the force at his disposal,) to maintain peace in the settlements on Cook's Straits, with orders for the immediate discontinuance of the irregular military preparations then actively carried on. The acting-governor, at the same time, issued a proclamation, warning all persons against exercising acts of ownership on land, to which their title was disputed by the original native owners, until the question of ownership should have been determined by the said commissioners. He likewise consulted Mr. Swainson, the attorney-

general of the colony concerning the legality or illegality of the proceeding of Mr. Thompson. Mr. Swainson at once declared it to have been "illegal in its inception, and in every step of its execution; unjustifiable in the magistrate and the four constables, and criminal in the last degree on the part of the rest of the attacking party." He also gave it as his opinion, (after receiving the depositions of various witnesses of both races,) that no act of felony had been committed by the chiefs, and that it was difficult to conceive on what legal grounds a warrant could have been issued for their apprehension.‡

The attorney-general's opinion was confirmed by that of Mr. Spain, her Majesty's land commissioner, also a lawyer, who, in a letter to the acting-governor, dated Port Nicholson, 28th June, 1843, says that this—

"Ill-advised and injudicious step was an attempt to set British law at defiance, and to obtain, by force,§ possession of a tract of land, the title to which was disputed, and then under the consideration of a commissioner specially appointed to investigate and report upon it."

He adds—

"All the information I have obtained goes to show, that in the commencement of the affair, the natives exhibited the greatest possible forbearance, and evinced the utmost repugnance to fight with the Europeans, requesting that the matter might be referred to me for decision, they not understanding any difference between the land question and the offence of burning the 'toe-toc' hut upon the land which they claimed as their own."||

Mr. Clarke, the protector of aborigines, thus expressed his view of the subject:—

"I cannot say I am surprised at what has taken place; I rather wonder at the long forbearance of the natives in the vicinity of the Company's settlements, receiving, as they have, such deep provocation, in the forcible occupancy of lands which they never alienated. * * * I am satisfied that such an unhappy affair as that of Te Wairau, could never have occurred, had not the natives been urged to it by extreme provocation. * * * The parties engaged in this rash and inhuman affray have inflicted a deadly wound on the interests of the colony, by means of the unfortunate impression with regard to native character which this circumstance, even after

* Intelligence is rapidly transmitted throughout New Zealand, whether the tribes are at war or at peace. Every traveller is expected to bring news to ensure his welcome; and as may be supposed, the Maories, like most other inveterate gossips, occasionally draw upon their imagination for their facts.

† Vide an able essay on the *British Colonization of New Zealand*; published by the committee of the Aborigines' Protection Society; 1846: p. 18.

‡ Appendix to Report of Select Committee for 1844; pp. 165 and 177.

§ That the expectation of Captain Wakefield was to

obtain forcible possession of a disputed tract, is evident from a letter addressed by him to his brother, Colonel Wakefield, dated Nelson, 13th June, 1843, in which, after mentioning that Thompson, himself, England, and a lot of constables, were off immediately, in the government brig, to execute the warrant, he adds, "*we shall muster about sixty; so I think we shall overcome these travelling bullocks*" (referring to the non-resident natives).—See Mr. E. J. Wakefield's *Adventure in New Zealand*, vol. ii., p. 385.

|| Appendix to Report of Select Committee for 1844; p. 170.

the fullest explanation, will create. They have also occasioned a breach of that confidence hitherto existing, which must prove alike injurious to both parties, and which time only will repair; and while I entertain the fullest confidence in the integrity of the natives, and am under no apprehension of any undue advantage being taken by them of their late success,* I at the same time, experience the greatest apprehension of danger from a number of our own countrymen, who, I fear, are using every possible means to widen the breach, for the unworthy purpose of *taking possession of the coveted lands, and throwing the onus of the aggression on her Majesty's government.*"

Mr. Shortland acted in accordance with the opinions of the three gentlemen referred to, and thereby rendered himself extremely unpopular with the Wellington and Nelson settlers, who, though prevented from continuing in public their warlike demonstrations, "began to practise rifle-shooting in their own gardens, and kept stands of arms and ammunition always ready in their houses," a proceeding which did not escape the observant natives.

Captain Sir Everard Home, Bart., arrived at Port Nicholson in the month of October, in command of H.M.S. *North Star*, and was immediately appealed to by the excited colonists to execute a warrant against Raupehaha and Ranghiaiaia for murder. He assured them that they had entirely mistaken his functions as captain of a man-of-war, and explained that troops had been put on board, on the express condition that they were on no account to be landed, except for the preservation of the lives and properties of British subjects. Sir Everard, on reaching Auckland, informed the acting-governor that, in his opinion, none of the settlements which he had lately visited had anything to fear from the natives, *so long as they (the natives) were fairly dealt with.*† At Nelson, he adds, "a force is wanted, not to repel the attacks of natives, but to restrain and keep in subjection the English labourers brought over by the New Zealand Company, who have, I believe, been in open rebellion against their employers more than once. At that place, also, the general feeling appears to be more inclined to revenge the death of their friends, than to wish impartial justice to be done; and vengeance and revenge are words that I have heard used when speaking of that affair."‡

* Fears were then entertained, both at Wellington and at Nelson, that the natives intended to attack those settlements, and massacre the residents, in revenge for their own people who had been slain at the Wairau.

Governor Fitz-Roy arrived at Auckland at the close of December, and found the local government without money or credit, and in debt more than one year's revenue. There were no means of paying any salaries, however long in arrear; scarcely could the most pressing and ordinary payments on account of the colonial government be made. Various local laws, urgently required on account of frequent disputes which occurred between settlers and natives, to whose condition English law is more or less unsuitable, had been too long deferred, the Legislative Council not having been assembled during Mr. Shortland's administration of the government, or for nearly a year previous to Captain Hobson's death, during which long interval no measure had even been prepared by the law officers. The complimentary addresses to the new governor from the various settlements, all teemed with expressions of distress and dissatisfaction. The inhabitants of Auckland, through their chairman, Dr. S. M. D. Martin, after congratulating Governor Fitz-Roy on the safe arrival of himself and his family, gave a painful picture of the state of the settlements, and adverted to "the bankruptcy of the local government, the great amount of its debts in a community so small, with the vast amount of privation and misery necessarily occasioned; the suspension of the land sales, as well as of emigration; the total destruction of the once flourishing commerce of the country; the state of starvation in which many of the emigrants are existing, with the complete prostration of the energies of the settlers generally, and their desire to leave the colony, unless an immediate change for the better can be brought about."§

Among the causes for this state of things especially noticed, were the non-settlement of the claims made by the old and original settlers, after the lapse of nearly four years, and the discontent widely spreading among the natives, with whom, the address goes on to state, "our relations, we believe, can never be placed upon a secure basis, until their full rights as British subjects are conceded to them; more particularly the power of selling their land to whom they please—a power which they ardently

† *Adventure in New Zealand*; by Mr. E. J. Wakefield: vol. ii., p. 418.

‡ See Parliamentary Papers on New Zealand, printed in 1844; p. 272.

§ *Ibid*, 22nd April, 1845; p. 21.

desire to possess, and which their intelligence, as well as their natural rights, gives them the strongest claim to enjoy.* The restrictions on trade by custom-house regulations and duties, were bitterly complained of, and the want of punctuality in the payment of salaries and other pecuniary obligations due by the local government, was adverted to as having occasioned much inconvenience and loss of credit to individuals, and proved hurtful to the community generally. Another grievance was "the recent importation of juvenile delinquents from the Penitentiary of Parkhurst."

The addresses from Wellington and New Plymouth breathed the same spirit of depression, mingled with alarm at the tone and manner of the natives, in regard to the land claims.

In the Kororarika address, it is stated, "the country has become, beyond example, one general scene of anxiety, distress, and ruin, so that property has lost its value, personal security has been at stake, and happiness has almost ceased to exist." The causes named are, the unsettled state of the old land claims, and the imposition of custom duties, which had driven away both native and European commerce, and destroyed all agricultural enterprise, together with the market for all sorts of produce.

Notwithstanding the pressure of business at Auckland, Governor Fitz-Roy felt the imperative necessity of hastening to the southern settlements to check the hostile feelings rapidly increasing between the two races, and effect, if possible, an amicable adjustment of the New Zealand Company's claims to land near Port Nicholson.†

The pacific and conciliatory policy he there pursued, was as sound in principle as efficient in practice, yet it met with much opposition at the time, both at Wellington and Nelson, where the feeling of animosity against the natives was very strong.

Before leaving Wellington, Governor Fitz-Roy (in accordance with his instructions) appointed Major Richmond "Superintendent of the southern division of New Zealand," with a salary of £600 a-year; he then proceeded to Nelson, which he has

described in terms wholly confirmatory of Mr. Tuckett's statements, as a very unsuitable locality for an important settlement. "Far out of the track of shipping, at the bottom of a deep bay, shut in by high wooded hills, with scarcely any level land, except at a great distance, and with a confined harbour accessible only to small ships—it is, indeed, much to be lamented, that under any circumstances, such a situation should have been selected.‡ At Waikanaë, opposite Kapite or Entry Island, the Governor, accompanied by Sir Everard Home, Mr. Commissioner Spain, and the officers of the *North Star*, the police magistrates from Wellington (Major Richmond and Mr. Symonds), and the sub-protector (Mr. George Clarke, jun.) pronounced his decision with regard to the Wairau conflict. The meeting was held in the pah or village of Te Rauperaha, in the presence of the two chiefs and a large concourse of natives, to whom Captain Fitz-Roy made a short address, telling them of the grief which the intelligence of the death of his countrymen had caused him, and desiring them to give their account of the whole affair, that he might compare it with that of the settlers, and judge accordingly.

Rauperaha obeyed, and made a clear and explicit statement, agreeing in all material points with that which has been already given (see Mr. Tuckett's narrative); he then sat down, and the whole assembly waited in silence the Governor's decision. In about half-an-hour his excellency rose, and after severely censuring the natives for their cruelty in destroying the colonists who had surrendered themselves, declared that nevertheless, as the pakehas (strangers) had brought on and began the fight, and hurried the Maories into crime by their misconduct, he would not avenge their deaths.§

By this just and discreet decision, Captain Fitz-Roy avoided the evils which must have attended any other course. Had he yielded to the clamour of the settlers, and proceeded to try the chiefs, their acquittal by an impartial jury was morally certain; and their apprehension, even supposing the English to have had the power to effect

* In a memorial presented by the committee of the Aborigines Protection Society, to Earl Grey, in February, 1847, it is urged that even were there no Treaty of Waitangi in existence, "the power of disposal is an essential element of the right of property. Property is virtually taken away when the power of disposing of it is lost."—Vide p. 7. Without entirely

assenting to the latter part of this proposition, I quote it as the opinion of a very able as well as estimable body.

† Vide *Remarks on New Zealand*, by Captain Fitz-Roy, R.N.; p. 17. ‡ *Ibid*, p. 19.

§ Parliamentary Papers on New Zealand, 1845. p. 32.

it (which they had not), could but have exasperated all parties yet more. Or had he shrunk from the responsibility, referred the decision to the home government, and kept the question open meanwhile, the state of mind in which the natives then were, leaves little doubt that they would have lost no time in attacking the settlements, before the anticipated arrival of military reinforcements. As it was, they rejoiced to find they were to be again on friendly terms with the "pakeha," readily laid aside their fears and suspicions, and resumed their ordinary avocations forthwith; while the settlers proceeded, as usual, in clearing and cultivating their allotments. Had, however, Captain Fitz-Roy waited despatches from England, before taking any decided step in the matter, he would have found himself thereby enjoined, in the event of any future exigency (for on this, Lord Stanley rightly judged, a course of policy would doubtless have already been adopted), to do as he had actually done, namely, to be guided rather by considerations of equity and prudence, than by the technical rules and forms of English law. His lordship, at the same time, declared, with respect to the melancholy incident in question, that after examining the evidence forwarded by the local government, and the statements made by the agents of the New Zealand Company, as well as by less biassed witnesses, that whether he tried the proceedings of Mr. Thompson and his followers by general principles, or by the narrower rule of the law of England, he was compelled to adopt the same conclusion, and to record, notwithstanding his regard for the memory of the deceased, his belief that *they had needlessly violated the rules of the law of England, the maxims of prudence, and the principles of justice.*

After enumerating the leading facts of the case, Lord Stanley added:—

"So manifestly illegal, unjust, and unwise were the martial array and the command to advance, that I fear the authors of that order must be held responsible for all that followed in natural and immediate sequence upon it. I know not how to devolve that responsibility on the natives; they exercised the rights of self-defence, and of mutual protection against an imminent, overwhelming and deadly danger. Revolting to our feelings as Christians,

* Appendix to Report from Select Committee of Parliament, 1844, pp. 172, '3, '4.

† "The first payment in compensation of former deficiencies made at Wellington, in February, 1844, consisted of £730, and was paid over all in silver

and to our opinions as members of a civilized state, as was the ultimate massacre, it is impossible to deny to our savage antagonists the benefits of the apology which is to be urged in their behalf.

"They who provoke an indefensible warfare with barbarous tribes are hardly entitled to complain of the barbarities inseparable from such contests; and even in a state of society far advanced above that of the New Zealanders, some indulgence must be made for the fierce working of the vindictive passions of our nature at the moment, and on the scene of battle, when kindled by such provocation as the violent death of a wife and daughter protecting her husband's person at the sacrifice of her own. * * * In conclusion, I have only to express the earnest hope I entertain, that by a conduct towards the natives, distinguished alike by conciliation, sincerity, and firmness, it may be in the power of the governor to re-establish that confidence in the justice, and that respect for the strength of the local government, which the transactions at Cloudy Bay have been so much calculated to impair."

In a subsequent despatch (dated November, 1844), Lord Stanley, in reply to Governor Fitz-Roy's announcement of the decision he had given, says, "I am of opinion that in declining to make the Wairau conflict a subject of criminal proceedings, you took a wise, though undoubtedly a bold decision."

From Nelson the governor returned to Wellington, and assisted in the completion of the New Zealand Company's purchase of land about Port Nicholson† (except the upper part of the Hutt Valley), while H.M.S. *North Star* sailed for Sydney. Mr. Commissioner Spain proceeded along the west coast towards New Plymouth, to endeavour to effect a settlement of the disputed purchases at Porirua, Manawatu, Wanganui, and Taranaki.

A new obstacle had been thrown in the way of a speedy arrangement of the land claims of the New Zealand Company during the past year, which has not yet been referred to, namely, the assumption of a right on their behalf by Colonel Wakefield, to be allowed to possess themselves of all the lands referred to in Mr. Pennington's investigation; viz., about one million acres, *exclusive* of the "native reserves," on which the Company had laid such great stress, as proofs of their generous dealings with the natives. Mr. Spain and Acting-governor Shortland at once declared that this interpretation of the agreement of 1840 was erroneous, upon which Colonel Wakefield

money, to four different tribes of natives, without difficulty, disturbance, or quarrelling among themselves."—Vide Governor Fitz-Roy's despatch to Lord Stanley, 15th of April, 1844.

admitted that his first reading and understanding of the clause in question agreed with theirs, and said that he had written home for further instructions.

Lord Stanley, in a despatch to Governor Fitz-Roy, dated 18th of April, 1844, referring to the repudiation by Colonel Wakefield of the native reserves, says,—

"There can be no question that they should be taken out of the Company's lands. The Company had, in former instructions to their agent, provided for reserving one-tenth of all lands which they might acquire from the natives, for their benefit. By the thirteenth clause of their agreement, of November, 1840, the government was in respect of all to be granted to them to make reservation of such lands for the benefit of the natives, in pursuance of the Company's engagements to that effect. It seems quite plain, therefore, that the government is to reserve for this purpose one-tenth of the Company's lands. The fact is almost proved by the very language of Colonel Wakefield's accounts themselves; for in assuming that the government was to allow for native reserves, over and above the quantity assigned for the Company, he is obliged to designate those lands as *the eleventh of the total grant*, a proportion which was never heard of until the present statement arrived. The reserves in question must therefore be taken from some part or other of the Company's lands."

On his return to Auckland, the governor assembled the Legislative Council to assist him in the consideration of the measures urgently required to bring about a healthier state of things in the colony generally. The first object requiring attention was the relief of the local government from its financial difficulties. At the beginning of 1844, the debt of the colony, or in other words, the deficiency of means to meet current expenditure, was £24,000, and the entire revenue for the coming year was estimated at only £20,000; all salaries and ordinary current payments were several months in arrear. The establishment was reduced to the scale authorized by the Secretary of State, at the close of 1843, but the estimated revenue was inadequate to meet even two-thirds of the contemplated expenditure, and the governor was strictly prohibited from drawing bills on the British treasury to cover deficiencies.

In this emergency Governor Fitz-Roy, in accordance with the advice of the Legislative Council, resorted to measures, the expediency of which, under the peculiar circumstances of his most trying position, he has ably vindicated. In truth, he had arrived at a very critical moment, and seeing at once the necessity for prompt and de-

cided action, he threw aside all personal considerations, and though deeply impressed with the responsibilities he thereby incurred towards her Majesty's ministers, he yet felt it his duty towards them, as towards the colonists, at once to take the course which he conscientiously believed could alone avert impending ruin.

His own words best describe the steps he felt bound to take, and their immediate consequence :—

"In order to carry on the government until assistance and directions could be received from England; to relieve the creditors of government from distress; and to keep numerous families from extreme privation, some from actually starving, it was decided to issue notes, or debentures, bearing five per cent. interest after the expiration of one year; and as these debentures were at first refused by several speculators, and therefore seemed likely to be much depreciated, they were made a legal tender. It should be noticed that this paper currency was not intended to be permanent; it was intended to serve instead of coin, during a very limited period, not exceeding two years,—before which it was probable that some arrangement would be made by the home government for their withdrawal from circulation. These debentures enabled the government to carry on its functions, and saved an extremity of disorder and distress which can hardly be appreciated by persons in an old country. Their principle has been much condemned by some theorists, (who reason about a young struggling colony without capital, as if it were really circumstanced like any portion of the parent state—supported by banks and capitalists); but since their beneficial effects were practically felt, and fully appreciated by those who might have been actually starved without them, the objections of theorists may be less regarded. As there were then no exports—the colony was drained of its small stock of specie by payments for goods and the usual necessities of life; and scarcely any circulating medium remained except notes of the Union Bank of Australia.

"But as the issue of paper money was in direct contravention of the governor's instructions, of course he was prepared to bear the consequences. There have been many occasions, it will not be denied, on which deviations from instructions have been productive of public benefit, however indefensible according to a general rule which must be maintained. Whether this was one of such occasions, the wretched state of the colonists in New Zealand may shew. Impending ruin, and actual starvation, threatened the greater number of the working classes, and many others, at Auckland, who depended on the government expenditure. No assistance from England could be expected in less than a year.—No money could be obtained by the government, in the colony, or from Sydney, because no person would accept bills drawn by the governor without the express sanction of the Secretary of State.

"The practical effect of these debentures was not only the removal of all actual want, but the promotion of much industry, and general improvement. Instead of a complete stagnation, as at the beginning of 1844, activity and abundant employment

* Appendix to Report from Select Committee on New Zealand, p. 77.

soon prevailed. Auckland and its vicinity improved rapidly, and an export trade began.

"The necessity under which the principal holders of debentures lay to employ them in the colony, and as speedily as possible, lest there should be any deterioration of value, induced those persons to buy up gum, flax, timber, or copper, or other native produce—to be exported as remittances to their correspondents instead of money. Some built small vessels; others improved their landed property by fences and better buildings. The results were conspicuously beneficial.

"How to raise additional revenue amidst such general poverty and distress, was most perplexing; various methods were suggested, but strongly opposed by the non-official members of council; who wished to reduce the expenditure to the revenue actually raised, however small that sum might be. At last an increase of the customs' duties was decided on—not as a good measure, but as the only one that seemed practicable.

"The governor deemed it to be his duty to endeavour to raise a revenue adequate to maintain the establishment ordered by the home government, and necessary for the public affairs of the colony. The non-official members of council considered the establishment and expenditure too large, and tried to effect such reductions as would, if made, have prevented the local government from executing the duties demanded from it, not only by the wants of the colony, but for the information of the home government, which requires numerous and voluminous documents to be prepared and transmitted in duplicate. In an old country there are so many ways of raising revenue that a selection can be made. In New Zealand, a young colony, there are very few, and it is a great object to adopt such methods as may be least open to evasion, while executed with the smallest expense. Land, if taxed, yields but little, as so little is cultivated, and the tenure of wild land has been too uncertain to admit of its being taxed. Houses, animals, imports, exports, sales, licences, deeds, and the individual members of the community, were the only objects available for taxation.

"As much censure has been cast on the propositions of the governor to tax houses, cattle, and dogs, it may not be irrelevant here to remind the reader that there were no "rates" of any kind in New Zealand, such as are paid for houses in other countries; that a house is an object easily rated or taxed, without the possibility of any evasion: and that the number of rooms in it may form an easy scale for taxing. To say, as has been asserted, that such a tax would induce people to alter the construction of houses,—when it was only to be levied for a temporary purpose, during two years at most,—was obviously incorrect.

"It was proposed to levy an impost on imported cattle, because a large importation was expected, which could not be smuggled. Their number, it was considered, would not be affected by a moderate duty. Besides which, at that time the importers of cattle could afford to pay a tax better than most people. They were chiefly persons living in New South Wales. The tax on dogs (also much blamed)

was intended solely as a means of diminishing their number, which had become a nuisance. It has been said that this tax would affect sheep-feeders. There were not then half-a-dozen shepherds' dogs in New Zealand; but had there been more, it would not have signified, because the proposed tax was to affect those dogs only which were found in or about the towns: dogs used in the country being specially exempted.

"Very incorrect accounts of proceedings in that Legislative Council appeared in newspapers, and possibly they may have been thought true, however strange, by persons accustomed to the correct reporting of public proceedings in England. They were, however, very incorrect, being the results of notes in common writing (not short hand) taken by the editors or composers of the Auckland newspapers, who trusted much to memory, and frequently coloured their statements so as to suit the taste of their readers."

The chief difficulty which impeded the efficient administration of the government, namely, the want of funds, was at the same time being experienced most severely in the Company's settlements, where the consequences of the reckless and unchecked expenditure, by the London directors, of trust funds, was at length revealed by the dishonouring of the bills drawn upon the Company by its accredited agents, the cessation of its operations, and the total withdrawal of the employment and support, the promise of which had induced so large a number of the labouring class to emigrate.

At the commencement of their difficulties, (July, 1843,) the directors, finding their old expedient for raising funds by the formation of a new settlement (New Edinburgh,) less acceptable to the public than their former projects, sought and obtained from Lord Stanley a supplemental charter, empowering them to borrow and raise, at lawful interest, any sum or sums not exceeding £500,000, upon the security and credit of any portion of the subscribed capital of the Company not called up, and of the profit of the undertaking, and of the lands, tenements, hereditaments, and other property for the time being, of the Company.

This resource proved insufficient; for letters from New Zealand, quite opposite in their tenor to those circulated through the influence of the Company, and other unprejudiced communications, were beginning to tell upon the public, notwithstanding the systematic, and it must be admitted most cleverly organized "puffing"† which was eration, say, they can "personally testify that the colonizing friends of Mr. Wakefield have never stopped at any means of corruption or coercion in order to secure a favourable notice of their speculations, and to suppress any record of, or criticism on,

* *Remarks on New Zealand*, by Robert Fitz-Roy. London, 1846,—p. 25.

† Messrs. Samuel and John Sidney, who have devoted great attention to the colonies, and whose independent conduct entitle their remarks to consid-

kept up throughout; and on 29th February, 1844, the chairman of the Company, Mr. Somes, announced to Lord Stanley, that "the large amount of £521,000, which, since the establishment of the Company, had been placed in their hands, together with £42,500, raised by loan last year, has, with the exception of £35,082 10s., now invested in such a manner as not to be immediately available [it was pledged], and about £7,000 now in our banker's hands, been *entirely exhausted*."*

The Company, under these circumstances, requested her Majesty's government to become their guarantee for a loan of £100,000, which they proposed to borrow from the public, as, without that guarantee, their "power of borrowing" was completely destroyed. The directors had the assurance to offer to government, as security, the 960,000 acres to which they claimed to be entitled by the investigation of Mr. Pennington in 1840, although they had professedly sold a large part of this land to the persons who had purchased the allotments at Wellington, Nelson, and New Plymouth, and were besides aware that their claims to that territory, in the first instance, rested upon the extinguishment of the native titles, which was likely to prove a complicated and expensive business. This offer to *place in pawn the property of others* was not considered satisfactory by her Majesty's ministers, who declared that they could listen to no application from the Company for pecuniary assistance, except on the following conditions:—First, that such assistance should not exceed £40,000 in the whole; secondly, that it should be applied to the payment of the dishonoured bills, drawn in the colony to provide for the employment of labourers, and to the payment of such other bills as might be drawn for the same purpose, pending a report from Captain Fitz-Roy, as to the state of the Company's settlements; and thirdly, that the whole of the property of the Company, including

their deception and mismanagement." With regard to Mr. E. G. Wakefield himself, these writers add, "we admit the ability with which he organized systematic praise of his model colonies, and disparagement of all imagined rivals, in parliament, in the press, the 'court, the city, and the mart;' and we can record the almost regal courtesy with which, sitting in receipt of custom at New Zealand House, in the palmy days of his Grand Bubble, he congratulated his enthusiastic victims on their fortunate prizes of 'corner lots and double frontages' at Wellington and Nelson."—*Sidney's Emigrant Journal*, Nos. 23 and 24; March, 1849.

that part of its capital which had not been paid up (£100,000,) and which the Company would be required to raise within a limited period, should be made liable as an available security for the repayment of such advance.†

Mr. Somes, on the part of the Company, declined to accede to these conditions, declaring, that the circumstance of the government requiring a security, in addition and in preference to the Company's land, was calculated to diminish their proper resources, (i.e. the credulity of the public,) by throwing discredit upon the tenure of their property, and by lowering them as a body in the public estimation; beside which, £40,000 was in itself a sum quite insufficient to meet the emergency. The practical effect of the loan, the directors affirmed, if accepted, would be to relieve—not the settlers, for the sole relief of whom the government had entertained the proposition of making one, but the Union Bank of Australia, and other parties by whom the dishonoured bills had been negotiated, for an expenditure previously incurred. The lowest sum sufficient to enable the Company to renew its colonizing operations, "till such time as the restoration of public confidence shall supply those means from the proceeds of the sale of land," was again stated at £100,000, and for this sum, a renewed application was made to the government by Mr. Somes, who followed it up by requesting, that in the event of the government declining the loan above mentioned, they would "still lend the Company the sum of £40,000, allowing it, at the same time, to borrow from the public £57,500, in addition to the £42,500 already borrowed, *conceding to the lenders of the £57,000 a preferable security upon the property and assets of the Company.*"‡

In reply, Lord Stanley, through Mr. Hope, expressed "extreme surprise" at being then for the first time made acquainted with the fact that the solicited

* Documents appended to Twelfth Report of New Zealand Company, p. 9 A.

† It will be remembered that the bond debt of the Company of £42,500, was also a lien on the £100,000 not paid up by the shareholders; and as to the lands belonging to the Company, the directors acknowledged to Lord Stanley, on 20th February, 1844, that they were then, "in the eyes of the public, perfectly valueless, and they could raise no money by mortgaging them."—Documents in Twelfth Report, p. 9 A.

‡ Appendix to Twelfth Report of the New Zealand Company, p. 23 A.

advance, if granted, *would not* benefit the settlers, and that all the evils against it, which it was asked to protect them were irremediable, he declined "the discussion of any further propositions until a report of the state of affairs should be received from Captain Fitz-Roy. In this communication there are assertions which deserve notice, as they have remained quite uncontradicted by the Company, namely,—

"That the whole advance of money made by the Company on their own account, amounted only to £200,000, that on this the Company had received and distributed in the shape of dividends no less than £44,000, exclusive of the sums laid out in very extensive establishments, both at home and in the colony; that, exclusive of a claim to have confirmed to them the title to many hundred thousand acres of lands, *understood to have been purchased by them in New Zealand*, the Company were in possession of assets (some of which, however, were not immediately available) to the extent of £42,000, while their debt did not exceed a similar amount, and that there remained £100,000 of unpaid-up capital."*

Lord Stanley, in the above passage, adverts to "the very extensive establishments both at home and abroad" maintained by the Company; he might have used stronger language with equal justice, for perhaps a more inexcusable course of expenditure, both general and particular; wholesale "jobbery" and misappropriation of monies invested or intrusted for special purposes, never disgraced a public association, yet in an early report of the directors (1st of May, 1841), it had been ostentatiously proclaimed that "the practical details of systematic arrangements for emigration will be *much more cheaply and efficiently executed* by the representatives of such a body as this, than by the executive government:" and in the prospectus issued in May, 1839, to attract shareholding capitalists, the public were assured that "*the Company is capable of being managed at little expense for agency.*"

Both these vaunts were belied by facts, for the emigration was conducted at an enormous expense, but in a most unsatisfactory manner; and the practical working of the Company, even by their own shewing, was on an exaggerated and very costly scale.

It appears that up to the period when the Company declared itself bankrupt, it had actually sold land to the public as follows:—in *Wellington* settlement, 990 town, and 126,800 rural acres = 127,790 acres; in the *New Plymouth* settlement, 282½ town, 3,600 suburban, and 9,550 rural acres =

18,432½ acres; in the *Nelson* settlement, 432 town, 21,600 suburban, and 64,800 rural acres = 86,832 acres. The total in the three settlements was, town, 1,704; suburban, 25,200; rural, 191,150; grand total, 218,054 acres. These figures are derived from the accounts appended by the Company to their twelfth report, from which we also gather that the amounts acquired by the Company in the sale of this land, was,—at *Wellington*, £120,040; at *New Plymouth*, £26,560, and at *Nelson*, £129,600; total, 276,200. Thus the Company obtained from the public upwards of a quarter of a million sterling, for less than a twentieth part of the territory, over which they had professedly obtained an unimpeachable title from its native proprietors, for about £1,500, (see div. v., p. 158).

Doubtless, had this purchase, in the first instance, been to any extent real, instead of nominal, the commercial speculation, which it should be borne in mind was avowedly the sole object of the New Zealand Company, would have proved a very profitable scheme; as it was, the results have been anything but satisfactory to the shareholders in general, and ruinous to a large and highly respectable portion of the land purchasers.

In addition to the money received for sales of land, the Company acquired funds for passage money, freight, forfeited deposits, and other sources, amounting to £37,225; £10,000 was raised on loan; £32,500 on debentures, and £200,000 was the amount paid up by the shareholders; the total sum therefore of which the directors had the expenditure, up to 14th of February, 1844, exceeded half-a-million sterling; viz., £563,924.†

To trace this expenditure in a satisfactory manner is not possible, from the confused, often contradictory, and excessively diffuse style of the published accounts of the Company; items that ought to be distinctly specified, are jumbled up with others, as if on purpose to preclude investigation. The "*home establishment*," is put down under six items, at £87,574, i.e., for five years at the rate of more than *seven thousand pounds* annually; the emigration service, viz., the hire of ships and incidental expenses, is put down at £185,760, which, at £12 a head, would have conveyed more than 15,000 men, women and children of the labouring

* Appendix to Twelfth Report of New Zealand Company, p. 25 A.

† Documents appended to Twelfth Report of Directors of New Zealand Company, p. 32 A.

class to New Zealand.* The "miscellaneous" items are grouped together to the large amount of £118,435, and the colonial expenses are stated at the enormous sum of £184,371, or at the rate of more than £36,000 for each of the five years, irrespective of the civil, military, and naval expenditure incurred by the Crown.

Among the items of the "home establishment," the charge for "advertising and printing, books, maps, &c.," is put down at £7,788, or more than £1,500 per annum; the law expenses and professional services are quoted at £6,597; stationery, postages, &c., at £4,414; rent, taxes, furniture, &c., at £6,027.

It appears also that some person received £7,780 as "commission on the sale of land."†

The dividends to the proprietors on £100,000 capital for four years, and on a similar amount for less than three years, are put down at £44,264. The purchase of lands, including the ship *Tory* and her investment, is stated at £60,815, but to whom this money was actually paid it is not possible to ascertain. Mr. Pennington says, in April, 1841, that the New Zealand Land Company "paid and contracted to pay £20,000 to the New Zealand Company of 1825, for the lands acquired by that Company by purchase from the native chiefs, and they have likewise paid to the New Zealand Association of 1839, the sum of £40,000 for all the rights, interests, and lands which that association had acquired, or *might become entitled to* in New Zealand, and for the ship *Tory* and her cargo then on the outward voyage to that colony."‡ The value of the *Tory*§ was estimated at £9,000, and her cargo at £6,000 = £15,000, leaving £25,000 to be appropriated among the New Zealand Association of 1839, who, there is every reason to believe, were nearly identical with the New Zealand Company of 1840.

As an illustration of the annual rate of ex-

penditure, the chief items of the year ending 5th of April, 1842, may be quoted, under the heads given in the Company's accounts:—||

Salaries, colonial and home establishments, outfit of colonial officers, and allowances for services	£10,127
Commission on sale of land	3,201
Bills drawn from New Zealand	9,984
Advertising, printing, books, and stationery	2,802
Rent, taxes, law charges, postages, house and incidental expenses	3,471
Furniture	136
Passage of emigrants, their maintenance previous to embarkation, and incidental expenses connected therewith	68,591
Provisions, stores, &c.	9,194
Dividends to proprietors	15,842

The New Zealand Company, in the spring of 1844, found themselves in an equally embarrassed and considerably more discreditable position than that from which they had been relieved by the grant of a charter three years before. It was hopeless to continue urging upon the government that their title to lands had been admitted solely in consideration of their expenditure on colonizing purposes, after the explicit and emphatic denial which this unfounded assertion had received,—Mr. Hope, on the part of the colonial minister, having informed Mr. Somes that—

"Lord Stanley cannot now permit it to be maintained either that the natives had no proprietary rights, in the face of the Company's declaration that they had purchased those very rights, or that it is the duty of the Crown either to extinguish those rights, or to set them aside in favour of the Company. The fact of the validity or invalidity of the purchase was known to the Company, and to them alone; the assumed validity was the basis of the promised grant; and if the facts were incorrectly stated at the time, or were incapable of proof, with the Company must rest the inconvenience and loss resulting from their own mis-statements."¶

The Company being therefore in a condition, with all to gain and nothing to lose, directed their parliamentary influence once again to obtain a committee of inves-

* One instance will shew the reckless manner in which the emigration expenses were incurred: of six ships taken up for the New Plymouth settlement, the cost was £30 18s. per statute adult, irrespective of the victualling of the passengers, which was paid for at the rate of 1s. 3d. per head daily, or about £8 16s. Altogether the charge for each emigrant was nearly £40, or more than twice the sum which ought to have been paid. It should also be stated that the accommodation and general conduct of these vessels was far from being commensurate with the extraordinary cost.

† For these and other details see Appendix to Report from Select Committee of the House of Commons on New Zealand, in 1844, p. 393.

‡ Parliamentary Papers on New Zealand, 12th August, 1842; pp. 4, 5.

§ The *Tory* was lost (I believe, on or near the coast of New Zealand), and the New Zealand Company received £9,220 as insurance on her.

¶ See Fifth Report of New Zealand Company, Appendix B, p. 35.

|| Appendix to Report from Select Committee on New Zealand, 1844; p. 21.

tigation on the state of New Zealand. This time the result was more favourable to them, for after much discussion, the majority of the committee adopted a Report, which, though it commenced with the declaration "that the conduct of the New Zealand Company, in sending out settlers to New Zealand, not only without the sanction, but in direct defiance of the authority of the Crown, was highly irregular and improper," went on to disapprove of the treaty of Waitangi, and still more the view of it acted upon by the local authorities, and proceeded to assume to the Crown a right of sovereignty and disposal limited by little beyond such right of property as might be conceded to the native inhabitants in favour of those spots on which they had placed their pāhs or planted their vegetables,* and declared that the New Zealand Company had a right to demand from the Crown a certain number of acres, "without reference to the validity or otherwise of its supposed purchases from the natives."

The difficulty of how the Crown was to obtain the land it was thus advised to make over to the Company, was met by a proposition of confiscating it, in the first instance, by the imposition of a land tax, to be paid in advance. A counter-report was proposed and moved by the under-secretary of state for the colonies (Mr. Hope), which contained a lucid statement of the difficulties and dangers likely to result from the course proposed: but he was in the minority.

Mr. Cardwell (one of the lords of the treasury under Sir Robert Peel) also proposed a series of resolutions in favour of the policy pursued by the colonial office, which was likewise rejected by a majority of one. Among his recommendations was the following, which it is to be hoped will yet be adopted, viz.:—"that it would be expedient to admit native chiefs, and others, into the military and civil service of the colony."

The government, notwithstanding the report of the select committee, persisted in adhering to the conclusion which it had adopted respecting the validity of the rights of the natives, and was supported by a majority of the House of Commons in its deter-

mination, after a debate, originated by the late Mr. Charles Buller (the legal adviser of the Company), which lasted three days; and on 30th November, 1844, Lord Stanley expressed to Governor Fitz-Roy his general approval of the course adopted, and of the tone taken by him in reference to the various subjects by which, on his arrival, he had found the community distracted. His lordship referred particularly to—

"The strong sense of justice, and the earnest desire of reconciling differences by an effectual and authoritative mediation which appear to have influenced your conduct; to the boldness and promptitude with which you have promulgated and enforced your views, and met, by decided measures, the emergencies of your embarrassing position.

"If, in these circumstances, you have been compelled to overstep the letter of your instructions, I find sufficient vindication for your course in the necessity for prompt and efficient action, and in the impossibility, within a reasonable period, of obtaining my sanction to your proceedings. When her Majesty's government selected you to fill a very laborious, responsible, and ill-remunerated office, in a very distant colony, they were fully aware that the discharge of your duties would be impossible unless the largest discretion were left to you; and they felt that they had the best guarantee for your conduct in your high personal and public character, and in your peculiar fitness, at that time acknowledged by all parties most interested, for the post which was assigned you."†

At the time this despatch was written, the critical state of affairs in New Zealand had induced Governor Fitz-Roy to adopt measures which rendered him still more obnoxious to the Company, and which, though taken from a sense of imperative necessity, were yet beyond, if not in contradiction, to the instructions he had received from her Majesty's ministers. Two causes of immediate anxiety, affording unmistakable indications of the growing disaffection of the natives towards the government, as well as towards the settlers generally, were made known to him at the close of the sitting of the Legislative Council in July, 1844. The former of these may be best related in the words of the first bishop of the diocese of New Zealand, Dr. Selwyn, who arrived at Auckland in 1842. In a letter addressed to the secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, he says—"About the middle of the year 1844, the flag-staff on the hill above Korarika [Russell] began to be talked of as a sign of the assumption of New Zealand by

* *Vide* the comments on the Report of the Select Committee of 1844, in an admirable essay *On the British Colonization of New Zealand by the Committee of the Aborigines Protection Society*, p. 26;

and also in a pamphlet by Mr. Dandeson Coates, entitled *The New Zealanders and their Lands*.

† Parliamentary Papers on New Zealand, 1845 page 49.

the British government. * * * Meetings began to be held, at which John Heké* was the chief speaker, the subject of discussion being the cutting down of the flag-staff. In the month of August, 1844, Heké assembled a party of armed men, and proceeded to Kororarika, where he spent Saturday and part of Sunday in alarming the inhabitants, and early on Monday morning mounted the hill, and cut down the staff. I was at Paihia [a mission station near Kororarika] at the time, engaged in the native school, at the close of which the first words I heard were, 'Kua hinga te kara,' 'the colour has fallen.' I shuddered at the thought of this beginning of hostilities, so full of presage of evil for the future. Heké then crossed to Paihia, and, with his party, danced the war-dance in my face; after which, many violent speeches were made, and they then returned to Kaikoke [Heké's pah, or village]. On intelligence of Heké's proceedings being received by Captain Fitz-Roy, he immediately made application to the governor of New South Wales for troops, and sent thirty men from the small detachment stationed at the capital to Russell, with directions to the police magistrate to replace the flag-staff, and to persevere in temperate and conciliatory measures until self-defence should render hostility unavoidable. The other tidings which reached him, almost at the same time, were, that very serious disturbances had taken place at New Plymouth, in consequence of Mr. Spain's having decided against the natives, in favour of the New Zealand Company's claims to the land comprised in the plan of that settlement. The governor proceeded thither by sea, and was met by the bishop, who had travelled overland from Auckland in only seven days (the usual time being a fortnight), to assist in restoring tranquillity. Here, again, it may be best to give Captain Fitz-Roy's own relation of his conduct and motives in this difficult and complicated business:—

"It appeared so clear to the governor that the view taken by the commissioner could not be adopted by the government without causing bloodshed, and the probable ruin of the settlement; because the

* This chief, who afterwards obtained so much notoriety, was then of inferior rank, and thought to possess but inconsiderable influence: he had, however, married the daughter of the celebrated E'ongi, or Shongi, herself a remarkable woman, by whom he had had several children, who, like himself and his wife, were baptized in the Christian faith.

injustice of awarding land to the New Zealand Company, which was well known not to have been purchased by them, was apparent to every native, that information was made known publicly at a large meeting of the settlers and natives, that the commissioner's award would not be confirmed by the governor.

"Arrangements were then commenced for securing the actual settlers in quiet possession of sufficient land; the natives being desirous that they should not quit the place, but determined not to sell them certain favourite localities. The substance of the case was this—the New Zealand Company's agents had endeavoured to buy a large tract of land from a few persons who owned about a thirtieth part of it, the great majority of the proprietors being then absent. When the absentees returned to their own places, after a few years, they found white men settled there and cultivating. Of course the few (about forty) who professed to sell to the Company's agents could not dispose of that which belonged to the absentees (many hundreds in number), therefore their land was forthwith demanded by them. However much this case may have been complicated or mystified by appeals to other laws than those of the New Zealanders themselves, the above will be found the simple fact. It may be asked what Englishman would give up his land under analogous circumstances, if sold without his authority during his absence? But, say some persons, these natives who returned to claim land occupied by settlers, were or had been slaves, and therefore they had no right to this land. Strange doctrine this to be held by Englishmen! These men had been made prisoners of war—captives rather than slaves—by the Waikato tribe, who, at the instigation of Christian teachers, gave them their liberty, and permission to return to their own land.

"Would an Englishman, after some years' confinement in a French prison, or being enslaved by Africans, admit that he had forfeited his estate in England? But even the New Zealand usages, which in this case are more to the purpose, do not prevent a man who has been captured (or a slave) from owning and retaining land."†—(See div. v. p. 170.)

Mr. Spain, in vindicating the grounds on which he formed the decision thus set aside by Governor Fitz-Roy, for the reasons above stated, says—

"I am fully of opinion that the admission of the right of slaves† who had been absent for a long period of years, to return at any time and claim their right to land that had belonged to them previously to their being taken prisoners of war, and which before their return, and when they were in slavery, had been sold by the conquerors and resident natives to third parties, would establish a most dangerous doctrine, calculated to throw doubts upon almost every European title to land in this country, not even excepting some of the purchases made by the Crown; would constantly expose every title to

† *Remarks on New Zealand*, by Robert Fitz-Roy, pp. 29, 30.

‡ According to Captain Fitz-Roy the absentees in question were *captives* but not *slaves*.

§ Governor Hobson (after the purchase of the Taranaki District from its few actual inhabitants) had paid a certain sum to the chief of the Waikato tribe, in satisfaction of his claims as conqueror.

be questioned by any returned slave who might assert a former right to the land, let the period be ever so remote, and would prove a source of endless litigation and disagreement between the two races."*

Leaving New Plymouth, the governor, accompanied by the bishop, proceeded to Auckland, and from thence to the Bay of Islands, being anxious to meet the troops then daily expected from Sydney. One hundred and fifty men had arrived and disembarked; fifty were added from the detachment at Auckland; and H.M.S. *Hazard* had fifty seamen and marines ready to land: the force being, in all, but two hundred and fifty. Previous to making a decided movement towards Kaikohe (Heké's stronghold), several meetings were held with the natives by the governor, to whom it appeared so obvious that the main cause of their discontent was the deserted state of the once crowded port, owing chiefly to the customs' regulations, that he determined to remove this root of evil, and forthwith took upon himself the responsibility of closing the custom-house. The troops were then moved to the Keri-keri river, and were about to debark and march inland, when Mr. Clarke, the chief protector of aborigines, arrived as the bearer of an urgent request to the governor, from a large majority of the head chiefs, not to land the troops, but to accept from them an acknowledgment of Heké's delinquency, and a pledge that such outrages should not be repeated. The governor complied, and proceeded, attended only by the senior military and naval officers, to the missionary station at Waimate, where, in the presence of the bishop and several of the clergy, he addressed a large concourse of natives, and explained to them clearly and fully the intentions of the British government. The chiefs offered, in atonement for Heké's offence, to forfeit land or property; but the governor declined to take land, and demanded only ten muskets, in acknowledgment of the insult. More than the required number were instantly laid at his feet by some of the oldest and most influential chiefs, to whom they were returned, to show that no desire existed to punish the well-disposed for the faults of their relative, or even to deprive them of their weapons. The return of the muskets has been sneered at as a piece of Quixotic chivalry; but, in the opinions of some of those best ac-

quainted with the native character, it is believed to have had a permanent effect in determining the conduct of Walker, Nene, Patuone, Tawhai, Taonui, and other actors in that scene, who have since proved most trusty and powerful allies to the British government. Heké, however, stood aloof from the meeting, but was subsequently persuaded—almost compelled to write an apology for his conduct. The additional troops then returned to Sydney, in accordance with the especial desire of Sir George Gipps, that they should be retained no longer than the particular emergency for which they had been sent should require.

In the month of October, Governor Fitz-Roy, who had previously waived the Crown's right of pre-emption, and permitted individuals to purchase land of the natives, on the payment of a fee of ten shillings an acre, finding that that sum, in most instances, exceeded the price paid to the natives, and virtually acted as a prohibition, reduced it to an almost nominal one, sufficient only to cover the expenses of legal documents (one penny per acre.) This measure was very gratifying to the aboriginal population, and peace seemed restored, but was again seriously interrupted. In December, the report of the committee of the House of Commons on the state of New Zealand, recorded July, 1844, reached the colony, and soon became known to the natives, who evinced great indignation on learning the opinion of members of the Imperial Legislature respecting the treaty of Waitangi, and their recommendations with respect to the so-called waste land of the islands. Symptoms of disaffection became daily more apparent, and a number of turbulent young men, encouraged by Heké, carried off horses under vague pretences. Threats were held out that the obnoxious flag-staff should not remain; and early in January, Heké went by night and cut it down. It was not then guarded, except by a party of natives, who, on hearing of Heké's intention, stated at first that they would oppose him, but subsequently declared they would not be the first to shed blood on account of a piece of wood. Heké departed unmolested, after sending word to the magistrate at Kororarika (Russell), that in two months he would return to destroy the gaol and custom-house, and to send away the officers of government.

On learning what had occurred, Governor Fitz-Roy dispatched the *Hazard* with a

* Vide Reports of Commissioners of Land Claims on Titles to Land in New Zealand. Parliamentary Papers, April, 1846, p. 63.

small detachment of troops, all that could be spared from Auckland, with a musket-proof block-house to be erected at the flag-staff. The settlers were armed and drilled; a strong stockade was erected, as a place of safety for the women and children, and some small guns were mounted. No anxiety as to the result of an attack was entertained, but on the contrary, far too low an opinion of native enterprise and valour prevailed.*

Parties of armed natives, to the number of several hundred, assembled in the neighbourhood of Kororarika during the first few days of March, 1845, and commenced hostilities by attacking and plundering the house of a settler, near the Kawakawa river. The *Hazard's* pinnace, armed with a gun in the bow, pursued the party and drove them ashore, from whence a fire was opened upon the boat by the fugitives, who had concealed themselves in the brushwood. These were the first shots fired. They were returned, but without effect, by the pinnace, which then proceeded to the ship.

For several days after this, the natives were evidently gathering their forces, and desultory skirmishes took place, but without occasioning loss of life on either side. Heké announced his determination to attack Kororarika, the day on which it was to be done, and even the particulars of his plan for the assault. At day-break, on the 11th of March, Captain Robertson, R.N., at the head of a party of seamen and marines, went out to reconnoitre a valley leading to Matavai Bay, through which the attack was expected to be made, and met a large body of natives advancing with that intent. An engagement immediately began, in which the natives were repulsed; but a party of the Maories, who had been lying in ambush, cut off Captain Robertson from the main body of his men; and a native coming within a few paces of him, fired a shot, which shattered his thigh. At this time he was surrounded by the enemy, but his men rallied and rescued him, and he was carried off to his ship. The flag-staff was soon after taken by the enemy, and the block-house was captured by surprise, (the officer in command having drawn off the men to some distance to strengthen the entrenchments.) The keeper of the signals was severely wounded; his wife and daughter were taken prisoners, and conducted to Heké,

who sent them down with a flag of truce to the nearest English post; the party of natives who conducted them remaining within gun shot till they saw the woman and child safely lodged.

It was apprehended that the natives, having possession of both ends of the town, and the command of all the paths along the hills, would collect their forces, and make a simultaneous attack upon the points still remaining in the possession of the English. It was therefore deemed necessary to remove the women and children from the stockade or fortified houses, which was accomplished by the boats belonging to the vessels in the harbour, which conveyed them, together with the wounded, on board the ships, the natives offering no opposition. One woman alone remained by her own desire to attend to those who might be wounded. About two hours afterwards the powder magazine exploded, shattering the house to pieces, and causing a fire by which the whole was totally destroyed. The brave woman, before mentioned, fell under the ruins, and was removed to the ship with a dangerous fracture.

An evacuation of the place was then determined upon, and the whole population were safely embarked on board the *Hazard*, the *St. Louis* (United States frigate), and the *Matilda* (English whaler), after which the natives plundered and burned the town, leaving only the churches and the houses of the missionaries standing.

On the British side thirteen were killed and twenty-three wounded, some of whom afterwards died of their wounds. Of the natives, thirty-four were known to have been killed and at least sixty-eight wounded.†

Bishop Selwyn, who was present at the destruction of Kororarika, and whose conduct on that occasion was worthy the character of a truly Christian minister, has given a most interesting narrative of the events connected with it; his description of the conduct of the natives especially deserves the attention of all who desire to understand the character of this singular and deeply interesting race. He says,—

“The state of the town after the withdrawal of the troops was very characteristic. The natives carried on their work of plunder with perfect composure; neither quarrelling among themselves, nor resenting any attempt on the part of the English to recover portions of their property. Several of the people of the town landed in the midst of them, and

* Captain Fitz-Roy's *Remarks on New Zealand*, p. 38.

† See Parliamentary Papers relating to New Zealand, 1845; p. 6.

were allowed to carry off such things as were not particularly desired by the spoilers. With sorrow I observed that many of the natives were wheeling off casks of spirits, but they listened patiently to my remonstrances, and in one instance, they allowed me to turn the cock, and let the liquor run out on the ground. * * * Altogether there must have been about 500 men [natives] on the ground. * * * On the way [from Paihia, whither the Bishop had gone to inter the bodies of some of the slain, to the Waimate,] one of those circumstances occurred which mark, more than words can express, the confidence with which the old settlers live among the natives of the country. I had gone about half-way to the Waimate when I met a settler from Hokianga, riding quietly down to the Bay, with one native behind him, to learn the particulars of the engagement. He had come thirty miles through the country from which Heké's forces were drawn, and was going to the scene of action, and I afterwards met him returning by the same route without the slightest apprehension of danger. The truth is, that there is something in the native character which disarms personal fears in those who live among them and are acquainted with their proceedings. All suspicions of treachery seem to be at variance with the openness and simplicity of their proceedings. * * * From a hill near the Waimate the whole outline of the town could be seen, lighted up by the blaze of the burning houses. My approach to the station was greeted by a large body of Christian natives, with a louder and heartier shout of welcome [Haere mai!] than I had ever heard before. They invited me to a general meeting, at which all the principal persons expressed their determination to defend the missionaries and their families to the last, and begged me earnestly not to think of removing them. Their feeling was responded to by Mr. and Mrs. Burrows and Mr. and Mrs. Davis, the missionaries of the station, who had resolved to stand firm, in the assurance that the same Power which had guarded the mission through thirty years of trial and anxiety, would defend it to the end. The native school, which I left with only thirty children, had thriven in the midst of the troubled times, and had risen to seventy. No sooner was it heard that I was in the house, than a stream of little children flowed down from the bed-rooms in the upper story, their black eyes and white teeth sparkling in the candle-light as they crowded about me, with smiling faces, to shake me by the hand. As some of the Christian natives remarked, "Though the heavens were black around us, this was the bright spot of blue sky, which gave hopes that the storm would soon pass away."

When the three ships which conveyed the refugees from Kororarika were seen in the offing, the Auckland people welcomed their arrival most joyfully, supposing they brought troops from Sydney, or perhaps from England. Their hopes were changed to deep forebodings when the truth became known; but the disappointment did not check their endeavours for the benefit of the unfortunates thus thrown upon their charity, and every exertion was made to succour the

wounded and provide for the pressing wants of the destitute refugees, about 400 in number.

It was now thought advisable at once to raise a militia, a measure which the home government had from the first enjoined upon Governor Fitz-Roy, but though proposed in the previous year (1844), his excellency had agreed with the legislative council in the propriety of deferring the enactment of a militia ordinance, as highly objectionable on the grounds of its being calculated to raise the suspicions of the natives, and quite inadequate to overawe them; as likely to prove most inconvenient to the widely-scattered settlers, and moreover, as being barely practicable, because there were not 400 stand of serviceable arms in the colony, and very little ammunition, while the local government had not the means of buying either arms, ammunition, clothes, or accoutrements, or even of paying adjutants or drill sergeants. These and other considerations had therefore made the council unanimous in postponing the militia bill; but in the following year, when one settlement had been destroyed, and the attack of others was threatened, the case was totally changed, and it became imperative to resort to every possible expedient in self-defence.

The sudden demand for Kauri gum, in which the northern part of the island abounds, happened providentially at this particular time, when the attention of the natives were most required to be drawn off from thoughts of Heké's exploits, and the plunder he had acquired; while it also gave immediate employment to numbers of suffering settlers, who must otherwise have been dependent upon their compassionate neighbours. Yet this good was not unmixed with evil. The natives obtained large supplies of ammunition in exchange for their gum; and although loyal natives were usually the direct traders, no doubt much found its way through their relatives to the rebels.†

The destruction of Kororarika, and the consequent stoppage of trade in the Bay of Islands by the natives' own act, had given a different aspect to the question of raising a revenue by direct taxation, or by a custom-house establishment, and the attempt to raise a revenue by direct taxation had failed in the southern settlements, where evasion was almost general, on the plea that until

* *Annals of the Diocese of New Zealand*, pp. 193 to 197.

† *Remarks on New Zealand*, p. 43.

the settlers obtained legal titles to their lands they could not be considered to have either property or income. "To enforce the payment of their just rates or taxes, it would have been necessary for the government to enter into legal proceedings against half the landholders at New Plymouth, and against nearly all those of Wellington and Nelson."* The custom-houses and their officers were therefore re-established, but on a much reduced scale, not exceeding one-half of their expense in 1843. Farther reductions in the estimated annual expenditure of the colony were proposed by the governor, and adopted by the Legislative Council. The estimated expenditure for 1845-6 was £26,000. The estimate for 1844-5 had been £36,000; that for 1842, in Governor Hobson's time, it will be remembered, was £56,000. These reductions were partly consequent on the termination of an expensive land claims commission; partly effected by reducing salaries, and partly by the alterations in the establishment for the collection of customs.

It again becomes necessary to revert to the proceedings of the New Zealand Company. In all their settlements great suffering and general depression had been caused by their sudden and unexpected declaration of insolvency: they dishonoured the bills drawn upon them in pursuance of their own instructions, and abruptly and without compensation broke up all contracts, to the great injury of many persons in their employ; yet at that very time they appear, by their own statement of accounts, to have had about £15,000 available at the Wellington and Nelson Banks, an amount which would probably have sufficed to satisfy the lawful claims of the contractors and other injured parties, including even those of the natives. Long before this crisis all classes of the Company's settlers had felt more or less painfully, according to the varying circumstances of their position, the cruel disappointment which a too credulous belief in its promises had entailed upon them. The case of the labourers who had been induced to emigrate on the positive pledge of being provided with constant employment at a fixed price in the event of their being unable to obtain better remuneration elsewhere, is alone sufficient to affix a lasting stigma on any association, however high the social standing of its real or nominal directors.

* *Remarks on New Zealand*, p. 45.

The manner in which the poor emigrants were treated at Nelson has been already described (see p. 205.) As a sample of what they endured at the other settlements, it needs only to quote the following extract of a letter from Mr. J. T. Wicksteed, Resident Agent of the Company at New Plymouth, to Colonel Wakefield, dated 31st October, 1843:—

"You are aware that the emigrants to this settlement hold what they call 'embarkation orders,' being a sort of hand-bill signed 'Thomas Woolcombe,' in which it is distinctly stated, that the Company 'will, at all times, give them employment in the service of the Company, if, from any cause they should be unable to obtain it elsewhere.' Being unable to give any other interpretation to this promise than the words quoted seem to imply; and yet bearing in mind, that the Court of Directors view their engagement in a different light, I endeavoured to evade it, by sending the applicants for employment a long distance from home, making no allowance for time spent in the journey, or for time lost in bad weather. The necessities of the men and their families were such as compelled them to submit for several weeks to these conditions; but many came home sick, and claimed the promised medical aid; and others commenced the trade of pig and sheep stealing, not having yet had time to raise potatoes for themselves. It then appeared to me, that the parties were really 'destitute,' and I endeavoured to find employment for them from the landowners, by paying their wages in part. . . .

"Looking at the stringent instructions of the Court (of Directors) not to admit the 'claim' of anybody who had once found work with a private individual to a re-engagement with the Company, I should deem it my duty to adopt the same rule with the whole population, were it safe to do so. The Company possesses a very valuable property here in houses, stores, boats, &c., which would assuredly be destroyed, did I refuse to recognise claims on the Company for employment or support. The private houses and stores would also be plundered."

On the 30th of April, 1845, Lord Stanley signified to Governor Fitz-Roy her Majesty's disallowance of the ordinance authorizing the issue of debentures to the amount of £15,000, and making the same a legal tender, on the grounds that the local legislature in passing it had assumed a power they did not really possess, and that the ordinance itself was a direct infringement of a principle "co-extensive in its operation with the colonial possessions of the British Crown." A despatch bearing the same date conveyed to the governor his recal, for reasons which were stated at considerable length by Lord Stanley in a communication dated May 14, 1845. The general causes assigned, were, "the defects in circumspection, firmness, and punctuality" which had occurred during his administration, and the repeated infringement of his instructions.

The more specific grounds of complaint were, the want of punctuality in acquainting her Majesty's ministers with his proceedings, the making paper money a legal tender, permitting the natives to sell land without a concurrent fee to the government, the temporary abolition of the custom duties, and other measures, of which the government had probably heard a most exaggerated account through the various organs of the New Zealand Company. In conclusion, Lord Stanley reiterated his sense of Captain Fitz-Roy's claims to the most implicit confidence in his personal character, and his zeal for the Queen's service, assuring him "with how general a consent" the House of Commons had acquiesced in the opinion expressed by him (Lord Stanley) in the subjoined paragraph of his dispatch of the 30th of April, when quoted by Mr. Hope in his place in that house:—

"The concern with which I announce this decision is greatly enhanced by the remembrance of the public spirit and disinterestedness with which you assumed this arduous duty, and of the personal sacrifices which you so liberally made on that account; nor can I omit to record, that in whatever other respect our confidence in you may have been shaken, her Majesty's government retain the most implicit reliance on your personal character, and on your zeal for the Queen's service. You will, therefore, readily believe, that I have acted on this occasion in reluctant submission to what I regard as an indispensable public duty."

The announcement of Governor Fitz-Roy's recal, although, as before stated, it bore the date 30th of April, was not dispatched until the 29th of May, his explanations of the extreme and pressing emergencies which had induced him to infringe his instructions, arrived at the Colonial Office only a few days later.

In an able vindication of his conduct addressed to Lord Stanley, and dated November, 1845, the recalled governor alludes to this circumstance. He writes,—

"Your Lordship kindly expresses anxiety to find an apology for such of my acts as you were not able to approve; but my own explanations of the reasons of those acts were not then before you. I cannot say that they would have been satisfactory under the circumstances of that period, but I think that a few days' delay would not have been ill bestowed on an honest and hard-working public servant. * * * I acknowledge most fully the obligation under which I lay to take my measures circumspectly, to pursue them with firmness, and to report them with punctuality."

"Of my circumspection, only those could then judge fairly who were on the spot; but now your Lordship may also be enabled to form an opinion from recent events—at that time only threatening.

Of my firmness in pursuing one main object, that of endeavouring to promote the welfare of the colony, and to prevent the white and coloured races from coming into collision, while the white race was entirely in the power of the coloured, your Lordship may be aware, now that the real power of the natives, and the truly precarious state of our countrymen is becoming at last understood, and fully acknowledged. I thought, as I still think, all matters of ordinary arrangement; such as the mode of raising revenue, or the description of circulating medium, altogether inferior in importance to that question on which, in New Zealand, to the present hour, every thing depends: namely, the relations between the two races.

"That I have not reported my proceedings with punctuality, has been a natural consequence of the distance of New Zealand from England, the uncertainty of communication, the months that had elapsed at times without the means of sending letters, the delays at Sydney, and my own absence from some part whence a vessel sailed.

"It appears to have been overlooked at the Colonial Office that vessels sail from one port of New Zealand without their being always previously mentioned at other ports. A month is usually required to obtain a reply from Wellington to a letter written at Auckland, and *vice versa*. But as every vessel, however small, conveys the latest local paper from one port to another, intelligence is often carried by such means unknown to the officers of government."

After adverting to the necessity he was under to visit Cook's Straits three times during the first ten months of his residence in the colony (which visits occupied together a period of eighteen weeks), and to the disturbances which had compelled his presence at New Plymouth, and at the Bay of Islands; he adds, that as it was impossible for him to move actively, and endeavour to prevent fatal disasters by personal influence, and at the same time employ himself in preparing sufficient accounts for the home government, he had been compelled to choose between two alternatives, and preferred acting first and afterwards writing. Alluding to the intricacies of the New Zealand question, all the bearings of which "a volume would not suffice to shew distinctly," he remarks:—

"In few words I may here remind your Lordship that the British Government has undertaken to deal with the numerous and well-armed descendants—the formidable 'fragments' [Toenga] as they express themselves, of a nation formerly half-civilized, of whose customs they still retain indelible traces, and to whose laws they still adhere with pertinacity, though they can now give no reason for them, except that their ancestors observed them. The 'Ritenga Maori,' or native 'Common Law,' cannot be set aside by force or hastily. Christianity has done much—strictly just conduct on our part may also do much towards civilizing the New Zealanders: but injustice or oppression will drive them back into utter barbarism."

After explaining the causes of his "ap-

parent vacillation of purpose," Captain Fitz-Roy adds,—

"While appearing to vacillate, I was firm to my purposes—of preventing collision between the white and coloured races, and of mitigating the distresses of many colonists, while endeavouring to promote the progress of others. From these objects neither slander, abuse, nor misrepresentation could divert me; and I acknowledge distinctly that I considered all other objects inferior to these. I looked at the totally exposed and defenceless state of all the settlements, without walls, stockades, or any kind of efficient protection, without even a place of refuge for women and children. I remembered the destruction in Chili of seven Spanish towns in one night by Aboriginal natives, far inferior to the New Zealanders in arms and warlike qualities, and I reflected on the inutility of fiscal arrangements, should our settlers be similarly destroyed. The colonists' houses being generally of wood, and scattered over the country in the most unguarded manner, there was absolutely no kind of security against fire and plunder; except the influence of respect and good feeling, of friendship and self-interest. But this would have ceased at once had a serious dispute, or an act of decided injustice on the part of the government taken place. Even now, with ships of war and troops at hand, the security of the settlers is very precarious, depending entirely on contingencies which cannot be foreseen."

That the New Zealand Company had used every exertion to bring censure and obloquy upon Governor Fitz-Roy,* as they had formerly done upon Governor Hobson and Acting-Governor Shortland, there can be little doubt. Their influence was employed in so systematic and organized a manner, that, directed to a right end, it might have produced great good, instead of being made the means of perverting truth and circulating falsehood. Captain Fitz-Roy, in a dispatch dated October, 1845, says, "as it appears certain that the combined efforts of persons interested in the New Zealand Company have injured me most deeply, I may remind your lordship that three, if not four, colonial newspapers are violent advocates of that company; that the statements of those papers, *known in the colony to be false*, are repeated with various exaggerations in London newspapers; and that ever since I was found to be sincere in my endeavours to act honestly towards the natives, for the safety of the settlers, as well as from principle, there has been an unceasing

endeavour to make me resign, or get me recalled."†

In the spring of 1845, the Company made a desperate effort to reopen a negotiation with the government, and on the 1st of May the directors, as a preliminary step, adopted a resolution to the effect that this court, being "sensible of the extreme delicacy and importance of the present position of the Company's affairs, deems it advisable that the practical proceedings now to be adopted, should be entrusted in a spirit of unlimited confidence to a small number of its members. That the undermentioned gentlemen be therefore appointed a secret committee, with full authority to conduct and conclude any arrangement which they may deem most expedient, namely: Mr. Somes, M.P. (Governor); Mr. Aglionby, M.P.; Mr. Buller, M.P.; Sir Isaac Lyon Goldsmid, Bart.; Lord Ingestre, M.P.; Mr. Lyall, and Mr. [Edward Gibbon] Wakefield."

The secret committee proposed to the government on the part of the Company a project which they afterwards described "as an endeavour, by a change of system, to render needless any direct decision on the precise points of previous controversy; and by means of a large and bold policy, to reconcile satisfactorily the interests of the natives, the colonists, the missionaries, and the Company, and to put matters on an entirely new and sound footing, without compromising the honour of the government. The mode in which it proposed to effect this was by erecting a New Province, comprising the middle and a portion of the northern island, and *conferring the government of it upon a new company (in which the present company was to merge).*"‡

This proposition was rejected by her Majesty's ministers, who, however, intimated, that if the New Zealand Company had any other to offer, founded upon a *wholly different principle*, for relieving themselves, the colony, and the government from the embarrassment consequent upon the present state of their affairs, the discussion of it would be entered upon with an earnest desire to find a satisfactory solution of ex-

* Among the many complaints urged by the company against Governor Fitz-Roy in their petition of April, 1845, was that of his having issued an "inconvertible currency in notes for very small sums." At least he had not been the first to introduce a paper currency into the colony, since their own payments in the New Plymouth settlement, if not else-

where, had been constantly made in debentures varying in value from 8d. upwards, which were nothing more than written scraps of paper issued by the agent. Many of these were lost.

† Parliamentary Papers, New Zealand, 1846.

‡ Eighteenth Report of the New Zealand Company, p. 11.

isting difficulties.* Here the matter ended for the time, the company not choosing to offer any proposal calculated to confer on them a diminished monopoly. In the following July we find them again soliciting from the government an arrangement of their land claims, and a fresh loan of £150,000, to enable them to resume their "colonizing operations." These requests were urged in separate communications. To the first Lord Stanley, through Mr. Hope,† gave a decidedly favourable reply; though not to the extent of the Company's demands: since his Lordship repeated his previous declaration, that he could not, "on any account, agree to guarantee to put the Company (forcibly, if necessary) in possession of lands owned by others; or to compel the original possessors to surrender their acknowledged property." With respect to the decisions given by Commissioner Spain in his judicial character, or delivered by him as an arbitrator, whose adjudication had been authorized by the representatives of both parties, Lord Stanley expressed his opinion that "possession of the land included in such award or arbitration should be given to the Company," but beyond this limit compulsory proceedings against the natives would not be sanctioned. Mr. Hope goes on to state, that with respect to the proposed settlement at Otago, the governor of New Zealand should be at once instructed to make to the Company an unconditional grant of the 400,000 acres they had there purchased, excluding that reserved for the natives; the Company engaging, within a limited period, to select the 150,000 acres proposed, and also such further quantities as they might desire, and reconvey the remainder to the Crown.

The application for the loan was, as usual, founded on the expenses and losses of the Company, which were adduced as forming a valid claim on her Majesty's government. Lord Stanley, in his reply of the 30th of August, 1845, refused in the most unequivocal manner to admit or recognise any such claim. But on considerations of general policy, and principally on account of the large body of her Majesty's subjects, who had expended much of their own capital in forming settlements in full reliance on the continuance of the Company's opera-

tions, her Majesty's ministers agreed to recommend Parliament in the ensuing session to grant a loan of £100,000 for seven years to the New Zealand Company, to be applied solely to satisfying and purchasing native claims, and for surveys and surveying staff. The lands of the New Zealand Company were to be mortgaged to the Crown, which mortgage might be foreclosed at the end of seven years; interest to be paid at the rate of three per cent. per annum. The extra £50,000 asked by the Company for the "completion of the engagements entered into with the settlers at Nelson, for expenditure on religious and educational purposes, and for steam navigation," was refused for the very sufficient reason that the Company was bound to satisfy those claims from their own resources.

This loan of £100,000 was, however, "accepted without hesitation," and the Nelson settlers, to whom the Company acknowledged they were indebted £50,000, were, to use a nautical phrase, "thrown overboard;" yet, not three months before, the directors had paraded their preference of honour to profit, and their resolution "to forego rather the certain prospect of immediate pecuniary advantages than to purchase that advantage by the sacrifice of the colonists" they had been the means of planting in New Zealand.‡

While these negotiations were carried on between the government and the Company, open hostilities were being waged in New Zealand. Troops were sent from Sydney, and Heké and Kawiti were twice defeated (in June and April); but their strength and bravery had in both instances been greatly underrated, and although successful in the main, an unexpected loss of life was incurred by the British troops.

When the report first reached the colony that Governor Fitz-Roy was recalled, it was rumoured that "her Majesty would send a very different kind of man to govern New Zealand—one who would soon teach the natives to know their proper place."§ Official intimation of his recal was not received by the governor until September. The gentleman appointed in his stead was Captain (now Sir George) Grey, who was summoned from the government of South Australia, a colony whose affairs he had ad-

* Eighteenth Report of the New Zealand Company, p. 67.

† See Letter of G. W. Hope, Esq., to Lord Ingestre, Parliamentary Papers on New Zealand, 1845.

‡ See Eighteenth Report of the Directors of the New Zealand Company, May, 1845, p. 15.

§ Final Report of the Chief Protector of Aborigines.

ministered during a very critical period with singular ability and success, who had deeply studied the character and capabilities of the Aborigines of Australia, and whose name it will be remembered has been mentioned in describing the progress of discovery and exploration in that vast island-continent.

Great excitement prevailed among the Maori population on hearing of the supercession of Governor Fitz-Roy, and its reputed cause, and a considerable number of friendly and influential chiefs proceeded to Auckland, to learn from his own lips the true state of the cause. He used his utmost influence to dispel their apprehensions, and assured them, with a generosity which, under the circumstances, it would be difficult to praise too highly, that if he had been permitted by her Majesty to choose a successor, whose administration he thought would be just and equitable towards the natives, and studiously attentive to their interests, his choice would have fallen upon Captain Grey; than whom, judging from what was publicly known of him, no one could be better qualified for the government of New Zealand.

The new governor arrived in the middle of November, and on the 18th was duly installed. Money and troops to a considerable extent were at once placed at his disposal, his salary as governor was fixed at £2,500 per annum, and almost unlimited confidence was reposed in him.

It is no disparagement to the indisputable merit of Captain Grey, and it is but bare justice to Captain Fitz-Roy, to call attention to the different position of a governor with money, abundance of troops, and a personal income of £2,500 per annum, to that of another without money, almost without troops, and with the confessedly insufficient income of £1,200 per annum, which meagre sum could have been but irregularly paid, the salaries of all the officials, from the highest to the lowest, being, at the period of his assuming the reins of office, considerably in arrears.*

* In a debate in the House of Lords, 1st of March, 1848, Lord Stanley described Captain Fitz-Roy as having "found himself called on to legislate between a warlike and active population, armed with their rights, and familiar with their laws, numbering 120,000 soldiers, at the lowest calculation, on the one hand, and, on the other, a scattered European population of about 12,000 persons, distributed over seven or eight settlements, 500 or 600 miles between each settlement, and without soldiers, or almost without soldiers. On Captain Fitz-Roy devolved the task of preserving peace and preventing the annihila-

Governor Grey used the means entrusted to him with prudence and success—Governor Fitz-Roy had them not, though he saw and declared them from the first to be absolutely essential to an efficient administration, the want of them compelled him to resort to measures which he would otherwise have zealously eschewed. Too true a Christian, too brave a sailor, and too honest a man, not fully to appreciate the evils inevitably attendant upon a temporizing and apparently vacillating policy, he was yet driven into its adoption, by the state of anarchy and bloodshed which threatened to overwhelm the colony. What else could he do? He had no troops to overawe the natives—no money wherewith to confer upon them those substantial benefits which would have effectually secured the allegiance of this brave, intelligent, and, to a great extent, civilized race, at little cost, even in a pecuniary sense, without involving the sacrifice of a single life. Had but one-tenth the money since expended on military defences and actual warfare been invested by government in the fair purchase of land from the natives, and in direct measures for their benefit, even the dealings of the New Zealand Company would have been insufficient to provoke them to hostilities. The much talked-of native reserves had been nominally vested by Governor Hobson in the bishop, the chief justice, and the chief protector, but no available fund appears, up to the recal of Governor Fitz-Roy, to have arisen from them, for the local ordinance brought forward by him, empowering the trustees to act on behalf of the natives, without which no proceedings could have been legally taken in respect to leasing or otherwise obtaining any revenue from them, had not then been confirmed. Governor Hobson had been very greatly to blame in not adhering to the instructions strictly enjoined upon him by the home government, and suffering the surplus of the 15 per cent. upon the produce of the land sales, which was to be appropriated solely for the benefit of the colony by the natives, who regarded the settlers as persons who had encroached on their dearest rights. It was less difficult for Captain Grey, and it was less merit to him that he should have surmounted these difficulties with increased means at his command. It was not fair to visit Captain Fitz-Roy with censure, because, with diminished resources, he could not do as much. With regard to the colony itself, he believed the error had been that the colonists had underrated the powers, the means and the civilization of the natives."

been nominally vested by Governor Hobson in the bishop, the chief justice, and the chief protector, but no available fund appears, up to the recall of Governor Fitz-Roy, to have arisen from them, for the local ordinance brought forward by him, empowering the trustees to act on behalf of the natives, without which no proceedings could have been legally taken in respect to leasing or otherwise obtaining any revenue from them, had not then been confirmed. Governor Hobson appears to have been to blame in not strictly adhering to the instructions enjoined upon him by the home government, and suffering the surplus of the 15 per cent. upon the produce of the land sales, which was to be appropriated solely for the benefit of the natives, to be swallowed up in the pressing requirements of his general administration. The amount of this surplus (£4,000) was entered by Mr. Shortland upon the schedule of the debts of the colony, which were to be paid by a vote of Parliament; but this item was struck out by the Commissioner of the Treasury, who refused to recognise it as part of the debt of the colony. The New Zealand Company's reserves* had been a total failure, chiefly from the worthlessness of great part of the tenth or eleventh portions allotted for them [see Div. v. p. 171], but partly also from the general decline of the settlements, and from an ambiguity in the original plan, by which it was left uncertain whether the reserves were for the actual occupation of the natives, or intended to be let to English settlers, and the proceeds to be applied to the maintenance of native institutions. Under these circumstances, the natives naturally asked what benefits, of those held out to them, they had received from British sovereignty. To this Captain Fitz-Roy could only, in reply, tell them of the advantages conferred by the presence of a civilized government, which time alone could teach them to appreciate; but unhappily he could point to no such unmistakable evidence of care for their welfare as would have been afforded

by the erection of an hospital or the establishment of a school. No place of shelter for the natives (excepting one small building at Nelson) had then been erected out of the colonial funds, nor had any contribution been made towards the erection of a church for the Aboriginal population. The Church and Wesleyan societies were left alike by government and (as Mr. Coates and the Rev. J. Beecham had predicted) by the all-promising New Zealand Company, to pursue unassisted the labours to which both parties were so materially indebted; and to the missionaries the natives turned as to their only disinterested advisers. The influence of the Chief Protector, Mr. Clarke, who had lived among them for twenty-three years, and his son, was doubtless considerable, and of their assistance, as well as that of the missionaries, Governor Fitz-Roy wisely availed himself, in the endeavour to hold his ground during a most critical period. His own unimpeached integrity of character† gave him great weight in the eyes of the natives, and contributed mainly to the efficacy of the "moral force" by which he was enabled to ward off for a time impending danger.

Had he fanned the flame as he was urged and goaded to do by many of the infatuated settlers, instead of using every exertion to smother it, even though conscious that in doing so, he was compelled to adopt measures, the motives for which being misrepresented, would probably cost him character and position—his successor would probably have found on his arrival more deaths to avenge, than lives to preserve.

ADMINISTRATION OF GOVERNOR GREY.—The new governor at once perceived the deeply-rooted anxiety concerning the intentions of the British government with respect to the land question, which, notwithstanding the zealous and disinterested exertions of Captain Fitz-Roy, prevailed even among the most friendly and influential of the Maori chiefs. He took the only means of calming their excitement, by assuring them, "in the most public manner, in the strong-

* "It appears that in some instances the native allotments included or might have included, a desirable water frontage, the prospective value of which must be sufficiently obvious. Some of these native allotments it has been found expedient to exchange against mountain tracts, which, the Parliamentary Committee were informed, are equally valuable to the natives."—*British Colonization of New Zealand*, by the Committee of the Aborigines' Protection Society, p. 8.

† In his private capacity, the good done by Captain Fitz-Roy under most unfavourable circumstances, and with limited means, was acknowledged by all parties, and he was zealously assisted by Mrs. Fitz-Roy. A well-informed colonist, writing from Auckland in 1844, says, "Mrs. Fitz-Roy is establishing various schools and other useful and charitable institutions in the settlement, and she is doing it in such a manner as not only to benefit the poor, but also the higher classes, by enlisting in the same cause all the other ladies of the settlement."—Dr. Martin's *New Zealand* p. 214.

est terms, and on repeated occasions," that he "had been instructed by her Majesty, most honourably and scrupulously to fulfil the terms of the treaty of Waitangi."* Very shortly after his installation, he repaired to the Bay of Islands, to ascertain whether Heke and Kawiti would accept the terms of peace which had been offered to them, and to institute, on the spot, a careful inquiry into their real objects and intentions, as also into those of the other chiefs. He found the disaffected natives to consist of two classes, namely, those who had been actively engaged in hostilities, and those who, under the guise of neutrality, were quietly awaiting the event of the contest, intending ultimately to side with the strongest party. This state of things was at once changed, by the declaration of the governor, that he would not recognise neutrality on the part of any chief, but that whoever failed to come and see him, and refused to afford him any assistance he might require, or information on the state of the country, would be considered and treated by him as one of the rebels. Upon this intimation, all the neutral chiefs, with two exceptions, waited upon him, and gave assurances of their loyalty. Heke and Kawiti, however, returned unsatisfactory replies to the communications made to them, and military operations were recommenced.

In the beginning of December the governor returned to Auckland. His first measures were to refuse to permit the sale of land, by waiving the Crown's right of pre-emption, as his predecessor had done in special cases, and to introduce an ordinance to prohibit the importation, and regulate the sale, of arms and warlike stores in the colony. He then enrolled a native corps, under the direction of British officers, consisting of sixty men, each of whom was to receive rations and ten shillings a month as pay. He also appointed some of the chiefs native magistrates, with a salary of about £20 a-year, paid monthly; chiefs serving as non-commissioned officers to receive additional remuneration. Having made these arrangements, he proceeded in the East India Company's ship, *Elphinstone*, to the Bay of Islands, where he found H.M.S. *Castor*, *North Star*, *Racehorse*, and *Osprey*, at an-

* Governor Grey to Earl Grey, Dec. 10th, 1845.

† Colonel Despard, who commanded the troops, declared that the extraordinary strength of the place, particularly in its interior defences, far exceeded any idea he could have formed of it; every hut was a complete fortress in itself, being strongly stockaded

chor. The seamen and marines from these vessels increased the force available for inland warfare to 1,100 men, exclusive of the native allies, many of whom, but especially Walker Nene, and his brother, Timotiu, Ripa, Macquarie, and Nopera (Noble), distinguished themselves by indefatigable zeal and courage. After some skirmishing, Heke and Kawiti were finally shut up in the pah belonging to the latter chief, at Rua-peka-peka. A company of the Royal Artillery, which had been sent from England, had not arrived; but some of the ships' guns were dragged, with great labour, through the woods and swamps.

The first days of 1846—the seventh year since the establishment of the colony—were spent by the troops in front of Rua-peka-peka. Batteries were erected at the distance of 160 and 365 yards from the pah, and on Saturday, the 10th of January, a constant fire was kept up for several hours, which succeeded in breaching it, though with little, if any, loss to the enemy, who had formed bomb-proof excavations, in which they were safe both from shot and shell.† Walker Nene and other natives, aware of the strength of the pah, entreated the British, in the most urgent manner, not to persist in their attempt to take it by assault, as even in the improbable event of their succeeding, it must be at a heavy cost of life on both sides, but to wait until the ensuing morning (Sunday), when the enemy, not anticipating hostilities, might be easily surprised. The result proved that he was right in his conjecture; but it is not possible, even under the peculiar circumstances of the case, to avoid expressing regret, that the belief in the sanctity of the sabbath, so markedly evinced by the natives, was not respected by their Christian opponents.

Nene, accompanied by two or three other natives, approached the pah in the morning, and found it empty. A signal was made to the nearest stockade, and Captain Denny, with the grenadier company of the 58th regiment, immediately effected an entrance, and was supported by troops and sailors, who rapidly poured in through the breach. The insurgents were on the outside of the pah, and behind it, some occupied in preparing food, others in celebrating divine service all round with heavy timbers sunk deep in the ground and placed close to each other, few of them being less than a foot in diameter, and many considerably more, besides having a strong embankment thrown up behind them.—Parliamentary Papers on New Zealand of June, 1846; p. 9.

vice. Notwithstanding this surprise, they made a desperate attempt to retake the pah, but were repulsed with loss. That of the British amounted to twelve killed and thirty wounded, the greater part of whom fell while rashly pressing on the natives in their retreat through the forest.* Heke, Kawiti, and their followers, after the destruction of their chief stronghold, suffered greatly from the want of provisions, and shortly after entreated Walker Nene to negotiate on their behalf with the governor for peace, on any terms, offering to give compensation in land for their past offences. The fact of Walker Nene's coming forward as mediator was peculiarly opportune, because, according to Governor Grey's despatch, 22nd January, 1846, some indefinite promise had been made to him, and to other friendly chiefs, that their services to the British government should be rewarded by the grant of land to be confiscated in punishment of the rebellion of its native owners. This arrangement Governor Grey considered that he could not conscientiously carry out: he therefore informed Walker Nene that he and his associates must forego any claims they might have upon the lands of the rebels, arising from promises previously made to them by the local government. In a subsequent despatch (26th January, 1846), in detailing, at some length, his views on the subject, the governor says—"I therefore resolved frankly to tell Walker Nene, that I would at once give the rebels a free pardon, and that I would not fulfil my predecessor's promise of dividing the lands forfeited by the rebels amongst the loyal natives; because I believed that my doing so would be injurious to the reputation and interests of himself and the other friendly chiefs; for that the moment I adopted such a course, every one would cease to believe that the loyal natives had been contending for the re-establishment of peace and good order, and would think that their real object had been to obtain possession of the lands of others. I, moreover, pointed out to him, that if I did bestow these lands upon the friendly chiefs, the war must become one of utter extermination; because there could be no doubt that, so soon as the

British force was withdrawn, the original possessors of these lands would attempt to recover them by force of arms, and that it would, moreover, be impossible so to divide it, as not to give rise to quarrels and feuds amongst the loyal chiefs themselves. I added, that in order that it might be clearly seen that I did not refuse to give the lands to the loyal natives *from a desire to obtain them for the Crown*, I would give a free and unconditional pardon to the rebels, leaving it to her Majesty to determine in what manner the services of the loyal natives should be rewarded; and I asked him to explain these my intentions and my views to the other chiefs." Nene† cordially, and without hesitation, assented to the justice of this reasoning. The governor then accorded a free pardon to all concerned in the late hostilities, and soon after sailed to the southern settlements, where the Maories were maintaining a species of guerilla warfare against the settlers, especially those who had established themselves in the upper part of the valley of the Hutt.

Her Majesty's steam-frigate, *Driver*, the first vessel of that description which had visited the Australasian colonies, anchored in Port Nicholson in the afternoon of the day on which the governor arrived in H.M.S. *Castor*. The colonial government brig and the *Slains Castle* (transport) followed, likewise bearing troops, and increasing the disposable force to nearly 1,000 men. Several influential chiefs of the Middle Island at once expressed their intention of maintaining the cause of the government; and Puaha (the Christian chief, who played so conspicuous a part in Mr. Tuckett's narrative, and of whom Governor Grey makes very favourable mention) travelled all night, in his anxiety to embrace the earliest opportunity of tendering his allegiance to the Queen's representative. Te Rauperaha likewise waited upon the governor; both he and Ranghiaiaata expressed their willingness to assist in expelling the natives from the valley of the Hutt, which the governor, (considering the claims of the New Zealand Company to have been fairly established,) had given the natives notice to evacuate by a certain day. They agreed to this, but the cost of a wheat mill, for the use and benefit of Heke, to whom he said, "I do this to convince you that I am your friend, and was so when I took up arms against you. Is it not a good thing to have white men here, who teach us to grow wheat and have mills, and live in peace with the white men and among ourselves?"

* *Sketches in New Zealand*, by W. Tyrone Power, D.A.C.G.; introduction, p. 41; and *Annals of the Colonial Church of New Zealand*, p. 207.

† Nene has recently given a noble proof of his disinterestedness by relinquishing all immediate benefit from the royal grant made to him in acknowledgment of his services, and appropriating it to defray

demanded payment for the huts and crops (amounting to nearly 300 acres of potatoes) which they must leave on the land. The governor refused to enter into this question until the Europeans should have been suffered to take peaceable possession.

Intimidated by the unexpected presence of so large a force the majority of the natives gave way, and of the three hundred fighting men who had occupied the disputed territory, all but about twenty speedily removed from it with their families and properties. Those who remained were most daring in their conduct: they took up their position among the wooded hills, where they appear to have been soon joined by others, and on one occasion, having succeeded in passing the troops in such a manner as to escape detection, they plundered sixteen or seventeen of the houses of the settlers, and then suddenly retired to their fastnesses, whither it was worse than useless for British troops to follow them.*

The strength of these retreats, and the judgment exercised by the natives in selecting and fortifying them, may be illustrated by the following account of one near Wellington, which was visited after its abandonment by the natives.

The forest which had been held by the enemy was traversed by a single narrow path, almost impassable for armed Europeans. This path ascended a narrow ridge of rocks, having a precipice on each side covered with jungle. The ridge of rocks was so narrow, that only one person could pass along it at a time, and it led to a hill with a broad summit, upon which a fortress had been constructed in such a manner as completely to command the path, which was rendered more difficult by an abbatiss placed across it. The rear of this position was quite as inaccessible as its front, and on each flank was a precipice; from the number of huts placed upon it, it must have been occupied by from 300 to 400 men. Altogether Governor Grey described it as the strongest position he had ever seen in any part of the world. In the beginning of April, (1846,) a barbarous murder was committed by some of the natives under the protection of Ranghiaiaata, who refused to give them up, and began to evince open hostility to the government. Ambitious of the fame acquired by Heke and Kawiti in the north, he busied himself in the construction of a pah, from whence he boasted

* Governor Grey's despatch, March 8th, 1846.

British troops and artillery would be necessary to drive him, which was eventually the case. Rauperaha continued to profess friendship, but there were circumstances in his conduct which inspired doubts of his sincerity. The governor had desired to delay the commencement of field operations until the summer weather; but the repeated outrages of the natives defeated this intention: he therefore sent round troops to occupy and fortify the point at Porirua (see map of New Zealand), and commenced opening out communications with the interior, a measure which the unfortunate position of Wellington, hemmed in by forest-covered mountains, rendered necessary for military as well as agricultural purposes. The rebels, though still in arms, at first offered no interruption to the formation of the roads (on which a large number of the friendly natives were engaged), and ceased to molest the settlers, but this calm was of very brief duration. Half-an-hour before sunrise, on the 16th May, a party about 200 strong, led by a Wanganui chief, named Mamaku, unexpectedly attacked a non-commissioned officer's guard, in front of a military post stationed in the valley of the Hutt. The men composing the guard were surprised and slain, after having given great proofs of personal gallantry. Another affray took place in the following month between a detachment of forty men under the command of Captain Reed, and a party of the rebels, of whom Ranghiaiaata was the principal leader, in which the British were again compelled to retreat.

Encouraged by these successes the rebels assumed a most contemptuous tone, and the parties from the interior who were proceeding to join them, as well as those from other parts of the islands, were so elated that the necessity for decided and speedy measures became urgent, not only to discourage the disaffected, but to inspire the native allies more fully with that confidence which they were rapidly losing.† The vigorous steps adopted were successful, and were happily attended with comparatively little bloodshed. The ships of war hovered upon the coast, the soldiers and marines were stationed at favourable points, while the friendly natives pursued Ranghiaiaata into the fastnesses whither Europeans could not penetrate. The suspicions which had for some time been entertained of the treachery of Te Rauperaha having been confirmed through a

† Governor Grey's despatch, July 21st, 1846.

letter addressed to him by some of the disaffected chiefs, who therein apprised him of their intention of joining him, it was determined to seize him by stratagem. To lull the suspicion of the wary chief, the governor, after an interview with him, left Porirua in H.M.S. *Driver*, but returned quietly about two hours before daybreak on the following morning. The boats' crews, under the command of Captain Stanley, of the *Calliope*, supported by a company of soldiers from the camp at Porirua, stealthily approached the pah, and guarded its different entrances, while Captain Stanley, with a party, dashed in to seize Rauperaha. The old chief,* roused suddenly from sleep, did not suffer himself to be captured without a vigorous struggle: he was at length secured, and, together with four other chiefs of inferior rank, conveyed on board a ship-of-war, where he was detained ten months a prisoner. At the expiration of that period, it being found impossible to obtain the evidence considered necessary to prove his guilt, and a large portion of the natives asserting their belief that his alleged continued detention was a mere blind made use of by the authorities, who were ashamed to confess that they had put him to death, it was deemed advisable to release him at the urgent solicitation of his relations, as also of Walker Nene and Te Whero-where, who pledged their words for his future good conduct.†

The unexpected capture of Rauperaha appears to have struck terror into the natives; and the *Ngatitoo*, his own tribe, to prove their fidelity, volunteered to assist in attacking Ranghiaiaata, and actually did take the field, though, according to Power, it was a matter of great doubt which side received most benefit from their services. The result, however, was the dispersion of the disaffected natives, and the capture of several of their chiefs. Ranghiaiaata, though, like Rauperaha, far advanced in years, persisted to the last in defending his pah; when at length compelled to quit it, he contrived to elude pursuit, but was reduced to the condition of a fugitive, nearly the whole of his followers having, at least for the time,

* Power describes Rauperaha as a small man, with a spare wiry frame, possessed of great muscular strength and activity, notwithstanding his advanced age, and adds, "he says himself, that he was a boy when Cook visited the country; which would make him upwards of eighty years of age."—*Sketches in New Zealand*, p. 51. Mr. Tuckett speaks of the extraordinary length of the teeth of Rauperaha, as

deserted him. A court-martial was held at Porirua to try the prisoners, some of whom were transported to Van Diemen's Land, from whence they were at a subsequent period permitted to return. One, however, said to have been the brother of Ranghiaiaata, and a chief of considerable influence, was tried and found guilty upon two counts, the first charging him with having been engaged in the attack on the troops on the 16th of June, and the second with having been taken in arms against the peace of the Queen, and with having joined the rebels under Ranghiaiaata. Sentence of death was pronounced against him, and he was hanged.

This circumstance is noticed in the *Annals of the Diocese of New Zealand*, p. 210, and in the *Colonial Intelligencer* of August, 1847, vol. i., p. 91: an extract recording the particulars of the execution is quoted from a local paper entitled the *New Zealand Chronicle*, and the sentence is commented on as of unwarrantable severity. In the despatches of Governor Grey, published among the parliamentary papers of that date, no allusion is made to the matter, neither have I been able to trace from any source the reason of this man's having been selected for an example, though it is most probable that he must have been distinguished from his companions by some special act of violence or aggression.

Military reinforcements were despatched to New Zealand, in conformity with the opinion of Governor Grey. Captain Fitz-Roy had been considered as over-rating the necessities of the colony, in requiring the presence of two regiments of the line (2,000 men), and an armed steamer. Governor Grey, after visiting many portions of the islands, recommended that the troops should be increased to 2,500 men, and stated (May, 1846), that upon the arrival of a sufficient military force, the naval force might possibly be reduced to one steamer and one vessel of war; but he fully agreed with his predecessor that the presence of a steamer would be always indispensable.‡ The Secretary of State for the Colonies, in reply, informed the governor, that her Majesty's ministers being unable to supply the whole one of the few manifestations of age observable in him. Another personal peculiarity which distinguishes the old chief, is that of possessing six toes on each foot.

† Governor Grey's despatch, July 6th, 1847.

‡ Parliamentary Papers on New Zealand, published January, 1847; p. 16.

of the required reinforcement from the regular army, a part of it would consist of a force of a different description, to be designated the Royal New Zealand Fencibles, and to be composed of six companies, including in all about 500 men, to be selected from the discharged soldiers of the British army, either with or without pensions. These men were to be established, with their families, in villages prepared for their reception, each one to have a cottage or hut ready for him, and an acre of land, of which one quarter was to be cleared, with an assurance of regular employment at fair wages:—to be liable to be called out in a military capacity only, for the preservation of the public peace, within the district in which the company they respectively belonged to should have been formed, or in districts immediately adjoining.*

An important feature of the early part of Governor Grey's administration was the abolition of the protectorate department. Concerning the expediency of this measure, very different opinions have been entertained; some considering the office of protector of vital importance, others deeming its existence an anomaly, which could not too soon be extinguished, as the governor being alike the ruler of all British subjects, whether colonists or natives, ought equally to be the protector of both races. In justice to the gentlemen who had filled the arduous duties of protectors of aborigines, and in proof that no imputation rested on their characters, it should be stated, that the chief protector (Mr. Clarke), was offered the position of native secretary, an office created in the place of that of chief protector, while the subordinates in his department were offered employment as clerks or interpreters, as vacancies occurred. Captain Fitz-Roy has borne high testimony to their services, declaring that their knowledge of native usages and language, and their personal influence among the aborigines had enabled them to allay many a fast increasing feeling of vindictive anger, and to prevent many a serious quarrel; he adds, "they were the eyes and ears of the executive authorities at each settlement."

In his final report, dated March, 1846, Mr. Clarke states one especial instance in which the British government had imper-

fectly discharged their obligations to the New Zealanders. He says,—

"The natives, as if to try what government would do for them in their new relationship as British subjects, speedily brought forward their quarrels and disputes with each other, respecting their landed possessions, expecting assistance and protection; but they soon found that these were questions about which the government took little or no interest; and that so long as their intestine broils were confined to themselves, and were unattended by injurious consequences to the persons and property of Europeans, they were deemed too unimportant for interference, although known to be the fruitful sources of strife and bloodshed. To the present day there is neither a court to take cognizance of disputes of this nature between different tribes, nor even the probability of the organisation and establishment of tribunals, which could efficiently try and adjust such cases."†

The measures which Governor Grey describes himself to have taken to replace the protectorate department,‡ were in themselves unquestionably judicious, and greatly needed. Savings' banks were established at Auckland and Wellington; means were taken for the crection of hospitals for Europeans and natives at Auckland, Wellington, Wanganui, and Taranaki; a lawyer of ability was engaged as standing counsel, to whom all the natives resorting to Auckland for justice were referred, a fixed fee of £100 a year being paid to him, from funds applicable to native purposes, and a further fee of five per cent. on all amounts which he might recover for them. Peculiar courts, called Resident Magistrates' Courts, were created for the purpose of determining all civil cases involving claims of less than £100 in amount, arising between natives and Europeans. An ordinance was also enacted to prevent Europeans "from abandoning, in a state of utter destitution and misery, their half-caste children, as they were previously in the habit of doing." Governor Grey, in the despatch from which these particulars are taken, alludes, with reason, to the beneficial results to be expected from the extensive employment of the natives upon public roads, by which means they were taught the use of the principal European agricultural implements, the advantages of combined and continuous labour, and were becoming accustomed to a better diet, to better clothes, to discipline, to regular hours of work, and were at the same time opening up their

* Parliamentary Papers on New Zealand, January, 1847; pp. 18—20. Further particulars respecting the military villages and the native militia will be given in the chapters on topography and population.

† Parliamentary Papers relating to New Zealand, published June, 1847; p. 16.

‡ Vide despatch from Governor Grey, dated 4th February, 1847.

country, and insuring to themselves the power of easily transporting their produce to market.

With regard to the annual revenue and expenditure of the colony, Governor Grey gives the following brief estimate in his despatch, dated 12th of May, 1846:—

Probable general ordinary annual expenditure of local government	£27,000
Probable extra expenditure, on account of natives, police, roads, &c., &c.	31,000
Total expenditure	£58,000
Probable revenue from this date, but rapidly increasing in amount	22,000
Immediate annual deficiency, yearly decreasing in amount.	£36,000

The proceedings of Parliament in the session of this and the following year, (1846, '47,) had a very important bearing on the affairs of New Zealand. Before entering upon them, it is necessary to state that at the commencement of 1846, Mr. Gladstone became Secretary for the Colonies, in the stead of Lord Stanley, whose line of policy with regard to New Zealand, he appears to have steadily maintained. In the ensuing June another change of ministry took place, and Mr. Gladstone was succeeded by Earl Grey, whose accession to office was hailed by the New Zealand Company with extreme satisfaction, his opinions being known, to be far more favourable to that body, than those of either of his predecessors. A few months before his lordship became colonial minister, we find Mr. E. G. Wakefield describing him as "the statesman who has most completely mastered the subject of New Zealand affairs,"* and the *New Zealand Journal*, the chief organ of the directors, and more especially of Mr. Wakefield, pointed out in the strongest terms the perfect fitness of Lord Grey to grapple successfully with the many difficulties of the New Zealand question. In one article, after passing the highest eulogiums, both on his public and private character, the writer adds, "we believe that his sense of justice and comprehensive sympathies will care for all,—the colonists of Cook's Straits, the more irregular (?) settlers of the northern peninsula, the deluded land-jobbers of Auckland—last, though not least, the natives. We have confidence in his ability to reconcile their seeming jarring and conflicting interests, and in his energy to carry through

* *Vide* Twentieth Report of the Directors of the New Zealand Company, p. 38.

the undertaking. The national councils, so long as he remains in them, will not be disgraced by that perverseness and paltriness which have exposed the settlers in New Zealand to be duped and plundered by savages, and insulted by swindlers in office."†

This extract may serve as an illustration of the spirit of factious opposition, and of the grossly disrespectful tone still maintained by the directors of the Company towards the authorities, both at home and in the colony, and likewise of the ill-disguised hostility evinced towards the "savages," whose first and great offence consisted in not quietly submitting to be "duped and plundered" of their lands. It is likewise important that the strongly and publicly expressed opinions, both of the Company and of Mr. Wakefield, concerning Earl Grey, should be borne in mind, because the final failure of the Company has occurred during the administration of the very minister whose accession to office was hailed as its surest harbinger of success.

During the session of 1846, an act of Parliament (9 & 10 Vict. c. 184, sec. 11,) was passed by the Imperial Legislature, for the better government of New Zealand, under the authority of which a charter was issued for the introduction of a new constitution, under which the colonists should enjoy the privileges of representative institutions. The following abstract of the chief objects contemplated by the charter, is given in Earl Grey's dispatch to Lord Grey, of 23rd December, 1846:—

"For the institutions established under the charter of November, 1840, it contemplates the substitution of municipal corporations for the government of each separate district of New Zealand, which is or which shall be settled by colonists of European birth and origin. Every such district is to be erected into a borough; every such borough is to elect a common council, from which are to be chosen a mayor and a court of aldermen; every such common council is to elect members to serve in a House of Representatives, forming one of the three estates of a Provincial Assembly. For this purpose the whole of New Zealand is to be divided into two or more provinces. In every such Provincial Assembly, laws will be made for the province by the House of Representatives, by a Legislative Council, and by the governor, who together will constitute the Provincial Legislature.

"But as there are many topics of general concern to all the inhabitants of New Zealand, respecting which some uniformity of legislation and of administration will be indispensable, it is further provided, that a general assembly of the New Zealand Islands

† *New Zealand Journal*, No. 156 December 20th, 1845; p. 313.

shall be holden by the governor-in-chief. That General Assembly will be composed of himself, and of a Legislative Council, and of a House of Representatives. But no one will be a member of the Legislative Council of the General Assembly who is not also a member of one of the Legislative Councils of the Provincial Assemblies; neither will any one be a member of the House of Representatives of the General Assembly who is not a member of one of the Houses of Representatives of the Provincial Assemblies.

"In order to adapt the system of the local executive government to this scheme of provincial and general legislation, the charter (if the mere text of that instrument be alone regarded) provides for, and supposes, the creation of five different offices. They are a governor-in-chief of New Zealand, a governor of each province, and a lieutenant-governor of each."

For the present, however, the five offices mentioned at the close of the foregoing paragraph, were to be combined in two persons, the superior remaining with Captain (now Sir George) Grey, and the inferior being intrusted to Mr. Eyre, a gentleman who, like Captain Grey, had won considerable renown as an Australian explorer, and was known to take a deep interest in the welfare of aboriginal races. A letter of instructions, issued under the royal signet and sign manual, appended to the charter, gave copious and detailed explanations of its provisions, and of the manner in which they were to be carried out. The course of policy to be adopted with regard to the land question, was very different to that heretofore followed. Lord Grey enters upon this topic by announcing the repeal of the Australian Land Sales Act, so far as lands situated in New Zealand were concerned, and the consequent absence of any statutory regulations on the subject. His lordship then states that the Queen, as entitled in right of her crown to waste lands in the colony, is free to make whatever rules her Majesty may see fit, and the charter accordingly authorises the governor to take immediate measures for the alienation of such lands, by ordering the registration of the extent and limit of all lands considered as the property, either of individuals, of bodies politic or corporate, or of the native tribes; the whole of the remainder was then to be declared as constituting the royal demesne. No claim to land was to be admitted on behalf of the aboriginal inhabitants, until it should have been proved to the satisfaction of a court to be holden for the purpose,—

"That either by some act of the executive gov-

* Parliamentary Papers, January, 1847, p. 64.

† *Vide* New Zealand Question by L. A. Chame-

ment of New Zealand, as hitherto constituted, or by the adjudication of some court of competent jurisdiction within New Zealand, the right of such aboriginal inhabitants to such lands has been acknowledged and ascertained, or that the claimants or their progenitors, or those from whom they derived title, have actually had the occupation of the lands so claimed, and have been accustomed to use and enjoy the same, either as places of abode or for tillage, or for the growth of crops, or for the depasturing of cattle, or otherwise for the convenience and sustentation of life, by means of labour expended thereupon."

In the above clause there is one point to which it may be well to draw attention, namely, that in which it is laid down, "that the claimants or their progenitors, or those from whom they derived title, have actually had the occupation of the lands so claimed, and have been accustomed to use and enjoy the same," &c. In the charter of 1840, however, in which these words were first employed, they did not stand in conjunction, for clause thirty-seven of that instrument enacted, that "nothing in the said charter shall affect or be construed to affect, the rights of any aboriginal natives of the said colony to the actual occupation or enjoyment in their own persons," &c. An able writer, in commenting upon this apparently trivial distinction, remarks that, "according to the true and general acceptance of the word, 'occupation' may exist in respect of individual right of property independently of enjoyment;" but that "a right of enjoyment is necessarily dependent upon a precedent right of occupation, wherefore, whilst 'occupation or enjoyment,' would leave intact the very amplest construction of the treaty, 'occupation and enjoyment' would limit proprietary rights to a very narrow compass; wherefore the peculiar virtue of the substitution of 'and,' for 'or,' becomes apparent. Occupation is the larger right; enjoyment, the lesser; save definite boundary, occupation or enjoyment imposes no limitations upon proprietary rights; on the contrary, occupation and enjoyment imply a restriction of the greater right by the lesser. The treaty of Waitangi, and the charter of 1840, confirmed and guaranteed the greater right; the charter of 1846, and the letter of instructions, impose the lesser."†

The third and last feature of especial importance in the proposed constitution, refers to the government of the aborigines. In the fourteenth chapter of the Royal in-

rovzow, secretary to the Aborigines' Protection Society, pp. 363, 364.

structions, the governor-in-chief was directed to set apart, as he should see occasion, "aboriginal districts," the limits of which he was empowered from time to time to contract or enlarge, and within which the laws, customs, and usages of the Maories, so far as they were not repugnant to the general principles of humanity, should be for the present maintained, under the authority of native chiefs or others to be appointed or sanctioned by the governor-in-chief.*

Until further orders should be given, the three islands of New Zealand were to be formed into two provinces, to be called "New Ulster" and "New Munster;" the former to comprise the whole of the Upper or Northern Island, except such parts adjacent to Cook's Straits (Wellington, Wanganui, &c.) as the governor-in-chief might exclude; the parts so excepted, together with the Middle and Southern Islands, to constitute "New Munster." Each province was to have an executive council (composed of the colonial secretary, attorney-general, colonial treasurer, officer in command of the troops, and such other persons as may be deemed necessary,) to aid with their advice the administrator of the government.

The constitution bears internal evidence of the care and labour with which it had been prepared, but it was not the less grounded on a mistaken view of the actual and immediate requirements of the population generally, both European and native. To the former it conceded more than the majority of them desired, or were, in fact, in a position to receive; while it indirectly

* This plan of "aboriginal districts" bears some resemblance to one propounded by Mr. E. G. Wakefield, in an extraordinary and most mischievous letter, addressed by him to Mr. Gladstone, when colonial minister (21st January, 1846). It is very painful to find so high an authority as Earl Grey unquestionably is on colonial matters, even apart from his position in the cabinet, advocating a measure which those best acquainted with the New Zealanders declare to be, however modified in minor points, calculated to exercise a most injurious effect on the native character. That Mr. E. G. Wakefield, who has not hesitated to describe the treaty of Waitangi as having been "on our part a fraud on the ignorant natives, and a sham towards more intelligent people," should advise that beyond the limits of certain municipalities, the *New Zealand savages should be allowed to follow their own devices in a lawless territory whither no colonist of ordinary prudence would venture, because the protection of British law would in no case be extended to them, and which would, as he foresees, be preferred "by a lawless class, such as now prowl about these islands, (that is*

excluded the latter from the slightest participation in the legislative privileges so lavishly bestowed upon the white race, by declaring that the elective franchise was not to be exercised "by persons unable to read and to write in the English language;" in other words, that the Maories, of whatever station, influence, and natural ability, were to be allowed to enjoy it only on condition of being able to read and write, not their own, but a foreign, and to them, most difficult tongue.†

The time for promulgating and carrying out the charter was left to Governor Grey, who wisely availed himself of the discretionary power granted him, by delaying its introduction, and lost no time in representing to the home government his reasons for doing so. In several of his dispatches, but especially in that dated the 3rd of May, 1847,‡ the chief objections to the proposed constitution are clearly and convincingly shewn; especially the injustice of giving to a "small fraction" of one race, the power of governing the large majority of another, and of appropriating as they may think proper, a large revenue raised chiefly by taxation from the latter. The governor adds:—

"And these further difficulties attend the question, that the race which is in the majority is much the most powerful of the two; the people belonging to it are well armed, proud, and independent, and there is no reason that I am acquainted with to think that they would be satisfied and submit to the rule of the minority, whilst there are many reasons to believe that they will resist it to the utmost. And then it must be further remembered that the minority will not have to pay the expenses of the naval and military forces which will be required to compel the stronger and more numerous race to submit to their escaped convicts, runaway sailors, &c.) is no great matter of surprise, or even that he should again urge the disgraceful and utterly inexcusable plan of seizing upon the possessions of a noble, intelligent, and improving race, and confining them like wild beasts, within a sort of large lair, viz., the northern part of the North Island, under "a system of separation or anti-colonization," this northern peninsula being, it should be remembered, according to numerous accounts put forth by Mr. Wakefield and his "colleagues in the New Zealand Company," the most barren and uninviting portion of New Zealand.—*Vide Twentieth Report of the New Zealand Company, pp. 37 to 64.*

† Governor Grey, in his despatch of May 3, 1847, says, "that he does not know one native who can read and write the English language, although out of sixty-seven natives who had been employed in the Ordnance Department, sixty-six of them could write their own language, and the whole of them could read it."

‡ Parliamentary Papers on New Zealand, December, 1847, pp. 42—45.

rule, but that, on the contrary, these expenses must be paid by Great Britain.

After adverting to the extent to which the Maories already contributed to the revenue, and the probability that each year, as they continued to advance in civilisation, they would do so still more largely, so that the proportion paid by the European population would form but a small portion of the whole revenue; his excellency proceeds to say:—

"It must be borne in mind that the great majority of the native population can read and write their own language fluently; that they are a people quite equal in natural sense and ability to the mass of the European population; that they are jealous and suspicious, that they now own many vessels, horses, and cattle; that they have in some instances considerable sums of money at their disposal, and are altogether possessed of a great amount of wealth and property in the country, of the value of which they are fully aware; that there is no nation in the world more sensitive upon the subject of money matters, or the disposal of their property; and no people that I am acquainted with less likely to sit down quietly under what they may regard as injustice. A great change has also recently taken place in their position, the mutual jealousies and animosities of the tribes have greatly disappeared, and a feeling of class or race is rapidly springing up. * * * Their intercourse and power of forming extensive conspiracies, and of executing combined and simultaneous movements upon different points is daily increasing. * * * It is, I think, doubtful, therefore, if it would be prudent to hazard the attempt to force upon a nation so circumstanced a form of government which would at the same time irritate their feelings, and I think insult their pride, which there can be no doubt would separate them from the Europeans, placing them in an inferior position as a race, and thus at once create this feeling of nationality, the consequence of which would, I fear, be so hurtful. * * * The foregoing arguments have been applied solely to the great native population throughout the country, and to the general revenue raised from duties of customs; but they apply equally, perhaps even with more force, to the natives who would reside within the limits of boroughs, and who would be subjected to direct taxation, with form of assessments, &c., which, I fear, might often be collected in a manner highly offensive to them, and who would speedily become discontented and exasperated if they had no voice in the subject. The same arguments apply also equally to the naturalized Germans, who are likely to become a very numerous and important portion of the population, and who are at present contented and good citizens, whom I should be very sorry to see excluded from any privileges accorded to the rest of her Majesty's subjects; whilst the inhabitants of the French colony at Akaroa, whom her Majesty's government have directed to be naturalized, will, in like manner, be wholly excluded from any share in the management of their own affairs."

The governor was not singular in his anticipation of the evils which would result from any attempt to carry the proposed

constitution into effect. The bishop and chief-justice, both men of acknowledged ability and high principle, temperately but decidedly expressed their views on the subject; the latter, in the shape of a pamphlet; the former, in the subjoined protest. The pamphlet was printed only for a very limited private circulation, and although referred to in the Parliamentary Papers on New Zealand, bearing date July, 1849, is not, and, I believe, has not since been published, either at home or in the colony; the protest was transmitted to Earl Grey through the governor, by the bishop, who expressly states, that previous to its publication as an official document, few, even of his own friends, knew that it had been written, and not one of the native race.* It could not, therefore, have had the effect, it was from ignorance of the facts of the case, at first asserted to have had, in exciting a spirit of disaffection among the natives.

"St. John's College, Bishop's Auckland,
"July 1, 1847.

"May it please your Excellency,—I, George Augustus, by Divine permission, bishop of New Zealand, on my own behalf, and on behalf of the clergymen of this diocese, employed by Captain Hobson to interpret and explain the treaty of Waitangi to the native chiefs of New Zealand, do hereby record my deliberate and formal protest against the principles expressed in a letter of instructions addressed by the Right Hon. the Earl Grey to your excellency, bearing date, Downing-street, 23rd December, 1846, to the effect that,

"'The savage inhabitants of New Zealand have no right of property in land which they do not occupy, and which has remained unsubdued to the purposes of man.'

"Against this doctrine I feel myself called upon to protest, as the head of the missionary body, by whose influence and representations, the native chiefs were induced to sign the treaty of Waitangi, not one of whom would have consented to act as an agent of the British government, if the assurances given to them by Captain Hobson had not been directly contrary to the principles now avowed by the Right Hon. the Earl Grey.

"It is my duty also to inform your excellency, that I am resolved, God being my helper, to use all legal and constitutional measures, befitting my station, to inform the natives of New Zealand, of their rights and privileges as British subjects, and to assist them in asserting and maintaining them, whether by petition to the Imperial Parliament, or other loyal and peaceable methods: but that, in so doing, I shall not forget the respect which I owe to your excellency, nor do anything which can be considered likely to add to the difficulties of the colony.

"I have further to request, that this communication may be forwarded to the Right Hon. the Earl

* Parliamentary Papers on New Zealand, published July, 1849, p. 37.

Grey, secretary of state for the colonies, with whom I am privileged to communicate through your excellency.

"I have, &c.,

"G. A. N. ZEALAND.

"His Excellency Captain Grey, &c., &c., &c."

The Wesleyan missionaries fully participated in the apprehensions expressed by their brethren of the Church Mission, and their superintendent, the Rev. Walter Lawry, strongly urged the subject on the consideration of the Society in England, who, in consequence, memorialized Earl Grey, as did also the Aborigines Protection Society, in earnest and forcible language.

These various remonstrances were not disregarded, and the result was the speedy passing of a bill to suspend the charter for five years. Meanwhile, a Legislative Council was authorized to be formed at Wellington, for the New Munster province, under the administration of Lieutenant-governor Eyre (who arrived in the colony in 1847); Governor Grey superintending the affairs of the New Ulster province with a Legislative Council at Auckland, and at the same time, fulfilling the functions of governor-in-chief. To have repealed the charter altogether, would have been more satisfactory, as several of the cogent reasons urged against its being brought into operation in 1847, would seem to apply with undiminished force to its probable effect in 1852; meanwhile, the allowing its most obnoxious clauses, especially the one relating to the "settlement of the (so called) waste lands of the crown,"* to remain unrepealed, and only in temporary abeyance,—could scarcely fail to keep the native population in an unsettled and anxious state, calculated to check their advance in civilization, and, by consequence, to retard the progress of the colony. The importance of coming to a decision with as little delay as possible, may be illustrated by the following extract from a letter published in the *Colonial Intelligencer* of December, 1847. The name of the writer is withheld, but it evidently proceeds from some one who, by position and ability, is qualified to offer very valuable testimony:—

"Auckland, 5th July, 1847.

"At present I can do nothing more than advertise you of the critical state of things in this colony; and assure you that it appears to many thoughtful and disinterested men to have become a matter of vital importance to this colony, that the doctrines recently laid down by the colonial minister, in his despatch explaining the new instructions respecting native

* Thirteenth chapter of the Royal Instructions which accompanied the Charter.

titles to land, should be at once and seriously considered in all their bearings.

"For though it may be true that the theory put forth by Earl Grey is regarded by him simply as a doctrine sound in the abstract, yet practically inapplicable to New Zealand, by reason of past avowals here made of the opposite doctrine; and though it may be true that the instructions themselves are capable of being so carried out as to work no injustice, yet it is not less true that *any application* of the theory now propounded must involve a breach of national faith, from which Earl Grey and every nobleman in England would shrink at once, if the facts were clearly before him; and further, that in that breach of faith would lie the necessary loss of our moral influence, and therein of every hope for the improvement and advancement of this people; nay, the certainty of the loss of that hold which our faith and our better usages have already gained upon them. Every thing has been taken by them, of necessity, upon our authority—upon the credit of the Pakeha Teacher's being a true man, seeking the good of those whom he instructs.

"If this new theory were promulgated amongst the natives (as it will be), and believed to be the deliberate mind of the Queen of England (as I trust it never will be) towards them, we should not have one friend.

"The one practical difficulty which every man who has been conversant with the native people has been forced to see again and again, has been the suspicion which the natives have entertained of our intention to act here as they know us to have acted in Australia—a suspicion which a race of shrewd and foreseeing men could not but form. This is the one repelling force, against which it has been necessary to strive constantly. Yet many—very many—especially amongst those who have accepted Christianity, do believe that we mean what we say. In this belief lies all our strength and all our hope. If this spell be broken, our power for good is gone. But that will not leave us in a condition of indifference and repose. At that very point the determination and power of this people for evil will begin. Our settlements are at their mercy. Every month of the last three years has strengthened in them a national feeling, and removed hindrances to their combination against the Pukeha.

"Now this is essentially a fighting people, though the tendency to war has been greatly checked by the progress of the Christian faith, and by a daily increasing sense of the benefits of peace and order. The extent to which that faith has been distinctly and soundly apprehended by these people I do not inquire into now; but thus much is undeniable, that they understand their new faith to be inconsistent with their old system of warfare. So far, at least, the Christian influence has been strongly effective. Yet the old spirit is there, and needs only to be roused, to burn as fiercely as in time past. Any direct encroachment on any territorial right will rouse it. And the important point to remember is this, that the New Zealanders will not stop to ask us to define territorial rights for them nor will they defer to the authority of writers on the *Jus Gentium*. Wherever any benefit to be derived from any portion of the surface of the land has been, by the immemorial usage and habit of the people, appropriated to one set of men (and distinctly guaranteed to them by treaty and numerous assurances), that set of men will never consent to see it taken by any man, by

mere force. Could Englishmen respect them if they would? That such appropriation does exist over the surface of this country is certain. To us here, who move up and down the land, this I say is certain. We need not to ask questions. You hear two natives arguing on some story told, and you find this kind of appropriation to distinct tribes or (*hapus*) sub-tribes, sometimes to distinct families or individuals, implied. We are as much under a physical necessity of knowing this, as some honourable gentlemen at home appear to be under a mental incapacity of conceiving it. But if this theory were to take a material and practical shape in these islands, it would appear not as an encroachment on some slightly important interest, but it would in reality be (however little it may be so conceived at home), in its consequences (and few men are quicker in discerning consequences than the natives), a destruction of their most valuable rights; of rights essential to, under present circumstances, their physical existence. Earl Grey cannot be aware of this; yet a single day's walk in the bush would force upon him a conviction of the truth of what I assert.

"The occupation of these islands by the Maori has been in this fashion. The first immigrants proceeded inland from the sea coast, clearing away the forest before them, and raising their crops upon the soil which, from year to year, was newly cleared. The lands actually cleared are still found to be fringed and bounded by forest land, into which the tribe is still working its way. When you come to the edge of the forest you find a village, generally not a fortified village or pah, but a collection of cottages. The forest recedes, and after a time the settlement moves on. In the tract which the cultivators leave behind them, some villages are retained as strongholds, or for reasons of local convenience, as of sea or river fishing, &c. This tract having been reclaimed by the labour of the present generation, or of their progenitors, or of those through whom they claim, would be saved to the natives by the theory. Yet its value to them is far less than that of the woodland which lies before them, and upon which they have not actually bestowed labour. The former yields runs for their pigs, flax-swamps for clothing and trade, ducks, eels, &c., but the latter is the cover under which the pigs breed: from it they obtain timber for their *pahs* (houses) and their canoes; but, above all, from it they obtain by far the larger part of their daily food. The ordinary mode of cultivation is to burn and fell the forest trees, and to put their seed into the soil upon which the burning has taken place. This portion of the soil is in fact at present the main source of subsistence to this people. It is the staff of their life, the bread which they eat. Yet, as no labour has actually been applied, it is the very part to which the new theory would attach. To claim these lands, and to attempt to enforce the claim, would be in fact (however it may be conceived of by Earl Grey) to declare a war of extermination; for it can never be expected that these people will yield up that which they, by common consent amongst themselves, regard as a matter of property, because they may be informed that speculative writers think otherwise, especially when no compensation is to be offered for what they know to be of the utmost value to themselves. It may be that the serious and explicit avowal of the philosophical claim may be met by the natives with a smile, as a ridiculous pretension of the Pakeha; but if they regard it as our serious determination, there will be

an end of all peace in this land. The colonization of New Zealand will be postponed, to be begun again by another generation. England will have gained only the shame of a failure, caused by our own injustice.

"The good fame of England is worth a struggle. The natural rights of human kind are worth defending. As to this native people in particular, I have neither space nor time (for the post is on the point of closing) to speak minutely. The character they bear in England appears to vary with circumstances. A few years back they were described as a most hopeful—an already half-regenerated race of uncivilized men. Since it was discovered that they did not admit the principle, that men ought to part with that for which they and their forefathers had shed their blood, merely because other persons professed to have bought it, they appear to have lapsed into the class of treacherous and bloodthirsty savages. No doubt there have been good reasons for all this. But speaking of this people as a body, I assert confidently, that British colonization has never come in contact with a race of uncivilized men more capable of improvement, more serviceable or useful, more disposed to repose a perfect confidence in England, or more willing to live at peace, if it be clearly shown that British sovereignty is intended to be (as was promised in the beginning) a source of benefit, as to other British subjects, and not of enslavement and spoliation."

At home, and in New Zealand, all parties concurred in commending the promptitude with which Earl Grey had taken measures to suspend the charter, as being at least a move in the right direction, except the New Zealand Company and a minority of its ill-starred land-purchasers, who had hoped to see "all the treaty of Waitangi nonsense"* swept away by the operation of the proposed charter. Besides the prospect of thus obtaining the object which they have so long and perseveringly sought, viz.—the possession of lands which they had never bought, and the native owners had never sold; there would seem to have been another motive which rendered them particularly desirous for the immediate establishment of "representative institutions," and wilfully blind to the fact that the colonists, neither in regard to numbers or wealth, had attained the position which could alone fit them to enjoy the privileges and bear the expenses of representative institutions. Even in their own settlements there were men who clearly set forth this fact, and did not hesitate to avow that for the present, at least, and until their land-purchasers should obtain legal conveyances, "real or complete self-government would be out of the question. The control exercised by the agent over the fortunes and position of a large number of

* *Vide Spectator*, January 2nd, 1847.

colonists, would render independence inconvenient, confer upon him an influence fatal to liberty of action, and render him the depository of political power." The foregoing words are those of Dr. Monro, one of the most accomplished and intellectual of the fine body of colonists whose confidence in the integrity of the New Zealand Company had been so cruelly abused. He remarks, as a reason for "the extraordinary proceedings of the Company in withholding from us our conveyances, after having promised them up to the eleventh hour and fifty-ninth minute," that,—

"In a settlement already established, such as Wellington or Nelson, with no great field of extension, if conveyances were once issued, the influence of the Company or its Agent would be comparatively trifling. But in any settlement of the Company's in which the purchasers have not yet got their title, in all settlements in course of progress, and throughout the colony generally, if emigration were advancing, the influence of the Company and its agents, wielding the monstrous, unconstitutional, and irresponsible power which the British Parliament, in a fit of insanity, placed in its hands, would be overwhelming."*

The concession made by the government to the New Zealand Company, to which Dr. Monro adverts in such strong terms of condemnation, was the arrangement entered into in 1847, and confirmed by "An Act to promote colonization in New Zealand, and to authorize a loan to the New Zealand Company," who, in the month of April, (having then received £80,000 of the loan of £100,000 guaranteed to them by act of Parliament in the preceding session,) applied to her Majesty's ministers for compensation for the injury which had been done to them by various acts of the government at home, and of the local government of New Zealand. This assertion was supported by statements so plausible, that only those who had followed the Company in all its tortuous windings, and who were acquainted with the systematic perversion of truth, either by the suppression of part of the facts which were assumed to be wholly manifested, or the misrepresentation of them altogether, would be likely to examine their assertions with the searching scrutiny necessary to detect their hollowness. Those, however, who had done so, and who had consequently traced the line

* Vide *Nelson Examiner* of October 26, 1850.

† "The addition to be decided on," is stated in a previous paragraph to be "a large unascertained amount."

of policy which the Company had invariably adopted in each separate transaction with the government, of asking considerably more than even they could possibly expect, would feel no great surprise at finding them request from Earl Grey, in language equivalent to a demand:—"Either the payment of a sum of £225,000, together with the addition† which may be decided on, as the amount of the loss alluded to above, as not yet estimated; leaving the Company's engagements to be satisfied out of these sums and the proceeds of its land. Or, the transfer to the government of the 1,073,000 acres of land to which the Company has at present a right, together with an obligation to satisfy the engagements of the Company as above stated, in this country and in New Zealand."‡

According to the documents which accompanied this extraordinary communication, the expenditure of the Company from the 2nd of May, 1839, to the 5th of April, 1847, exclusive of £41,890 paid to the Company's shareholders, as interest upon its capital, to the 5th of October, 1843, had been as follows:—

Expenditure.	May 2, 1839, to April 5, 1845.	April 6, 1845, to April 5, 1846.	April 6, 1846, to April 5, 1847.	Total.
Home Establishment	£50,106	£4,025	£3,652	£57,784
Emigration.	211,754	635	108	212,498
Colonial.	172,704	29,686	20,163	222,555
Miscellaneous.	133,435	3,183	6,674	143,292
Total	£568,001	37,530	30,598	636,131

Note.—The colonial expenses from April 6, 1846, to April 5, 1847, include £15,000 deposited with Messrs. Overend, Gurney, and Co., to cover the guarantee given by the Company's bankers upon bills to be drawn from the colony by the principal agent.

The shillings and pence having been struck out, leave the totals slightly incorrect.

The above statements shew an expenditure in eight years of £681,021, of which no more than £200,000 had been subscribed by the shareholders. The principal expenditure took place previous to 1845, and amounted to £612,891, or at the rate of more than £100,000 a-year; yet not more than 6,000 persons were provided, during that time, with free passages to New Zealand. On landing, the emigrants had to build their own habitations and clear their own land, that is, provided they were so fortunate as to obtain permission to occupy on suffer-

‡ Letter to Earl Grey from T. C. Harington, secretary to the New Zealand Company, 23rd April, 1847. Parliamentary Papers on New Zealand, June, 1847, pp. 106-7.

ance a sufficient portion to supply their more pressing requirements. The so-called public works (of the Company), in which enormous sums are said to have been sunk, consisted chiefly of bridle-paths through the forest, dignified with the name of roads; and bridges of such imperfect construction, that the first flood swept them away; while any preparation for the observance of religious worship, either in Wellington or Nelson, or even the appointment of a minister of the Gospel, would seem to have been wholly disregarded by the propounders "of one of the greatest missionary projects ever suggested."—(Sec Div. v., p. 147.)

The obligations and engagements of the Company, (in April, 1847,) "exclusive of those to their land-purchasers and shareholders, and of open accounts in New Zealand," are thus stated:—open accounts and contingencies in England, say £10,000; debentures not yet paid off, £54,000; interest thereon, £2,625=£56,625; advanced by her Majesty's government, £80,000;† total, £146,625. In addition to this sum, the directors said they were indebted to the Nelson settlement, £25,000;* to their shareholders, £235,000. Making allowance for some securities and investments, it was announced that "the total of the Company's liabilities may therefore be estimated at £394,000."

The assets set forth consisted of a right to 1,049,000 acres, and 24,000 acres, being the quantity still unsold out of the 1,300,000 acres claimed under Mr. Pennington's investigation in November, 1840, and by subsequent correspondence.

Earl Grey, who appears to have taken a far too favourable view of the proceedings of the Company, received this last proposition in a very different manner to that in which somewhat similar ones had been met by his predecessors—Lord Normanby, Lord Stanley, and Mr. Gladstone. Lord Stanley, indeed, had been sufficiently long at the head of the colonial office, to become conversant with their various schemes and manœuvres, their plots and counter-plots, and, judging from the experience he must have acquired of their past dealings, would probably have concluded, that so far from having any well-founded claim upon the

government for compensation, it was rather a question whether a rigid and searching investigation, ought not to be instituted into the truth of the heavy charges brought against the directors by settlers of all grades who had emigrated under their auspices, and who, having long and vainly sought for justice at their hands, appealed to public opinion and to the legislature of their country.

Extracts strongly corroborative of the deep and general sense entertained by the colonists of Wellington, of the inexcusable injustice with which they had been treated, have been already quoted (Div. v., pp. 162, 175,) from a pamphlet, entitled *A Letter to the Directors of the New Zealand Company, from the land-purchasers resident in the first and principal settlement, claiming compensation for the Company's breach of contract, and calling upon the Directors to fulfil the terms of purchase.* This letter was framed by a committee of gentlemen appointed at a public meeting held on the evening of the 29th of July, 1846, which was attended by nearly every "owner of land-orders in the settlement of Wellington," by whom the following resolutions were unanimously adopted. In reading them, it should be remembered that they are not the opinions of a few individuals, but the common voice of the "first and principal" of those settlers whose interests the New Zealand Company, whether addressing the government or the public, always assumed to be identical with its own, whereas its actual, though not right'ul position, was that of a lawyer, who receives his fees whether his client wins or loses his cause:—

"Resolved, 1.—That the purchasers of land in the New Zealand Company's first and principal settlement have hitherto refrained from pressing their claims upon the Company, in the full confidence and expectation, that the Directors, as soon as they were relieved from the difficulties in which they have been placed, would have adopted immediate measures for fulfilling the engagements entered into with the purchasers of land, and would have compensated them for the loss they have incurred from the inability of the New Zealand Company to complete the contract made seven years ago with such purchasers.

"2.—That the purchasers of land, seeing the disregard of their interests evinced by the directors, in the arrangement recently made† with her Ma-

* When the representation made by the Company to Earl Grey, estimating its liabilities to the Nelson settlers on account of their trust funds at £25,000, became known in Nelson, it created much surprise and dissatisfaction, and a memorial was

drawn up and forwarded to the Court of Directors in November, 1847, clearly shewing that the fund available for the purposes of the settlement, was or ought to be, not £25,000, but £60,000.—Parliamentary Papers on New Zealand, of 1850, p. 186.

jefty's government (in which there is not a single stipulation in favour of the settlers), seeing also, with equal surprise and regret, that the directors, in their reply to Dr. Evan's application on their behalf for compensation, distinctly repudiate their liability to make any such compensation, feel that the time has arrived when it is incumbent upon them to call upon the directors of the New Zealand Company to fulfil the conditions upon which the settlers purchased their land.

"3.—That although one of the terms of purchase was, that the purchasers should have power to select the most fertile and available land in the territories of the Company, yet the quantity of land thrown open for selection has not only been extremely limited, but the most fertile and available districts in this settlement (as for example, the Wairarapa, and the right bank of the Manawatu,) have been kept back for the purpose (now openly avowed,) of forming new settlements, and that the purchasers have, in consequence, been compelled to select land, the greater portion of which is utterly unavailable and worthless.

"4.—That the directors agreed with the purchasers of land to expend £75 out of every £100, for their exclusive benefit, retaining the remaining £25 for their commission; that the Company have been awarded by government for every £75 (so agreed to be expended for the exclusive benefit of the purchasers,) 300 acres of land, of which they have given 100 acres to the purchasers, appropriating the other 200 acres to their own use, so that the Company have actually expended only twenty-five per cent. for the exclusive benefit of the purchasers, and have reserved to themselves seventy-five per cent. as their commission.

"5.—That inasmuch as the directors have sought compensation from government for their losses arising from the delay that has occurred in their obtaining possession of their lands, they have virtually admitted that compensation is due from themselves to those who purchased land from them.

6.—That a memorial be addressed to the directors, calling upon them to fulfil the conditions referred to in the preceding resolutions, viz.,—1st, That all the available districts in the neighbourhood of this settlement (as the Wairarapa, &c.) be purchased, surveyed, and thrown open for selection to the purchasers of land, who shall be at liberty to throw up the unavailable land they have been so unjustly compelled to select; and, 2ndly, that the land, amounting to 256,330 acres, awarded to the Company by the government, in virtue of the money paid to, and agreed to be expended by the Company for the exclusive benefit of the purchasers, forming the first and principal settlement, be placed at their disposal."

A still stronger case against the New Zealand Company was set forth in the subjoined petition of the Nelson settlers, presented by Benjamin Hawes, Esq., to the House of Commons, on the 8th of February, 1847:—

"The humble Petition of the undersigned Owners of Land and Agents of Absentee Proprietors in the settlement of Nelson, New Zealand,

"Sheweth,—That your petitioners purchased land from the New Zealand Company, the great majority

of them so long ago as the year 1841, for which they paid £300 for 201 acres.

"That they did so, relying upon the high character and position of the directors of the New Zealand Company, and upon the faith of certain letters sanctioned by them, in which it was stated that the Company possessed the right of selecting land in any part of the colony, and that a body of capitalists desirous to emigrate to New Zealand had applied to the Company to form a new settlement. These letters are published in the Parliamentary Papers upon New Zealand for the year 1841.

"That it was proved that the New Zealand Company did not possess the right of selection assumed by it, by the fact of Governor Hobson refusing to allow it to form the settlement at Port Cooper, as it desired to do.

"And that your petitioners have since had reason to believe that no body of capitalists desirous to emigrate, such as those alluded to, ever had any existence.

"That your petitioners bought their land in accordance with certain terms for purchase, published at the time by the New Zealand Company, and which will be found in the same volume of Parliamentary Papers. By these terms of purchase, the Company undertook to form a settlement, which should consist of 221,100 acres, the site of which, it is stated, shall be the best that may be available at the time of the selection being made, and that the position, with reference to Port Nicholson and the rest of New Zealand, shall be such, that the land may reasonably be expected to advance in value with the utmost rapidity. The Company, by the same terms for purchase, pledged itself to appropriate the purchase-moneys of the land offered for sale, amounting in all to £300,000, in the following manner, viz.:—

£150,000 to the exclusive purpose of emigration to this particular settlement:

50,000 to defray the Company's expenses in selecting the site and establishing the settlement; any surplus of this fund to be applied to the public purposes next mentioned:

50,000 to public purposes, for rendering the settlement commodious and attractive; as such purposes, it is intended to apply £15,000 to religious uses and endowments, for colonists of all denominations; £15,000 to the establishment of a college in the settlement; and £20,000 towards encouragement of steam navigation, for the benefit of the settlement, by way of bounty:

50,000 to the Company for its expenses and profit on the use of its capital:

£300,000 Total.

"That the site chosen for the settlement has been found to be wholly inadequate to the fulfilment of the Company's liabilities, nor can the just claims of the purchasers be satisfied, unless an equitable adjustment be effected by a remodelling of the original scheme, or by compensation.

"That up to the present times, only 51 acres have been offered for selection out of each allotment of 201 acres, which your petitioners paid for so long ago, and that no title has been obtained to any part of the land.

"That of the land thus distributed, one-half at the lowest calculation, is utterly worthless, and without any prospect of ever acquiring value.

"That in consequence of these circumstances, your petitioners have sustained much loss and injury, and are not placed in that situation for the exercise of their industry which they had a right to expect.

"That the New Zealand Company, although under contract to expend the public funds of this settlement in the stipulated manner above mentioned, although calling itself the trustee for the purchase-money of the land in the settlement (see Parliamentary Papers), and although at the present time it admits, by its seventeenth Report, a liability to Nelson of £57,000, did, in the month of June, 1844, suddenly and without warning cease all expenditure in the settlement, throwing a body of 300 labourers out of employment, causing thereby the greatest insecurity, and much suffering from destitution, nor has it, from that date up to the present time, expended any money in fulfilment of its engagements.

"That the New Zealand Company has lately communicated to the colonists some regulations for the disposal of lands in the settlement of Nelson, until further notice, which appear to your petitioners unjust and injurious, and have produced a very general apprehension that it is not the intention of the Company to fulfil its contracts or make any compensation to its purchasers.

"That no legal redress can be obtained in this colony from the New Zealand Company, or its agents, while it is next to impossible for most of your petitioners to have recourse to the courts of law in England.

"Your petitioners therefore pray that it will please your honourable House to pass an act enabling your petitioners to obtain legal redress in the colony of New Zealand, by suing the principal agent or other officer of the Company, or to take such other measures as to your honourable House may seem most fit and expedient to forward the views of your petitioners.

"And your petitioners will ever pray.

"C. A. DILLON.

"D. MONRO.

"DONALD SINCLAIR.

"HUGH MARTIN.

"&c. &c. &c."

In April, 1846, certain remedial measures for the grievances of the Nelson settlers, into the nature of which it is not necessary to enter, were proposed by the directors in the form of regulations for the disposal of lands in that settlement. The colonists assembled, drew up and forwarded to the Company, by common consent, an indignant protest against the newly issued regulations, on the following sufficient grounds:—

"Because they are an infringement, without our consent, of the contract under which we purchased our lands.

"Because from the words, 'until further notice,' we infer that it is in contemplation by the Company to make still further changes.

"Because a larger proportion of our funds is ap-

propriated by the Company than under the original agreement.

"Because the surveys are to be charged to the settlement.

"Because the principle that every purchaser is entitled to good and available land for his money is not admitted.

"Because the allotments, too small already, ought not to be further subdivided.

"Because the calculations of 'New Proceeds' are founded on utter misapprehension.

"Because the religious and educational funds were subscribed without any such conditions as are now attempted to be annexed to their employment.

"Because these regulations have a tendency to induce purchasers of land, under the pressure of adverse circumstances, to compound and accept less than they are justly entitled to under the original contract."

At the commencement of the next year a rumour reached Nelson that the governor was to be removed from New Zealand, and that the powers of government were to be delegated to the New Zealand Company; upon which the settlers again called a public meeting and passed several resolutions, copies of which were forwarded to the colonial minister by Governor Grey, deprecatory of the anticipated change, as objectionable in theory, and not calculated practically to improve their condition. In the fifth and sixth resolutions, the colonists declare,—

"That, apart from such general considerations, we feel most strongly opposed to any such delegation of the powers of government as is sought for by the New Zealand Company; because *our experience of the administration of the affairs of this settlement by that body has convinced us of its incapacity, and destroyed all confidence on our part, either in the wisdom of its measures, or in the integrity of its conduct.*

"That the twentieth report of the directors of the New Zealand Company lately received the letter of Mr. Edward Gibbon Wakefield appended to it, and the report of the committee upon that letter, are all characterised by a most extraordinary ignorance of the state of the colony, and of their own settlements in particular, by predictions of which the subsequent course of events has shown the absurdity in the most striking manner; and by the suggestion of a course of policy for the future, based upon error, visionary and impracticable."*

One more appeal from Nelson, the most touching of all, still remains to be noticed, namely, the "Memorial of mechanics and labourers claiming compensation from the New Zealand Company." After describing the difficulty which they had had in inducing the agent to give them employment, notwithstanding the distinct pledge given to them in that respect by the Secretary of the Company before leaving England; they say that they were at length compelled to work, or starve, under a system which was

* Parliamentary Papers on New Zealand, December, 1847, pp. 11, 12.

the nearest approach to pauperism that could have been adopted—not at their respective trades, as they had been led to suppose, but at the clearing of forests and the making of ditches and roads:—

"Some of our fellow-emigrants, after a short stay, found means, some by working their passage, others by selling their clothes, tools, and other little effects, to leave the settlement,* and we trust thereby escaped those miseries, amounting almost to starvation, which most of us were subjected to. * * * We commenced the work ordered to be done by leaving our families, and proceeding, with a week's provisions, our bedding and tools on our backs, to a distance, varying from one to thirty miles, through districts of hills, swamps, forests, and rivers, penetrable only by excessive exertion: those of us who were stationed farthest off would reach our destination almost exhausted, where we had to erect temporary huts of fern, or such other material as the locality afforded, to shelter us at night; and how inadequate these hovels were to shelter us from the inclemency of the weather, many have had too sorrowful proofs on being afflicted with rheumatism and other disorders, consequent upon exposure to damp and night air. Our work consisted in clearing timber, digging roads and ditches, being in this part of our work for days up to our knees in water, intensely cold, for which we received the following wages:—Single men, per week, ten shillings; married men, with two children, sixteen shillings; married men, with three or more children, eighteen shillings. * * * At last the period arrived when the whole of us, even those who occupied land, were discharged, and a state of distress arose almost impossible to describe; food of every description became so scarce, that seed potatoes, which had been in the ground a fortnight, were dug up to appease hunger; for months most of us never tasted bread, but were forced to eat wild greens, and in some instances rats were eaten to satisfy and sustain us. Many were thus forced to abandon the land they had commenced cultivating, and go to work for those of the land-purchasers who were able to employ us, we may say at the nominal rent of 12s. per week; for, having to take just such goods as they happened to possess, and at their own prices, we believe we state the outside when we say we had not more than 8s. per week. For a great many months a large number of us had no other food than potatoes, and cheap as salt was, few could raise even that necessary to eat with them: the consequence of living on this and worse food for so long a time, produced in our families most distressing cases of diarrhoea, and such a general prostration of physical strength as to incapacitate us from doing the labour within a day that we had been accustomed to do, and from the effects of which we doubt not our health has been greatly impaired, and if we were in England, could scarcely obtain that medical certificate which was essential to our obtaining a passage out here.

* "When I took charge of the Company's affairs in 1843, there were only fifty labourers regularly employed by the agriculturists. Also out of about 3,000 sent out by you, 937 re-emigrated."—*Vide Report of the Settlement of Nelson*, by W. Fox, Esq., 1849, p. 14. The above avowal reads strangely from the pen of the agent of a Company, who professed to have succeeded in solving the difficult problem of rightly adjusting the proportions of capital and labour.

DIV. VI.

"We feel we should not fulfil the whole of our duty if we omit to bring before you the case of the widows and orphans of those of our fellow-labourers who were induced, and in some instances forced, under the penalty of losing their employment, to accompany your agent to the Wairau; and suggest on their behalf, that whatever may be the result of our own claim, that full justice may be done to them, and that their loss may in some measure be mitigated by the presentation of such a portion of land to the children, as, when they attain to sufficient age, may enable them to provide for themselves, and assist their widowed mothers."†

The sorrowful tales of individual suffering endured by the settlers of Wellington, Nelson, New Plymouth,‡ Wanganui, and Manawatu, can have no place in a work of this nature. Sufficient evidence has already been adduced from public documents, to show the general sense of wrong and injury entertained by them against the Company, whom they unite in accusing of wilful disregard of their interests. Their statements are corroborated by the testimony of Governor Grey, upon whom the ungracious task of settling their land-claims had devolved. The amount of compensation to which he considered the natives entitled, was deemed excessive by the Company, especially in the case of the Porirua and Wairau districts, to which the Land Commissioner had decided the claim of that body to be wholly unfounded. With regard to the Wairau, Mr. Spain had reported, that though aware that the question necessarily involved a reference to the melancholy occurrence connected with it, he had, nevertheless, come to the decision expressed above, after much and careful deliberation, after a consideration of the evidence which had been given on the whole case, and which he could not but declare, had failed to prove in any way that the district in question had ever been alienated by the parties from whom the Company asserted, through its agent, that it had been purchased.§

The sum of £2,000, by instalments, was agreed to be paid to the native owners for the Porirua, and £3,000 for the Wairau district, by the governor, who thus states the circumstances under which the arrangements were made, sets forth the view

† This memorial was signed by J. P. Robinson, I. M. Hill, J. Packer, John Watts, J. Hargreaves, &c. &c.—*Vide Nelson Examiner*, April 27th, 1850.

‡ The New Plymouth colonists forwarded a memorial to the Court of Directors, to much the same effect as those already quoted from Wellington and Nelson, which I have seen, but at the present time am unable to obtain a copy.

§ Parliamentary Papers relating to New Zealand, April, 1846, p. 41.

of the land-question acted upon by the Company, and exposes the culpable indifference manifested by them, and not by her Majesty's government, to the great distress occasioned by the non-settlement of their land claims:—

"After I had been for more than fifteen months in the colony, I found that the agent of the New Zealand Company was making no effort to acquire the tracts of land required by the Company to fulfil their engagements; and, as great distress from the non-settlement of their land-claims existed amongst the settlers, and as it was impossible for the country to settle down into a thoroughly tranquil state until these questions were definitely arranged, and her Majesty's government has so repeatedly urged upon myself and my predecessor the necessity of a prompt adjustment of them, I felt it to be my duty, although I would most gladly have avoided engaging in so difficult and ungracious a task, to make the most advantageous settlement of these questions which I could effect.

"I should also observe that the position I understand to be adopted by the New Zealand Company's agent, that if tracts of land are not in actual occupation and cultivation by natives, that we have, therefore, a right to take possession of them, appears to me to require one important limitation. The natives do not support themselves solely by cultivation, but from fern-root—from fishing—from eel ponds—from taking ducks—from hunting wild pige, for which they require extensive runs—and by such like pursuits. To deprive them of their wild lands, and to limit them to lands for the purpose of cultivation, is in fact, to cut off from them some of their most important means of subsistence, and they cannot be readily and abruptly forced into becoming a solely agricultural people. Such an attempt would be unjust, and it must, for the present, fail, because the natives would not submit to it: indeed they could not do so, for they are not yet, to a sufficient extent, provided even with the most simple agricultural implements; nor have they been instructed in the use of these. To attempt to force suddenly such a system upon them must plunge the country again into distress and war; and there seems to be no sufficient reason why such an attempt should be made, as the natives are now generally very willing to sell to the government their waste lands at a price, which, whilst it bears no proportion to the amount for which the government can resell the land, affords the natives (if paid under a judicious system) the means of rendering their position permanently far more comfortable than it was previously, when they had the use of their waste lands, and thus renders them a useful and contented class of citizens, and one which will yearly become more attached to the government.

"I am satisfied, that to have taken the waste lands I have now purchased by any other means than those adopted, would once more have plunged the country into an expensive war, which, from its supposed injustice, would have roused the sympathies of a large portion of the native population against the British government, and would thus probably have retarded for many years the settlement and civilization of the country."

To the various extracts quoted in the last few pages, one more may be added

from a very brief but admirably condensed pamphlet, which well deserves the careful perusal of all interested in the powerful association, whose proceedings have, from their commencement, formed an important portion of the history of the colony whose name they bear:—

"The system of sale, selection, survey, and distribution of land, in sections of an allotment, was alone fatal to success—and kept the unfortunate colonist without land, until the little capital which remained to him after the purchase of the land, was absorbed in the expenses of his maintenance, whilst waiting for the discovery, survey, and delivery of the land.

"The writer would maintain that those who have purchased land from the New Zealand Company, and others who have been induced to proceed to New Zealand, or otherwise have been deceived and injured by it in its service as surveyors and contractors, are the parties really entitled to reparation and compensation.

"And that the government should not aid—but restrain the New Zealand Company, because it is great wickedness and cruelty (and by the New Zealand Company confessedly incompatible with the dignity of the government,) to induce persons of small capital to buy land which they have not seen—or to induce such, if unaccustomed to manual labour, to emigrate to New Zealand, where they cannot compete with the emigrant labourers who have become cottiers, or with the natives in the cultivation of land."*

The foregoing arguments have all been unfavourable to the Company; on the other hand it was urged, that whatever their errors and short-comings might have been, they had promoted the cause of colonization by bringing it in various ways before the public; that they had founded settlements, that large sums of money, whether lavishly or providently, had been expended through their instrumentality, in emigration, in the conduct of which one great merit was incontestible, viz., that of having carefully avoided that disproportion of sexes which forms a fruitful source of immorality in most new colonies. These arguments, and many less reasonable ones, urged both in and out of parliament by eloquent and deeply interested advocates, among whom the late Charles Buller was ever foremost, and backed by a strong political party, were used with so much success, that not only were greatly extended privileges to those granted to the Company in 1840, conceded to them in 1847; but, in addition to the loan of £100,000 sanctioned by the House of Com-

* *A few Plain Facts concerning the Settlement of Nelson*, pp. 11, 12. Printed by T. C. Newby, 72, Mortimer-street, Cavendish-square, 1848.

mons in the previous session, another large portion (£136,000) of the taxes levied in the United Kingdom was advanced to enable them to resume those very operations which had been attended throughout by signal and disastrous failure. The joint-stock company itself, formed, as we have seen, "with an exclusively commercial object," although it had received "by anticipation," an extravagant price for lands which it did not possess, and, therefore, could have no power to sell, had become avowedly bankrupt, and the "self-supporting colonies" which it had founded had entailed very heavy charges on the mother country. Earl Grey, however, looking rather to the good so influential an association might accomplish, if their means and energies were rightly directed, and considering of what great importance to imperial interests it was that the colonization of New Zealand should go on steadily and rapidly, and that the ancient disposition to plant settlements of Englishmen in her Majesty's distant possessions, should be revived and established, was "inclined, before resorting to any less satisfactory course, to see whether it may not be possible to put the Company itself in a position, by renewing its operations, to repair its losses, and, at the same time, to restore the prosperity of the existing settlements, and make New Zealand the seat of an extensive and thriving colony. * * * Lord Grey is therefore willing to make the government a party to the fair trial of the experiment, whether the Company can be placed in a position that will enable it, after a certain period, to continue its operations without further assistance and with reasonable prospects of success. He is willing, for this purpose, to give the Company the amplest means that can be afforded by the exclusive use of the crown lands in the southern government of New Zealand. He is willing to stipulate for the advance, during a limited period, of considerable sums, for the purpose of enabling the Company to *meet its present liabilities*, and the outlay necessary for the vigorous prosecution of its operations."* The subjoined terms which his lordship, on the part of the government, proposed to the New Zealand Com-

pany, were so extremely advantageous to that body, that they were, of course, immediately accepted:—†

"Memorandum of Agreement with the New Zealand Company.

"I. (1.) It is proposed that a commissioner be appointed by her Majesty to be a commissioner for the New Zealand Company.

"(2.) That the name of the person selected by her Majesty be submitted to the directors of the New Zealand Company, and the appointment take place on their signifying their approval.

"(3.) That this commissioner attend all meetings of the directors, and have access to all books, papers, and accounts of the Company, and that the Company shall agree that no resolution shall ever be adopted at any meeting of the directors without the assent of the commissioner.

"(4.) That the commissioner be paid a salary of £1,500 a-year out of the funds of the company.

"II. That during the period for which the present arrangement shall last, the government shall give up to the Company the entire and exclusive disposal of all Crown lands, and the exercise of the Crown's right of pre-emption of lands belonging to the natives in the southern government of New Zealand, and undertake during such period to execute any grants, leases, or mortgages, for which the court of directors and commissioners shall engage.

"III. That during three years commencing the 6th of April ultimo, the government shall engage to place at the disposal of the Company, during the first year such sum of not more than £28,000 over and above any sum now payable to the Company under any former loan, during the second year such sum not exceeding £72,000, and during the third year such sum not exceeding £36,000, as shall be required by the Company and the commissioner from time to time, for the purpose of discharging the existing liabilities of the Company to an extent not exceeding £79,000, and of conducting its colonizing operations.

"That all sums accruing to the Company in each year, beyond those which it is bound to expend for the benefit of the purchasers of its lands, shall be expended in furtherance of the general objects of the Company, with the view of diminishing the amount of advances which may be required from her Majesty's government.

"That during that period no interest shall accrue from any debt to the government, nor for any claim to compensation on the part of the Company.

"That during the first year no dividend shall be paid to the proprietors of the Company's stock, nor any in either of the two following years, without the express sanction of her Majesty's government.

"That the Company shall at once give up all claim to lands in the neighbourhood of Auckland, and take the whole amount awarded to it elsewhere.

"IV. That if the Company shall be in a condition at the end of the three years to continue its operations, the present arrangement with respect to heads I. and II. shall continue, and shall be made permanent either by a new charter or by act of Parliament, upon the Company agreeing to such restriction on its disposal of land, dividends, and application of funds, as shall then be agreed upon between the Company and her Majesty's government.

"That the Company shall in that case abandon all claim to compensation from the government.

* Parliamentary Papers, June, 1847, pp. 111-12.

† This "agreement" was carried out by virtue of an act of Parliament, intitled "an act to promote colonization in New Zealand, and to authorize a loan to the New Zealand Company."

"That all advances already made, or within the period of three years to be made, to the Company by the government, shall be in that case constituted as the Company's debt, the principal of which the Company shall be bound to repay by an annual payment of not less than one-fourth of its clear profits after payment of all expenses.

"V. That if at the end of the three years the Company shall be unable to continue its operations, her Majesty's government shall take the Company's assets, together with the liabilities contracted by it to third parties during that period with the assent of the commissioner, and any debt which may still be due from it to the Nelson settlers.

"That all debts due from the Company to the government shall be remitted, in consideration of the Company's admitted claims on the government.

"That the lands now belonging to the Company, consisting of 1,048,991½ acres awarded to it and as yet unsold, together with 24,491½ acres held by it in virtue of purchase within its settlements, shall be taken by the government at the rate of 5s. an acre.

"That the Company shall be entitled to payment of the sum so due to it, together with interest at the rate of three and a half per cent. thereon, out of the proceeds of all returns over and above the outlay for surveys and emigration, accruing from the sale of Crown lands in New Zealand, but not from any other source.

"That the New Zealand Company shall thereupon be forthwith dissolved, except for the purpose of receiving such annual payment.

"VI. That neither the Crown nor the New Zealand Company shall, in any part of New Zealand, sell any lands not previously sold by them for any sum less than 20s. an acre, nor expend less than 10s. an acre of the proceeds of such sale in carrying out emigrants."

Once again the New Zealand Company was placed in a position to make amends for the past, and to adopt for the future, a wiser theory—a more honest practice. Its first step after receiving from government such abundant means for the express purpose of "enabling it to meet its present liabilities," ought unquestionably to have been the fair and full investigation of the various collective and individual claims brought against it, with a view to their immediate liquidation. And its doing so, ought not in justice to the interests of the public to have been merely implied in the agreement as a matter of course, but on the contrary should have formed a leading proviso, the non-fulfilment of which should have rendered every other void. Had this precaution been taken, the injuries sustained by the great body of enterprising colonists, which Earl Grey justly deplores, and especially those of Nelson, would not in the spring of 1851, be still unredressed;

* The directors did not shew the same indifference to their own personal claims, for we find them immediately appropriating £8,277 : 7s. : 2d. "for attendances of directors at courts and committees, from

nor would they have had so much reason to describe themselves as having, between two stools, fallen to the ground.*

The next important transaction in which the Company engaged, was the establishment of the long projected Scotch Settlement of New Edinburgh, the site for which had been fixed, and the requisite quantity of land purchased in 1844, under the following circumstances:—The directors who, in the first instance, especially desired that Port Cooper should be the locality chosen, through their principal agent, Colonel Wakefield, offered Mr. Tuckett the appointments of chief surveyor and acting agent of "New Edinburgh" on that understanding. Mr. Tuckett's melancholy experience at Nelson, of the ruin, blighted hopes, and poverty, consequent on the ineligibility of that district for the requirements of the colonists, induced him to decline being connected with the formation of another settlement, unless he should first be enabled to ascertain the district itself to be calculated to answer the reasonable expectations of the land purchasers and the emigrants. Colonel Wakefield accordingly consented to intrust to him the unfettered selection of the best district in the Middle Island, for the projected settlement, and Governor Fitz-Roy cordially entered into the plan by appointing a gentleman, Mr. J. J. Symonds, to assist (on the part of the government,) in effecting the purchase so soon as the site should be determined.

Mr. Tuckett chartered a small vessel, and proceeded to explore the Middle Island; after careful examination, he fixed upon the country between Otago (or more properly Otakau) and Tokata Point, considering it not merely very superior to the great plain adjacent to Port Cooper, but also far surpassing in natural advantages the most sanguine expectations his previous experience in New Zealand would have permitted him to form. Being possessed of the entire confidence and good-will of the native owners, he found no difficulty in negotiating for the land. He submitted to them a sketch in which the desired district and their intended reserves, were clearly defined, and received in return an offer for the sale of nearly 500,000 acres (more than double the required quantity), for £2,400, signed by the 1st of March, 1842, to the 31st of March, 1848." In the following year, £1,180 : 4s. : 8d. was applied for their benefit. *Vide* 24th and 25th Reports of the Directors of the New Zealand Company.

the chief men on the part of all concerned, without a single dissentient voice.

In transmitting to Colonel Wakefield the offer of so valuable a district at so inconsiderable a price (less than three half-pence per acre for some of the best land in New Zealand), Mr. Tuckett expressed his conviction, that it would be good policy on the part of the New Zealand Company in the scheme of their future settlement, to appropriate as much as sixpence per acre to the remuneration of the natives, to be paid in four annual instalments; he at the same time explained that he could not have obtained an offer of the land at such a price but through the influence of an energetic colonist (Mr. John Jones) with the chiefs.

So different, however, was the opinion of the principal agent on the subject, that we find him in reporting the business to the Court of Directors, adopting a deprecatory tone, and saying that "the purchase-money of the block at Otago, may appear large; but it must be borne in mind that the block contains about 400,000 acres, with 150,000 only of which the Company will be charged, the remaining portion being available for the depasturing the flocks and herds of the settlers. It is probable that the natives would have consented to receive something less; but the sum having been fixed upon by Mr. Tuckett before my arrival at Otago, I thought it better not to disturb his arrangement."* Adverting to Mr. Tuckett's rejection of Port Cooper, Colonel Wakefield says, "the decision he has come to, to fix the New Edinburgh Settlement at or near Otago, is satisfactorily accounted for by his description of the relative merits of the places he has explored. I need not make any remarks on the zealous manner in which Mr. Tuckett has performed his task, further than to express my entire satisfaction at having had the advantage of his judgment and unwearied exertions in determining so important a point as the locality of the proposed settlement."† The directors thought fit to withhold from publication the "description of the relative merits of the places explored," forwarded to them by Colonel Wakefield, and so favourably commented upon, on the plea of its length; the more obvious reason being that they continued bent upon forming a settlement at Port Cooper, and did not choose to publish any but favourable

reports of that locality. The native interests at Otago were well cared for by Mr. Tuckett in respect to large and valuable reserves. One of these commencing at the southern headland of the harbour of Otago extends along the south-east shore of the harbour for about four miles, and along the sea-shore outside for six miles. Almost immediately after the completion of the purchase, this large reserve was occupied as a dairy-station by squatters, from Wellington, who made an arrangement for this object with one chief, Karitai, from which it is not likely that the natives in general will derive any benefit, whilst the pasture, and consequently the opportunity of keeping stock themselves will be lost to them. The first settlers sailed for Otago in November, 1847; in the same year another "class" settlement was projected which at the present moment occupies a considerable share of public attention, viz., that of New Canterbury.

The directors of the New Zealand Company in their first official notice of the intended settlement, and of the association by which it had been set on foot, entirely identify themselves with the interests and views of both the one and the other, stating in the twenty-fourth report to the court of proprietors (p. 6), "Its site will be fixed in the territory confided to your administration; its strength be sustained by the aid of your (? the public) funds till such time as the lands purchased from you shall be laid out and resales effected to some considerable extent; and while in all probability it will obtain, by means of a royal charter, the power of separate and independent action, it will remain a perpetual and most gratifying record of the principles of colonisation at which you have always aimed, and of the usefulness of which, had not adverse influences thwarted, you might long ago have become the frequent instrument."

This pompous declaration appears to be so far true, that in the system adopted by the Canterbury Association, there may unhappily be traced several of the primary errors which have peculiarly marked the proceedings of the New Zealand Company, especially that of fixing a ruinously high price on land. At a public meeting of the Association (after its incorporation by royal charter, in November, 1849, with a view to the formation of a settlement, "in which, from the very first, all the elements of a sound and right state of society shall be in

* Seventeenth Report of the Directors of the New Zealand Company, pp. 142, 143.

† *Idem*, p. 131.

active operation,"*) Lord Lyttelton, as chairman, stated that—

"With regard to the details of the plan, the first that he thought it necessary to notice was a matter of considerable importance,—the price of land. The association had placed upon the whole of the extensive district held in trust for them, comprising considerably more than 2,000,000 acres, the price of £3 an acre. On this point some explanation was necessary, for that value was considerably more than had been placed on the land in any of our colonies at the period of their original occupation; and many of those present might be aware that the price of £1 an acre, demanded by the government throughout the Australian colonies, was very generally complained of as being too high. The whole of the land of the southern province of New Zealand, including the whole of the Middle and a portion of the Northern island, was for selling purposes in the hands of the New Zealand Company. Now, of the £3 an acre charged by the Canterbury Association, one-sixth, or 10s., was to go to the New Zealand Company as the actual price of the land; another sixth was to be applied to the general expenses of the association in this country and in the colony; one third, or £1, was to be applied to promote emigration, in order to meet the demand for labour; and the remaining £1 was to be devoted to the leading and cardinal feature of the undertaking—the provision, from the very beginning of the colony, of religious and educational establishments. To the provision, on this scale, of such establishments, he wished particularly to call the attention of the meeting. This was a chartered association, and was bound to constitute a colony according to the principles of the Church of England."

Mr. Samuel Sidney, in an able and honest speech, exposed several of the evils attendant upon fixing so high a price, particularly that of its excluding the most valuable and enterprising class of emigrants, but without effect; at least so far as the leading members of the Association were concerned. The utter fallacy of the notion of a body of colonists going out to form at once a "daguerreotype miniature of England, complete in every respect, in religious principle, in education, and in all social influences; and only incomplete in the reproduction of those vices, which, most unfortunately, crept into an old country, and that pressure from without, which fell so heavily upon all classes of society here,"† could scarcely fail to be understood by all conversant to any extent with the practical details of the first establishment of colonies. At all events, the Canterbury Association have no excuse for shielding themselves under the plea of ignorance, having received the following very

explicit warning on this and some other points, from one of their warmest well-wishers, Dr. Selwyn, Bishop of New Zealand—

"You are a body which ought and will be able to dispense with all trickery and gambling.

"In the first place, it is a pure delusion to talk of founding a colony at once. . . . A more wasteful system could not be devised than that of congregating large bodies of settlers at once upon the same spot, requiring at once exactly the same supplies, and tempted by their discomforts and their necessities to acquiesce in the most extortionate prices for everything that they buy. If a settler has to pay £100 for a house worth only £50, it is a clear loss to the community, especially as the money generally goes to some other settlement, from which the supplies must, in the first instance, be derived. The loss which is sustained by a new community from the excessive price of all the necessaries of life is incalculable. My advice, therefore, is, form as large a plan as you please, but carry it out gradually and cautiously. Let each section settle itself before the next arrives, that it may be a help instead of a hindrance to the new comers. An interval of at least a year would secure this, and would enable each detachment to arrive at such a time as to have the summer before it, which is a point of great importance in a wet climate.

"On the organization of these sections I would suggest that the arrangement should not be merely numerical, but local and topographical. Let a good leader, like a queen bee, undertake to form the township of Oxford, or Stratford, or Mandeville, or what you will, and secure a right good clergyman and schoolmaster as the first step. Then, as in the old Roman armies, *legit virum vir*: let all the Oxford men send in their names to their own leader, with recommendations of good, hardworking, honest, and sober labourers for the free emigrants. When the Oxford leader is able to announce that land is bought at Oxford to a sufficient amount to yield an endowment for a clergyman, and to build a church and school, then let due notice be given to the agent in New Zealand, that on the 1st day of November, 185— or thereabouts, he may expect the Oxonians. If possible, a bishop will be there to meet and receive them, and accompany them at once to their own place, where a pretty wooden spire will be already built, and visible far over the plain, to guide them to the house of God, where they may offer up their thanksgivings for their successful voyage. There they ought to find a store of building timber and firewood already laid in, at fixed, but not extortionate prices, and will be able to settle themselves in peace, and be ready to give a helping hand on reasonable terms to the flight of Stratfordites, who will arrive about the same time on the following year."

The bishop then proceeds to discuss the best means of securing the objects aimed at by the Association, namely, to supply the colony with a sufficiency of labour at the

Canterbury Association.—*Vide Times*, 19th April, 1850.

† *Vide Times*, of December, 1850, for notice of Captain Simeon's speech, at a meeting of the Canterbury Association.

* Speech of Lord Courtenay, M.P., at the above-named meeting, which was held at St. Martin's Hall, Long-acre, on the 18th of April, 1850, "for the purpose of giving information concerning the objects, plans, progress, and prospects" of the

least cost to the emigration fund, taking care that the supply should always bear a due proportion to the demand.

"To secure these objects, many ingenious calculations have been made, with about as much effect as the numeration which we used to practise on our brass buttons at school, allotting to each its due title of soldier, sailor, tinker, tailor, gentleman, apothecary, ploughboy, or thief. That all these elements do enter into the composition of all societies cannot be doubted, but no chemistry of the emigration commissioners will ever discover beforehand, in what proportions they must be mixed to form a healthy community. But all these things will find their own simple and natural adjustment, if neither the tinker nor the apothecary be employed. Colonies will work well if they are let alone. When your Oxford section has taken up its ground, they will soon find out their own wants. A blacksmith will be found to have been left out, and every one will be crying out for some one to mend his plough. 'Why, I have a cousin that's just the man we want,' some one will say; 'Could we not get him out to help us?' 'I will give £1 to his passage, and he can pay me in work.' 'I will give another.' 'May be the association will go halves in the expenses.' 'Write and ask.' The next year, out comes the Oxford blacksmith at half-price. 'Which is the way to Oxford?' 'Where you see that spire out yonder. But won't you stay in the emigration-harrack till you hear whether you can get work?' 'What do I want of an emigration-harrack? Is it not bad enough to have been shut up in a ship? I know Mr. Goodfellow; he is my cousin; he will put me up till I can get a place for myself.' The above is a true description of what is going on every day in a thriving colony. One man has more food than he knows what to do with, and he wishes for some poor relation to come and help him to eat it; another remembers some country lass, whom he did not dare to ask to marry him when he had nothing to offer her; a tradesman has business on his hand, and wants a youth to keep his books; a mechanic has more work than he can do, and would be glad of a mate. All these know exactly the sort of person that is wanted, and will not send for him unless he can be well employed. Demand and supply represent one another by the simplest and most natural adjustment, and at the cheapest rate of expense.

"The next great point is, that I advise you most strongly to give up, for the present, at least, all the usual trickery of town acres; I mean at the central or post-towns, for the country towns will not much excite the mania of speculation. In Port Cooper this seems to be more especially necessary, because a few lucky purchasers, engrossing the whole of the small quantity of available land near the anchorage, will have it in their power to put the public to the greatest inconvenience. The defects also of the site of Christchurch are so great, that I would not advise you to put it in the power of any body of purchasers to demand a great outlay of public money to give them a better access to their townland. The plain is the great point at Port Cooper. A good road over the hills, and a few public stores on the beach, where goods can be warehoused by the association at paid charges, and a small quantity of land let to retail shopkeepers, will enable the settlers to be in their operation. The

excess of mercantile speculation is a cause of great loss to a new community. It seems to be so much easier to buy and sell than to dig and plough, that half the population become shopkeepers as if by magic, the gentry dignifying their employment by the name of storekeeping. You would suppose that 'slops,' rice, and sugar, were the spontaneous produce of the soil, and that men believed that they could grow rich by merely exchanging one with another the fruits of the labours of others, without working for themselves. Of course, what is easy to all will be done by too many, and therefore will be profitable to very few. And thus the country, with its mine of wealth, is robbed of the industry which would have made it profitable, and the town, like a great lazy tumour, drains and wastes the resources of the body, without contributing anything in return. My advice is, plant the country, and let the town grow of itself. Let the course and progress of the colony show when, where, and by whom, stores, manufactories, &c., ought to be established. When the need is shown by a demand, town land can be sold or let with a privilege of purchase, and then the actual merchant will become the proprietor, instead of having to buy or rent his land on exorbitant terms from some absentee owner, who has pre-occupied the best positions for business.

"To pass on to the higher and more important branches of your plan: the provision for education and religion. The example of the China bishopric is a warning how long good plans may be delayed if you wait till the endowment fund be complete. The American system seems to be the best. Have a bishop at all events. It is not at all certain that you will get a better man for £1,000 than for £100 a-year. Such matters are no question of money. Let him get his money as he can for a time—whether as warden of the college or as a parish priest; till the growth of endowments and the increase of duties lead naturally to a subdivision of labour. A colonial bishop in a new colony cannot at first be fully occupied with the duties of his office. If he confines himself to them, he may grow an idle man without knowing why. But in the practical working, as well as superintending institutions not strictly within his own duties, he will find the means of keeping up that habitual energy which his own office will require before many years are past. If you can find a bishop of all-work, he ought to be the first clergyman to land in New Zealand."

There is another portion of Dr. Selwyn's letter, which intending Canterbury settlers would do well to peruse carefully, viz., that in which the Bishop, picturing a meeting of such persons engaged in canvassing their future resources, supposes them to argue thus:—

"£3 an acre is a large sum to give for land, and one acre will only feed four sheep;* their wool will weigh about twelve pounds; and we shall be lucky to get from 7d. to 9d. per pound from the merchants at Port Cooper, so that the clear profits cannot well

* Mr. Tuckett states most decidedly that "the Great Plain adjacent to Port Cooper will not feed one sheep to the acre, but that the upland grasses of Banks' Peninsula, will probably feed two or even three to the acre."

be more than 6d. per pound, or 6s. for the acre, that is, just ten per cent. on our purchase-money. Well, so long as we can live and bring up our families, we have no wish to make fortunes. In fact, the school, the church, and clergyman, are the true interest for the outlay, and not the produce of the land, or the increase of flocks and herds; for this profit has found its limits in the Australian colonies by an excess of all the necessities of life, and by reducing nine-tenths of the settlers to be their own tallow-chandlers."

Now, if the intending emigrants have really, one and all, arrived at this conclusion, after a careful examination of the various circumstances likely to exercise a practical bearing upon their future position,—there is nothing further to be said on the matter, save to express the earnest desire for their prosperity, in which every member of the Church of England cannot but participate; and not churchmen, only, but likewise all who desire to see religion recognised as a vital principle, equally essential to the well-being of an infant settlement or an extensive empire. In their careful and systematic provision for the due observance of religious ordinances, the Canterbury Association have indeed set a bright example to all colonising bodies; nor is it in this respect alone that their proceedings contrast strikingly with those of the New Zealand Company,† inasmuch as they can at once give their purchasers an equitable and legal title, as well as immediate possession of the land which they offer for sale; whereas the Company (except in the case of Otago,) could do neither the one nor the other.

But the question still remains, whether among the large body of colonists who it is reported intend leaving their native land in June, 1851, there are not many individuals who have been led to form very exaggerated notions of the natural advantages of the country whither they are going, and especially of that portion of it

* The Bishop of Norwich, in a speech addressed to the first expedition of the Canterbury settlers, at a public breakfast given to them by the Association shortly before their departure from England, remarked that "it was about twelve years ago that he was present at a great colonists' breakfast like that, and the present occasion reminded him of the circumstances. The first body of colonists to New Zealand (Wellington) were then taking their departure, but they carried out with them no minister of religion, and there were none already before them, nor did they know whether any would follow."
—*Times*, July 31st, 1850.

† *Vide* a little work entitled *Remarks on the Past and Present State of New Zealand*, by Walter Brodie, p. 118. A letter from the author, who returned to England about a year ago, was published

in which they are most materially interested. Has the fact been fully and fairly set before them, that the territory sold by the New Zealand Company to the Canterbury Association, at 10s. per acre, for the express purpose of forming a very extensive settlement, had been previously rejected by the surveyor of the former body, after careful and approved examination, as absolutely unfit, and affording an insufficient quantity of good land for the considerably smaller requirements of the scheme of New Edinburgh?

Have the intending emigrants really, each one for himself, counted the cost, and carefully weighed the grounds upon which they are asked to give £3 per acre for land in one part of New Zealand, when they might select for themselves, as good, if not better, in other localities, for half or even a third of that price? It is well known, that in all new colonies an emigrant with ready money at his disposal, can scarcely fail to meet with more advantageous opportunities for its investment in land suited to his wants, than he could reasonably hope for at the hands of any body of men in England, however energetic and well-intentioned. The temptation of a cheap passage out has induced many a man to take a land-order, which has subsequently proved a heavy clog upon his freedom of action, and compelled him either to remain in a disadvantageous position, to dispose of it at a heavy sacrifice (should he have had the opportunity, which is very doubtful), or to treat the parchment for which he has paid so highly like a piece of waste paper.‡

It is difficult to understand upon what resource the projectors of the Canterbury settlement rely for its exports, or their land-purchasers for the recovery of the capital sunk in purchasing, which should in *The Times* of May 16th, 1851, in which he declares that he cannot imagine how men with wives and families can be so foolish as to pay £3 per acre to the Canterbury Association, when they might go into the northern part, and buy it of government at £1 per acre, with as good a title as they expect by paying £3 per acre for. By paying £300 for 100 acres, £35 goes towards the passage out, leaving £165 for the support of the church, school, and roads, a very large item, and one which no colonist can afford. Mr. Brodie adds, that a colonist, by taking his money out with him, will not only benefit the colony generally, but himself, as ready money there will command many good farms at £1 per acre, and much good land at 10s., from settlers wishing to sell.

have been spent in improving their land. The emigrant labourers cannot be sent out as serfs, and it is not likely that any other inducement than the temporary one of high wages will lead them, as a body, to remain in a settlement where they cannot hope to become cultivators of their own land. And how long will the resident proprietors be able to afford this scale of remuneration? and (strangely as it may sound in English ears,) how long will they be able to compete as producers with the Maori chiefs, who are daily acquiring proficiency both in agriculture and mechanics, and who can command a very considerable supply of native labour? There is reason to believe that they cannot do so even now, for it is stated on very good authority, that "the natives can always undersell the European competitor, and they therefore supply most of the wheat, maize, potatoes, pigs, poultry, and such other articles required by the colonists as are the produce of the colony."* Where, then, will they find a market, when the military force, whose presence now creates so large a demand for home consumption, shall be materially reduced?

The preliminary expedition of surveyors, accompanied by the Resident Chief Agent of the settlement, J. R. Godley, Esq., reached Port Cooper in April, 1850; the first body of colonists (1,200 in number,) sailed from Plymouth in the autumn of 1850, and, it is stated, will be followed by the "main body" in June, 1851; notwithstanding the warnings of the Bishop and other authorities on the inexpediency of this mode of proceeding. Up to November, 1850, the quantity sold amounted to 14,000 acres; and the extent of pasturage let, with a pre-emptive right of purchase, was 70,000 acres.†

A few leading features in the history of New Zealand remain to be noticed. In April, 1847, an unfortunate circumstance occurred, which produced a temporary renewal of hostilities on the part of the natives. Mr. Crozier, a midshipman of H.M.S. *Calliope*, was paying a chief for some work done in thatching his hut, when a pistol he had in his hand exploded,

* *Vide* Letter, dated Government-house, Wellington, 18th of April, 1848, and evidently written by Lieutenant-governor Eyre, published in *Colonial Intelligencer*, of September, 1848, p. 86.

† *Vide* a tract, entitled *Brief Information about the Canterbury Settlement*, published by the Association, p. 5.

seriously wounding the native in the head. A number of the Maories, who had witnessed the act, became greatly excited, believing it to have been intentional. In the afternoon, a deputation came to the principal stockade, to request that the young officer might be given up to them, promising that no harm should come to him, unless their friend died. This being refused, six of his relatives, in a furious access of revengeful feeling, attacked the house of an out-settler, Mr. Gilfillan, who, having received a severe wound from a tomahawk, and seeing the impossibility of making any effectual resistance, made his escape through a side window, in compliance with the urgent solicitations of his wife, who represented to him that his life alone was aimed at, that she had no fear for herself or her family, "because the Maories never injured women or children."‡ On reaching the military station (six miles distant), Mr. Gilfillan declared that the natives were out in all directions, and this, together with its being a very dark night, and the road to the farm an ill defined track, only known to a few of the settlers, and not easily found even by daylight, prevented any one going until daybreak on the following morning, when a party, while proceeding thither, met on their way two little children, wet through with the heavy dew, and shivering with cold, who told them that their mother and the rest of the family had been murdered, and the house plundered and burned to the ground. Soon after their father's escape, their mother had contrived to get them out of the house unseen, and they had remained hidden in a neighbouring ravine all night. The lifeless bodies of the unhappy lady and three of her children, confirmed, to a melancholy extent, the truth of this horrible tale, but a young girl of about seventeen was found in a neighbouring cow-shed, still living, though with a deep tomahawk wound in her forehead, and holding in her arms an infant, who was uninjured. Another babe lay outside the shed, sleeping and unhurt.§ The following night the officers at the military stockade were aroused by a messenger, bearing information that five out of the six murderers had been taken by six

‡ Mr. Gilfillan's evidence at the Court Martial, held at Wanganui, on the 23rd of April, 1847.—Parliamentary Papers on New Zealand, of December, 1847, p. 74.

§ *Vide Sketches in New Zealand*, by Tyrone Power, D.A.C.G., p. 86 to 93, for a simple but pathetic narrative of the whole affair.

natives of the Putiki village, who had hazarded their own lives, to prove that they had had no participation in so barbarous a crime, and felt no sympathy with the perpetrators. The men were tried by court martial, four of them were immediately executed, and the fifth, (a mere lad,) was sentenced to transportation for life.* The fear of an attempted rescue, and the difficulty of sending the prisoners from Wanganui to Wellington, a distance of 120 miles, doubtless induced this proceeding; but the more legitimate, and therefore, satisfactory course, would certainly have been to have delivered up the culprits, to be dealt with by the civil authorities. Power, in his graphic account of the whole proceeding, says "the relations and friends of the men who were hanged, are all in the taua (war party), and are infuriated against us," and, without questioning the justice of the sentence, he describes it as having excited, more or less ill-will throughout the country.

Skirmishes with the troops, of whom about 300 were then at Wanganui, commenced, the outsettlers were compelled to abandon their farms; no one ventured to stir out of the town unarmed, and every man was to be seen driving his sheep and cattle with a gun on his shoulder, and pistols in his belt. In commenting upon this wretched state of things, Power remarks, that it had been supposed by some, that the presence of the troops would be a protection, but wiser men predicted that their coming would be the harbinger of war. "The troops certainly protect the pork butchers of the town, and the drunken riff-raff of which its inhabitants are principally composed; but the real settlers, who have cattle and land to attend to, cannot work under the guns of a stockade, and are therefore particularly exposed to any sudden attack, and cut off before assistance can reach them. To make them secure, nothing less would do than a sentry over every cow, and a serjeant's guard in attendance on each labourer; and even this is scarcely as much as some of them expect."†—*Sketches in New Zealand*, p. 97.

On the 18th of May, the Maories made a regular attack upon the town, advancing on all sides, and getting possession of the bullet

proof houses in the outskirts of the town, from which they kept up a steady fire, while parties of them carried off the plunder; at length their leader, Maketu, was shot through the head, on which they immediately retreated. They then resumed their ordinary guerilla style of warfare, stealing the cattle and sheep, and burning down the dwellings vacated by the out-settlers, until, at the expiration of about a fortnight, Governor Grey arrived from Auckland, accompanied by Walker Nene, Te Whero-Whero, and other natives, and bringing with him reinforcements, both military and naval. An encounter took place on the 19th of July, in which the loss on the side of the Europeans was two killed and twelve wounded; that of the natives was supposed to be considerably more, an unusual circumstance, the British having on previous occasions been the greatest sufferers, even in respect of the amount of bloodshed, and in all other points incomparably so; the impracticable nature of the country leaving them no resource but to remain in fortified positions, until the enemy should see fit to come and attack them; their opponents, meanwhile, sustaining no injury but what might result from contests provoked by themselves, or from the temporary deprivation of such articles of convenience or luxury as their advance in civilization should have rendered customary and valuable to them.

How little interruption to their ordinary pursuits had been occasioned by the warfare which had well-nigh completed the ruin of the remnant of the unfortunate band (consisting at first of about 600 persons, but at the commencement of these hostilities reduced to less than 200,) who had been induced by the delusive promises of the New Zealand Company to locate on the disputed Wanganui territory, may be understood from the following facts. No sooner had peace been proclaimed and intercourse resumed between the natives and the colonists on a friendly footing, than the former poured in supplies of potatoes for sale, and that very year are stated, on trustworthy authority to have reaped nearly 2,000 acres of wheat, all of which must have been planted during the most active

* Bishop Selwyn, in a letter to Governor Grey, (Parl. Papers, July, 1849, p. 38,) states that the only two instances upon which he had ever offered any remarks upon the acts of the government, were the military executions at Porirua and Wanganui.

† From March, 1845, to July, 1847, the total loss on the side of the British was 85 killed and 167 wounded. According to the governor's estimate, every 100 men who fell must have cost at least £10,000.

part of the war.* Governor Grey instances the proceedings at Wanganui, as clearly showing how much the settlers were still dependent upon the natives, and how essential it was that nothing should be done, which by alienating the affections of the great mass of the native population, should drive them all into open rebellion.† This conclusion was precisely the same that Governors Hobson and Fitz-Roy had previously arrived at, and Captain Grey, acting upon the same principle as his predecessors, took the course which common sense and common honesty alike dictated. It had been by this time clearly ascertained that the only rallying cry which would unite the scattered tribes of New Zealand, and induce them to commence a war of race, would be any attempt on the part of the government to assume a territorial right over their land. The shadow of the land was to go to Queen Victoria, the substance to remain with them; this had been their original, their only reading of the treaty of Waitangi—from it they had never swerved. That construction they had been assured by the missionaries to be the true one, and successive governors, the bishop, and the chief-justice, in answer to frequent appeals, had invariably repeated the same assurance of the total absence of any intention on the part of the crown, to encroach upon their territorial rights, or infringe upon the spirit or the letter of the treaty of Waitangi.

The question once settled, that all lands desired by Europeans, whether by government, by associations, or by individuals, could not be obtained without the full and free consent of the native proprietors; and the fact established, (as it had been, most satisfactorily,) that those proprietors were ready and willing to dispose of it on very moderate terms, the governor's path would seem to have been as straightforward as could be desired—a little more to be expended on the natives, and a great deal less on military defences, that was all. Unhappily for the three parties most deeply interested—the government, the colonists, and the natives—there was yet a fourth, now more influential than ever, whose mischievous policy had long threatened to produce exterminating warfare. The extraordinary

powers vested in the hands of the New Zealand Company by the agreement of 1847, had raised much serious and well-founded apprehension throughout the colony, and Lieutenant-governor Eyre, on becoming acquainted with the clause (see p. 243,) by which the government surrendered to the Company all the crown lands in the Middle and Southern Island, during a certain period, as well as the exercise of the crown's right of pre-emption of lands therein situated belonging to the natives, and undertook to *execute any grants, leases, or mortgages, for which the Court of Directors and Commissioners should engage*;—immediately addressed the Governor-in-chief on the subject, requesting him to observe, that the last promise was quite unconditional, no reference being made to the natives, either with regard to the reservation to them of the lands they occupied and cultivated, or the purchase from them of their interests in those over which they claim a general ownership. He adds, "I need hardly point out to your excellency how impossible it will be for a Court of Directors and a Commissioner, resident in London, to ascertain or decide what are the just rights of the natives; and still less need I urge, how utterly impracticable it would be to put the New Zealand Company in possession of the lands which might be granted them, unless those rights are *first acknowledged and satisfactorily disposed of*. No one who has not been in New Zealand, can have any true idea of the real state of this subject, or of the many difficulties and disasters which cannot but occur, if a summary and final decision upon questions connected with the land be made in London, and ordered to be carried out by the local authorities here. I feel quite satisfied, that no number of troops which England can send, would be sufficient for the purpose, if those decisions are not founded upon the circumstances actually existing in the colony, and based upon the strictest justice." Governor Grey, in reply, stated that the crown had only undertaken to place its own rights at the disposal of the Company, and was, consequently, not bound by the agreement to any interference with the rights of any third party, whether natives or Europeans.‡

* *Vide* Letter of Lieutenant-governor Eyre, before referred to (p. 249), and published in the *Colonial Intelligencer, or Aborigines' Friend* of September, 1848, p. 82.

† Parliamentary Papers on New Zealand, published December, 1847, p. 55.

‡ Parliamentary Papers relative to New Zealand, published in 1848, p. 19.

This, however, though true and satisfactory to a certain extent, was very far from affording a sufficient explanation of the main point at issue; namely, what the territorial rights delegated to the Company actually were. The definition of the vague terms "crown," "waste," and "unoccupied" lands given by that body was equally comprehensive and convenient. They considered that the demesnes of the crown would be found [or made] to comprehend almost the whole of the Middle Island, and with partial exceptions, all the land in the vicinity of the Company's settlements on the Northern Island; and that consequently large tracts, in addition to the Company's own estate, would be instantly placed at the command of the directors.*

This view of the case their principal agent, Colonel Wakefield† and his successor, Mr. Fox, urged with great pertinacity, maintaining that the government were bound to put the Company in possession of a certain amount of lands, to be obtained either by confiscation or purchase from the natives, but in either case to be bestowed gratuitously on them. The instructions of Governor Grey were, however, quite incompatible with these expectations. He had been directed to retain the exclusive management of all negotiations with the natives for the sale of their lands; and informed that when any transactions of this sort were concluded in the Southern Province, the New Zealand Company were to provide the means of payment from funds placed at their disposal, and to have the disposal of the lands so acquired.‡ When, therefore, Lieutenant-governor Eyre informed him that Mr. Fox maintained that her majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies had "laid it down as an incontrovertible position" that the natives were only entitled to a proprietary right in such lands as they actually occupied, according to the definition of "occupation" given in the royal instructions, and that consequently the title of the crown to nearly the whole of the Middle and Southern Island, ought at once to have been asserted by the local government on behalf of the Company, who would thereby have been spared the necessity of laying out large sums of money in negotiating purchases from the natives,§ he at

once appealed to Earl Grey. In an able despatch, dated March, 1849, he expresses his fear that the Company might "continue to endeavour to compel the government to adopt principles which could not be carried out without giving rise to a war, for causing which no responsibility would rest upon the New Zealand Company, nor would they be liable for the heavy expenses which it would occasion. The succeeding paragraphs are too important to admit of abridgment, especially as the greater part of them refer to questions of immediate and primary importance:—

"Your lordship will, I think, see that the present arrangement with the New Zealand Company creates a state of things which must cause confusion and disaster. It might have answered as a temporary arrangement for the purpose of winding-up the affairs of the New Zealand Company with the late agent of the Company, who acted in entire accordance with the government; but the welfare and peace of a country ought not to be left dependent upon the fortuitous occurrence of a state of things which cannot be expected to continue uninterruptedly. Moreover, such an arrangement would, under the most favourable circumstances, create great discontent, not only in these settlements, but in the neighbouring colonies, as I think it might be regarded as a very dangerous precedent to hand over the land-fund of a colony to entirely irresponsible persons.

"Upon the whole, I think that nothing could be more conducive to the future welfare of this colony than to allow the Crown lands to be sold here as in the other Australian settlements, by public competition; to cause the proceeds of the sales of those lands to be paid, in the usual manner, into the public treasury; and then to allow fifty per cent. of these proceeds, after deducting the cost of the purchase and administration of the waste lands of the Crown, to be devoted to the purposes of emigration: twenty-five per cent. to be expended for the benefit of the natives, and twenty-five per cent. to be expended upon public works in those provinces where the amount of the native population might render such an appropriation of the land revenue necessary; it being further provided that the last amount of twenty-five per cent. should be expended in aid of the object to which it was to be devoted, in such a manner as the legislature of each province might direct. I have been particular in stating that it should be required that twenty-five per cent. of the land-fund should be spent upon public works, because this colony differs from the Australian settlements in having in it a large number of native labourers, who are at once controlled and improved by having employment afforded to them upon the public works. If your lordship would sanction such arrangements as I have above proposed, I am sure they would work well for a long series of years; and whilst they would eminently promote the interests of the

* This statement is made in the twenty-seventh (printed but not published) Report of the Directors of the New Zealand Company, p. 3.

† Colonel Wakefield died suddenly at Wellington, September, 1848.

‡ Earl Grey, Despatch 19th June, 1847.—*Vide* Parliamentary Papers of June, 1847, p. 115.

§ Letter of Mr. Fox to Lieutenant-governor Eyre, February 20th, 1849.—*Vide* Parliamentary Papers of 1850, p. 72.

colony, they would, I think, be in all respects satisfactory to the European and native populations.

"I should mention to your lordship, regarding this tract of territory which the New Zealand Company, through their agent, contend should have been taken from the natives without their consent, that its area comprehends several millions of acres; and that the sum to be paid for the purchase of any rights which the natives might have over any portion of this territory, except the small reserves kept for their use, was only £2,000: an amount which the late Colonel Wakefield concurred with me in thinking was a fair and just amount to give the natives.

"To act upon the principle that, where the natives are so weak that they cannot defend their lands, the government should assert what the New Zealand Company now represent as the rights of the crown, and forcibly take the natives' lands from them; and again, to refrain from asserting the so-termed rights of the crown, when the natives are so strong that they could protect themselves, would certainly acquire for the government the contempt as well as the distrust of the whole native population; and that especially when, as in the present case, the natives made no factious opposition to the occupation of their lands, but cheerfully yielded all their rights for that sum which, without consulting their wishes, the government had fixed as a just amount."

In this same despatch there are other passages, illustrative of the mischief which could not but result from depriving the local government of the colony of powers essential to its efficient administration, and clearly showing how just the reasoning of Governor Fitz-Roy had been on the subject. Had the results of his painful experience, published by him in 1846,* exercised their due influence, nearly a quarter of a million would have been saved to the British treasury; the energies of an important colony would not have been crippled by a heavy mortgage laid on its lands, the first and most available resource of a young country, and the New Zealand Company might at once have taken its place in history by the side of the South Sea Company.† He had truly declared that while there was an irresponsible commercial body whose object was selfish and local, operating either as a middle-man between the government and the colony, or as an officious helper of the government, for the sake of its own advantage, there could be no peace or confidence. Captain Fitz-Roy's opinions with regard to the pecuniary prospects of the Company have proved equally correct. Although at that time a very opposite view of the question was generally entertained, he asserted that their colonising operations in New Zealand, however assisted by the government, must be

attended with disadvantages and pecuniary loss, and that the sooner they ceased to act the better it would be for themselves, the settlers, and the natives. Happily for the colony, Governor Grey agreed with his predecessor in considering that to take land from the natives, or without the full consent of all its numerous owners, would involve in hostilities, not only the takers, and those who attempted to settle there, but also the local government; and the home authorities supported him in obliging the Company to make purchase, and not confiscation, the means of acquiring territory, and in requiring them to furnish the requisite funds. To this cause the Company choose to attribute the chief blame of the disastrous failure in which their three years' probation terminated on the 5th of April, 1850. After an unavailing attempt to obtain from Earl Grey additional pecuniary assistance, in the form of a guarantee of interest upon this capital, and also a remission of the claim of her Majesty's government upon them, for the advances already made, the Company surrendered their charter, and declared themselves unable to continue their operations, having exhausted the £236,000 advanced to them, under the loan acts of 1846-'7, as well as the sums they had received for land in the Otago and in the projected Canterbury Settlement. Anything approaching to a clear and full statement of the manner in which all this money has been expended, will probably never be given to the public, unless through the instrumentality of some energetic members of the legislature, whose love of truth, and genuine interest in the welfare of a distant colony shall lead them to hazard incurring no small amount of trouble and annoyance, by bringing about a parliamentary inquiry, into the proceedings of the New Zealand Company.

The parliamentary commissioner (Mr. Cowell) appointed under the agreement of 1847, ceased to act some time before the final crisis arrived, and his reports to the Colonial Office have not been published. The only account of the Company's financial affairs, from 1847 to 1850, which I have been able to obtain, is contained in the (unpublished) twenty-seventh report of the directors to the proprietors. It is very brief, and given under such general heads,

* In a pamphlet from which we have previously quoted, entitled *Remarks on New Zealand*, by Robert Fitz-Roy. W. and H. White Pall Mall, London.

† Of 1725. "Among many points of resemblance, each Company employed lotteries and great exaggerations."—*Remarks on New Zealand*, p. 59.

that it shews little more than that the receipts have been enormous, and the expenditure commensurate; but the results—what are they? It states that the Company had a balance in hand, on the 6th of April, 1847, of £37,449 : 7s. : 1d., of which £9,093 : 14s. : 10d. consisted of promissory notes not immediately available. From this date to the 5th of April, their receipts were—

From sale of land	£25,457	10	0
From sundry persons, freight, and passage-money, per ships despatched to New Zealand	28,498	8	5
From interest on investment, bills receivable, and debts due to the Company	3,222	11	11
From her Majesty's government, balance of loan of £100,000 authorized by parliament in 1846	20,000	0	0
From her Majesty's government, amount of loan authorized by parliament in 1847	136,000	0	0
Available balance in hand	28,355	12	3
Total	£241,534	2	7

Their expenditure during the same period, is stated at £203,391, irrespective of £25,000 "invested in the three per cent. consols, in respect of the Nelson trust funds, according to the trusts of an indenture of the 8th of June, 1848, of advances to the Canterbury Association to the amount of £8,621, and a cash balance of £4,522."

Of the £203,391, we find that £68,215 were paid away for accounts outstanding on the 5th of April, 1847; viz., £54,000 for debentures; £3,153 interest on ditto, and £11,062, for bills under acceptance, arrears of salaries, and allowances for services, &c.

Establishments and expenses in England for the three years, are put down at the preposterous amount of £22,032 : 4s. : 7d.; viz., salaries and allowances for services, £12,559; office expenses and contingencies, £5,550 : 12s. : 11d.; law and parliamentary expenses, £3,921 : 17s. : 8d.

To whom, and for what services rendered in England, salaries and allowances to the amount of more than £4,000 per annum were paid, it is not easy to conjecture.

Establishments and expenses in New Zealand are stated at £12,700 : 19s. : 1d.; viz., salaries and allowances for services, £8,765 : 2s. : 0d.; office expenses and contingencies, £3,646 : 2s. : 3d., and law expenses, £289 : 14s. : 10d.

The other important items are, *emigration service*, £47,338; *surveys*, £14,433; *public works in the colony, roads, bridges, &c.*,

£1,175; *colonial incidental expenses, principally for the Otago settlement*, £6,808; *stores shipped to the colony, principally for Otago, and oil butts and live stock, per sundry ships despatched*, £4,200; *land purchased from private individuals*, £8,106; *land purchased from the Nanto-Bordelaise Company* (proprietors at Akaroa), £5,769; *land purchased from the natives*, £7,983.

The general public, as well as the proprietors and land-purchasers of the Company, have, without doubt, the right to demand from the directors more detailed information on the various items above stated, and especially respecting the tangible results which have been produced, by such an enormous expenditure.

For instance, 2,485 emigrants are stated to have been conveyed to New Zealand by the Company, and the *emigration service* is put down at £47,338, but it is impossible to form any idea of the number to whom free passages were granted, or the expense of their conveyance per head, without first ascertaining how many paid their passage, entirely or in part. Again, respecting the surveys, it should be stated where they were executed, how many acres had been surveyed, and whether of grass or unwooded land. What are *colonial incidents*, absorbing six times the sum spent on *roads and public works*? Had the New Zealand Company its "secret service?" The (comparatively) paltry expenditure on public works of £1,175, contrasts yet more strikingly with the £34,733 lavished on *establishments, contingencies, and law expenses* in England and New Zealand. Who are the *private individuals* to whom more money has been paid than to the natives for the whole of the Middle Island, minus their reserves—How many acres had each private individual, where situated, and how acquired?

The affairs of the New Zealand Company demand immediate and most careful consideration. They are not by-gone matters, relating only to the past history of the colony; unhappily they bear upon its present position, and threaten seriously to impede its future progress.

As the case now stands, the Company, by relinquishing their charter, would appear not only to have released themselves from their public debt of nearly a quarter of a million, and of their liabilities to the Nelson settlers and others, at the expense of the government, but are to have a mortgage to

the amount of another quarter of a million (£268,000), on all the crown lands of New Zealand; together with interest at the rate of three-and-a-half per cent., (see agreement, pp. 243, 244.)

This arrangement, if not altered while there is yet time, can scarcely fail to be peculiarly grievous to the Auckland and other colonists who have never had any connection with the Company. In the southern settlements the hardship is less, though even there it cannot but be painfully felt. The latest local papers express an anxious desire to receive official notification of the fact of the Company's dissolution, notwithstanding the heavy *post obits* they leave to be discharged. They state that not one public work, not one substantial improvement worthy of a Company to whom so much had been entrusted, will remain to remind future colonists of its career. "They will only bequeath a legacy of promises unfulfilled, of pledges broken, of trusts betrayed."*

It is deeply mortifying to consider how different the results might have been, had the government itself conducted the colonization of New Zealand. Putting aside the question of why £236,000 of the public money, should have been exclusively devoted to directing the stream of emigration to this particular colony, and supposing her Majesty's ministers to have determined on so doing, not only might ten times the number of persons have been placed there at the same cost, but each one might have been enabled, in his turn, to benefit the mother country, by becoming a consumer of her manufactures to fourfold the extent the majority of those impoverished by the pernicious system of the New Zealand Company, are ever likely to do.

For example—had a grant of one hundred acres of land been offered, on condition of occupation, to any man desirous to proceed thither accompanied by wife or sister, 23,600 couples of enterprising and productive colonists might have been settled there, for the aforesaid £236,000; as grass land on the east coast of the Middle Island might have been fairly purchased from its native proprietors, surveyed, and delivered by the government to each individual, at a cost of 2s. per acre, or £10 the section.†

Or,—had the government offered a section

of fifty acres of land as a grant, and half the expense of the passage of each couple of emigrants as a loan, with a promissory title to their section at the outset, and a complete one when the loan should be repaid; then, allowing £5 for the section, and £20 for the half passage, 9,440 couples of colonists might have been established under the most favourable circumstances.

Or, supposing a third system,—had the government offered a free passage to a couple, as an advance or loan, of £32 in amount, (£16 each,) and a section of land of fifty acres, as a grant, to be the freehold property of the emigrant so soon as the passage cost of £32, with interest at three-and-a-half per cent., should be repaid; then, at an expenditure of £37 per couple, 6,378 couples of adults might have been placed there, and either by repayment of the money advanced, on the acquisition of the freehold, or of a rental equivalent to the interest, the original sum of £236,000 would be perpetuated, and afford a renewed fund for the same object.

The numbers and condition of both races, and the remarkable progress made by the Maories in the peaceful pursuits of civilization, remain to be noticed in the population section; one important fact calculated materially to affect their joint welfare must, however, be stated here:—in August, 1848, Earl Grey directed the governor of New Zealand to ascertain whether the colonists would be disposed to receive "exiles with tickets-of-leave." Public opinion was decidedly, but temperately, expressed in different parts of New Zealand, by both the Europeans and natives. Sir G. Grey, the governor, in a despatch dated the 8th of May, 1849, forcibly stated the evils which would ensue, not only as regarded the aborigines, but also in the demoralization of the exiles, who would probably retire into the interior, live among the native population, and cohabit with their women; whereupon Earl Grey declared (in a despatch, 26th November, 1849,) that her Majesty would not be advised to send any convicts to New Zealand.

Disposal of Land.—Since the cessation of the New Zealand Company, the method of disposing of the lands of the colony may be considered in a state of transition. It has been seen that the Company, in 1847, had

Tuckett, whose experience in the cost of purchasing and surveying land in New Zealand enables him to form a correct judgment on these points.

* *New Zealand Spectator and Cook's Strait Guardian*, for October, 1850. See also *Southern Cross*.

† This estimate is given on the authority of Mr.

superseded the government in the southern province, having been granted extraordinary privileges with regard to the disposal of land, which they surrendered in 1850; consequently the statutory rules abrogated for a time on their behalf then again came into operation. The Otago and the Canterbury Settlements have, however, their own special regulations, and the government market for land is liable to be disturbed by the quantity thrown into the market by the holders of land orders who have never gone out to take their allotments, or have been forced or induced to part with them.

Regulations for depasture and timber licences were issued in August, 1848; but they were withdrawn, and others substituted for them by proclamation of the governor-in-chief, on the 2nd of November. By the regulations as so amended, the licence for a defined run costs £5; that for depasture on common lands, 10s. 6d. The yearly assessment for the animals depastured, payable in advance, according to registered returns, is for each head of great cattle, including horned cattle, horses, mules, &c., 8d.; for each head of small cattle, including sheep, goats, and swine, 1d. The method of proceeding is as follows:—a person desiring to occupy a defined run, having obtained from the surveyor-general a certificate that the land belongs to the crown, and is unoccupied, lodges it with the commissioner of crown lands. If the run remains four months unused, it may be claimed by another party. The occupation is not to interfere with the crown's right to sell any part of the run; and the purchaser of any portion is entitled, in the neighbourhood of his station, to pasturage for sixteen head of great and one hundred head of small cattle, for each eighty acres of purchase. Runs supposed to possess any peculiar value are to be let by public auction.

There are special rules applicable to those tracts of land, which are within the limits of proclaimed hundreds. There the right of pasturage is to be granted exclusively to occupants under grants of land within the hundred, and to the New Zealand fencibles, and the natives and half-castes occupying lands by permission of the government.

Timber.—Persons occupying waste lands for the felling of timber, pay a licence of £5. The district covered by a licence is marked out by the commissioner of crown lands. No fresh application for a licence is to be allowed injuriously to interfere with a

forest on which any other person has expended capital and labour, and no one is to be allowed to cut or remove timber on the crown lands reserved by government for the public use.*

To the history of this colony, the following chronological summary of its leading events may perhaps be appended with advantage:—

New Zealand discovered by Tasman	1643
Re-discovered, and circumnavigated by Cook	1769
Commencement of intercourse with N. S. Wales	1791
Church Mission established by Mr. Marsden at the Bay of Islands	1814
Wesleyan Mission established at Wangaroa	1822
Appointment of a British Resident (Mr. Busby)	1832
National flag adopted by the New Zealanders, and recognised by Great Britain	1834
Declaration of Independence	1835
Roman Catholic Mission established at the Bay of Islands	1838
Settlement of Wellington established	1839
Appointment of Capt. Hobson as British Consul and Lieut.-Governor	1839
Treaty of Waitangi	1840
New Zealand created a British colony, and Capt. Hobson appointed Governor	1840
French settlement established on Bank's Peninsula	1840
Seat of Government fixed at Auckland	1840
New Zealand Company incorporated by Royal Charter	1840
Settlement of New Plymouth established	1841
Settlement of Nelson established	1841
Dr. Selwyn first Bishop of New Zealand arrived	1842
Death of Governor Hobson	1842
Captain Fitz-Roy appointed Governor	1843
Wairau catastrophe	1843
Bankruptcy of the New Zealand Company	1844
Destruction of Kororarika, or Russell	1845
Hostilities at Ohaio-Wai	1845
Recal of Governor Fitz-Roy	1845
Appointment of Governor Grey	1845
Taking of Kawiti's Pah at Rua-peka-peka	1846
Hostilities in the Valley of the Hutt	1846
Parliamentary Loan of £100,000 to the New Zealand Company	1846
Charter and Royal Instructions for the better government of New Zealand	1846
Mr. Eyre appointed Lieut.-Governor of New Munster, the Southern Island	1846
Act passed to suspend the Charter for five years	1847
Act conferring extensive powers on the New Zealand Company, and authorising a loan of £136,000	1847
Hostilities at Wanganui	1847
Settlement of Otago established	1847
Canterbury Association formed	1848
Earthquake at Wellington	1848
Local Legislature established at New Munster	1848
Canterbury Association incorporated by Royal Charter	1849
New Zealand Company surrender their charter to government	1850
Settlement of New Canterbury established	1850

* For further particulars respecting disposal of land in New Zealand, vide latest *Reports of Emigration Commissioners*, and likewise an excellent little work, entitled the *Emigrants' Manual*, published by the Messrs. Chambers.

CHAPTER II.

POSITION—AREA AND PHYSICAL FEATURES—THE NORTHERN, MIDDLE, AND SOUTHERN ISLANDS—THEIR COAST-LINE, HARBOURS, RIVERS, MOUNTAINS, AND LAKES—GOVERNMENTAL DIVISIONS—SETTLEMENTS—CHIEF TOWNS, AND GENERAL TOPOGRAPHY

THE islands included under the general name of New Zealand, are situated in the South Pacific Ocean, about 1,200 miles to the eastward of Australia. They lie between the parallels of 34° and 48° south latitude, and the 166th and 179th meridians of east longitude, forming a narrow serrated chain of about 1,200 miles in length. There are two principal islands, viz.:—*New Ulster*, *North Island*, or *Eaheinomauwe*, and *New Munster*, *Middle Island*, or *Tavai Poenamoo*; from the southern extremity of the latter, a third much smaller island, called *New Leinster*, *Stewart's*, or *South Island*,* is divided by a channel called Foveaux Strait. *New Ulster* and *New Munster* are separated by Cook Strait; at the narrowest part of this passage the direction of the opposite headlands and the identity of structure, show that they were once contiguous, and the submerged reefs yet mark far into the strait the previous line of connection.

The total superficies of New Zealand is estimated at about 95,000 square miles, giving an area nearly equal to that of the British Islands, bounded by a coast line of above 3,000 miles in extent. The country is excessively mountainous: a lofty chain traverses the Middle and a considerable part of the Northern Island, beside which, there are many subordinate ranges. Numerous and copious streams descend from the mountains to the sea-shore, but are, unfortunately, not navigable for ships, as above the tide they are, with few exceptions, mere mountain torrents barred at the entrance by vast deposits of shingle, through which the waters filtrate to the ocean.

In the Northern Island, the principal

* The names assigned to these islands are very unpopular, but they have this advantage for the reader, that they are calculated to keep in mind the relative position of the islands, Ulster standing for Upper, Munster for Middle, and Leinster for Lower.

† D'Urville, in his *Voyage Pittoresque autour du Monde*, has vividly portrayed the impression made upon his mind, on visiting some portions of the coasts of New Zealand, by the extreme stillness and solitude. "Du reste à ces faibles hauteurs le règne animal

rivers, for the most part, flow north and south, and have an extensive course, in proportion to the limits of an insular area, some reaching to a length of 100, and even 200 miles. In the Middle Island the chief streams have a course inland in a direction always nearly at a right angle to the line of coast, and have consequently a less extent. Thus the rivers which discharge on the north coast flow from the south, on the east coast from the west, on the south coast from the north, and the west coast from the east.

The aspect of New Zealand is very varied; in some localities and from certain points of view, snow crowned mountains and stately forests give it grandeur and majesty. More generally its scenery is simply picturesque, consisting principally of fern-clad ranges, with intermediate valleys of varying but usually limited extent, whose available area is frequently encroached upon by extensive swamps overgrown with flax, reeds, and rushes; in exceptional instances, vast treeless but grassy plains, impart to it an air of sameness and monotony which is greatly augmented by the absence of animal life, which distinguishes certain parts of these islands.† Terry, describing the leading characteristics of the country, says:—

"The exaggerated statements circulated in England of the colony and its productions, soil, and climate, have led generally to the very erroneous impression and opinion, that the necessities, and even more, as regards food, would be abundant and cheap. But New Zealand has neither a tropical climate, nor is it a country in which edible vegetables and fruits, indigenous to such regions, grow and flourish spontaneously and abundantly: nor is it a land inhabited by native animals adapted for the food of man, and easily obtained by the toils or chase. The islands of New Zealand are uncultivated wastes,—either of semblait lui-même frappé d'impuissance. Plus d'oiseaux, point d'insectes pas même de reptiles de la plus petite espèce. Aussi, en résultait il un silence lugubre et absolu, une immobilité profonde qui font éprouver un voyageur les sensations les plus singulières. On dirait une nature morte et pétrifiée, une terre où nul être ne peut vivre, si ce n'est quelques plantes rabougries." This description is however only partially applicable to the shores of New Zealand, of which Cook frequently gives very pleasing accounts.

mountains covered with dense forests,—of plains and lowlands covered with high-fern and shrubs,—or of swamps and marshes covered with rush and flax, without any open spots of grass land for pasturage, or of verdant downs and hills for sheep. In these vast tracts there is not to be seen a living animal, wild or domestic. The traveller's path in the woods is never crossed by the bounding deer for his rifle to replenish his supplies, nor is his nightly bivouac ever disturbed by the howl or the dread of visits from more savage and ferocious animals. All is perfect silence, and solitude in the extreme. The woods are comparatively destitute of the feathered race. The pigeon, the parrot, and the *tui* in certain localities, are the only species that abound. Whatever is produced from the soil in New Zealand for the food of its population, either of grain from arable land, or of stock from pasturage, must be the work of time, by great labour and at much expense. The very nature and circumstances of the country must render the progress of agriculture in New Zealand slow and gradual.*

This account was written in 1842, when the extensive, though not numerous, grassy plains of New Munster were unknown; since that time several more limited tracts of natural pasturage have been discovered in New Ulster.

Forest, thick woods, impervious jungle, flax and fern, stunted or luxuriant, according to the soil, cover the chief part of the whole surface, which is intersected by innumerable water-courses, and adorned by cascades and waterfalls. Extensive lakes, the evident results of volcanic agency, are situated in the interior of both islands, and from them the principal rivers derive their source.

The general outline of the islands of New Zealand (especially the Northern,) is so striking, that the most casual observer can scarcely glance at their representation on a map, without being impressed by their strange, irregular, unaccountable shape. The coast scenery is varied, sometimes very pleasing, at others quite the reverse, the eastern being generally far more inviting to the navigator than the western shores.

NEW ULSTER, OR NORTH ISLAND, is about 400 miles in length, with a breadth varying from 5 to 300 miles. Its area is estimated at 31,174,400 acres; a very large proportion of the whole is occupied by precipitous hills and water-courses, which latter, though valuable as affording an inexhaustible supply of water-power for machinery, serve to increase rather than diminish the great disadvantage of New Zealand, namely, the difficulty of communication by means of roads. An intelligent writer,† describing the

excessively mountainous character of the island, pictures the immigrant agriculturist landing on a circumscribed flat, gazing for the first time on his future home, cogitating whether he can himself ascend the hills, and anxiously inquiring how horses and ploughs are to work in such a country. There are very few plains, properly so called, in New Ulster, though the broad top of a mountain or a confined vale is frequently so designated; for this reason the landscape is of slight extent, mostly a miniature of Wales, eminences too frequently obstructing the view. Sometimes these vales are like the bottom of a caldron, of which the surrounding hills form the sides.

The remarkable configuration of the island gives it an extent of coast-line quite disproportioned to its area. Peninsulas of various shapes and sizes stretch out into the ocean from every point of the compass, the largest of which (nearly 200 miles in length) is united to the main land by a low sandy isthmus about three miles broad. This peninsula, the extremity of which is called by the natives *Te Muri-wenua*, or *Land's End*, terminates in *Cape Otou*, or *North Cape*, a rocky promontory which forms the northern limit of New Zealand.

Coast-line and adjacent country, harbours and rivers.—*North Cape* is situated in 34° 25' S. lat., and 173° 10' E. long., off it lies a small rocky island, named *Moudi Moutou*, separated from the mainland at high-water only. The promontory itself is high and bold, presenting very steep sides to both the northern and the eastern coast; but a flat and swampy land of about three square miles in extent, runs from the northern to the eastern coast, and separates this promontory from the hills at *Kapowairua*. The eastern coast from the North Cape to *Parenga-renga* estuary, situate in the curve of the coast, called *Sandy Bay*, is formed chiefly by perpendicular cliffs of grey sandstone. The arms of *Parenga-renga* inlet extend between the ramifications of the neighbouring hills, and generally terminate in swamps grown over with what is called the New Zealand mangrove (*avicennia tomentosa*). Proceeding in a southerly direction, the east coast is lined by a long sandy beach, here and there interrupted by bluffs of basaltic rock, which are verdant with groups of the hardy pohutukaua tree

* *New Zealand*, by Charles Terry, F.R.S., F.S.A., p. 58.

† John Bright, Esq. *Vide New Zealand, its State and Prospects*, pp. 5, 6.

(*Metrosideros tomentosa*) to about eight miles to the southward of *Houhoura*, or *Mount Camel*. The land consists either of low hills or swamps, the low brown vegetation of the former being almost wholly fern or manuka.

Mount Camel (so named from its form) is not connected with any chain of mountains, but forms an isolated hill rising to the height of about 500 feet above the sea. It protects a deep inlet, which at the head branches off into several shallow channels, and forms a perfectly sheltered harbour for vessels of the largest burden, with anchorage close to the eastern shore; the entrance to this harbour is not more than forty or fifty yards broad. Some miles to the southward, the land suddenly assumes a very different aspect; the raupo swamps and the low barren elevations of the soil between them give way to an extensive alluvial district, which stretches from the eastern to the western coast, and follows the serpentine course of the *Awaroa*, or *Awanui*, a river which empties itself into the estuary of *Rangaunu*, a shallow but extensive arm of the sea, with an intricate, yet open channel for moderate sized vessels. The river is very narrow at its sea-mouth, but the tide drives its fresh-water back eight feet above its usual level, and it is then of considerable depth; it has little fall, and the tide renders it always navigable. The banks are perpendicular, and rise two or three feet above the level of the spring-tides; towards its outlet, however, the land is low and swampy, and is overflowed when winds from the sea raise the water to a higher level, or when floods, occasioned by long-continued rain, come down from the interior. The *Awaroa* has its source near that of *Mango-muka*, a branch of the *Hokianga* river, from which it is separated by the *Maunga Taniwa*, a remarkable pyramidal peak, which towers above the neighbouring hills, being nearly 1,500 feet high. Throughout its course the valley of the *Awaroa* is very fertile. Several miles below *Kaitaia*, a mission-station and native settlement, situated on a hilly eminence about eight miles from the western coast, the river is joined by another, coming from the eastern hills in the neighbourhood of *Monganui*, in *Lauriston Bay*, which at the point of union is scarcely inferior to itself in size. Above *Kaitaia* the *Awaroa* is only passable by canoes, in which the natives carry down

food from their plantations to the village. The flat alluvial land extending on the right shore of the *Awaroa* to *Rangaunu Bay*, is separated from *Lauriston Bay* by *Kari Kari*, or *Knuckle Point*, a peninsula connected with the range of hills which occupies the interior of the island, and sends forth branches both eastward and westward, forming valleys, or rather ravines, through which various mountain torrents find their way to the ocean. The most important place in *Lauriston*, *Doubtless*, or *Oudu Oudu Bay*, is *Oudu Oudu*, or *Oruru*, where a stream, which takes its rise on the eastern slope of *Maunga Taniwa*, and can be entered by a boat, empties itself into the sea. On both sides of this river is excellent level and clear land, rising slowly towards *Maunga Taniwa*. *Oruru* is separated by low hills covered with a stiff white clay and a scanty vegetation, from a similar valley eight miles to the northward, out of which another river runs into the sea. The road from *Oruru* into the harbour of *Monganui*, leads over a succession of steep hills and narrow fertile ravines; the distance is about ten miles. A reef of rocks which runs off *Oruru* in a north-easterly direction, is the only obstacle to a safe and easy entrance into the harbour. The channel is not above 100 yards wide, but it is very deep. A small number of vessels may anchor about a quarter of a mile off the southern head, in five fathoms water, and be perfectly sheltered. The rest of the estuary is a large basin spreading out into mud-flats at low-water, with a channel sufficiently deep for large boats, near the northern shore, up to its head, which is here entered by a river that takes its rise in the hills separating the harbour of *Wangaroa* from *Monganui*. An arm of the latter stretches towards *Oruru*, and unites with this river behind an island of moderate size, which forms the head of the harbour, and conceals the mangrove flats, which lie on both sides of the channel.

The river *Pu-te-kaka* is entered by the tide for about eight miles, and thus far a boat can go up it. It flows through an undulating open country, the elevations alternating with large swamps which might be easily drained, and would then form good agricultural land. Higher up, the view is shut in by the hills towards *Wangaroa*, which are about fifteen miles distant, and are covered with *kauri* forest, as are also the hills to the west and north.

The land up to the base of those hills is devoid of trees. Towards Point Surville the coast is hilly, with occasional narrow valleys; from thence to Wangaroa it is cliffy and steep.* Along it, at the distance of one or two miles, there occur numerous rocks and islets, which usually assume a pinnacled or sugar-loaf form; but some present a castellated outline, like that observable in the rocks of Bass Strait, Australia.†

Wangaroa Harbour, the scene of the Boyd massacre (*vide* p. 119), is a singularly romantic place. The entrance, which is only about 150 yards broad, is between towering, perpendicular rocks, which appear to have been rent asunder by some mighty convulsion of nature. Trees of various kinds overhang these black walls, and form a picturesque contrast with them. Deep fissures penetrate the coast, and on the western side of the bay, high cubical masses are piled one above another, to the height of several hundred feet, from whence many cascades descend, and lose themselves amid the luxuriant groves which clothe the base of these heights. On the opposite side of the harbour is a pyramidal, wooded hill, 300 feet high, excessively steep, and in some places perpendicular, on the summit of which a native fort once stood.‡ Near the northern head is a large perforated rock, presenting the appearance of a deep Gothic archway, through which canoes find a safe passage in calm weather. The water in the entrance is of great depth close to the rocks, and there is no hidden danger of any description. The harbour itself, into which three small streams discharge, is very spacious and deep, affording anchorage for the largest fleet, and shelter from all winds: it ranks with the best in New Zealand; and in beauty of scenery is nowhere surpassed. There is, however, but little available land in its immediate neighbourhood: to the northward the sea forms some inlets with flats, which are overgrown with trees; and Kauri timber is found on the neighbouring hills, but at some distance from the coast,—all that grew near the sea having been cut down and destroyed.

A chain of small islands, called the *Motu Kawa*, or *Cavalles Islands*, stretch from Wangaroa towards the *Bay of Islands*, a distance

* *Travels in New Zealand*, by Ernest Dieffenbach, M.D.; see vol. i., p. 205 to 234.

† *New Zealand*, by R. G. Jameson, p. 181.

‡ Dr. Selwyn remarks that "strangely enough two high and remarkable rocks, laid down in the charts as St. Peter and St. Paul, on opposite sides of the

of about twenty-five miles. The most northerly, which is about three miles from Wangaroa harbour, is resorted to by the natives for fishing; but is otherwise a hilly and exposed spot, of no importance. Anchorage is found near these isles; and, in calm weather, many of the fragile nautilus fish may be seen between them and the main.

The *Bay of Islands*, formerly the favourite rendezvous of the South Sea whalers, obtained its name from the number of rocky islands with which it is studded. Two necks of land, running in a parallel direction, and narrowing towards their extremities, form the entrance to an expanse of water, really about ten miles square, though, to the eye, it appears much smaller, from the many islands that intercept the view. The northern head of the bay, *Cape Wiwiki*, or *Point Pococke*, is a steep, cliffy headland, of a dark colour, rather picturesque in its appearance: near it is a conical, rocky islet, called the *Sentinel*, from its position. The southern headland, distant about ten miles from the northern, is *Cape Brett*, a bold promontory, higher than any neighbouring land. Detached from, but near the Cape, is a rock, named by Cook, *Piercy Islet*, which exhibits another of the remarkable perforations frequent on the eastern coast of New Zealand.

Few places are easier of access than this spacious bay: excepting the *Whale Rock*, whose position is well ascertained, there are no hidden dangers; and, once entered, it affords secure and sheltered anchorage for an almost unlimited number of vessels, in all weathers, and at all seasons of the year. It comprises several distinct harbours, formed by the inlets which branch off from various parts of its circumference. Near the first, or most northerly of these, is *Tipuna* or *Rangehua*, the spot where the first missionaries were established, through the exertions of the Rev. Samuel Marsden, in 1814.

Near the middle of the west side of the bay is the opening of *Kororarika Harbour*, a secure but shallow port, better adapted to merchant shipping than to the use of men-of-war.§ Opposite to the village of Kororarika stands the mission station of *Paihia*, harbour have been bought, the former by the Romanists, the latter by Mr. Shepherd, the Church Missionary Society's catechist."—*Church in the Colonies*, No. vii., p. 12.

§ *Voyages of the Adventure and Beagle*, by Captain Fitz-Roy, R.N.; vol. ii., p. 565.

a lovely little hamlet, situate at the foot of high fern hills. The arm of the sea, or estuary, which forms Kororarika harbour, affords, at its termination inland, excellent anchorage for vessels not requiring a depth of more than seventeen feet.* It then diminishes, and its salt stream gives place to the fresh waters of the *Kawa-kawa*, which can be ascended by boats for about four miles; the river then narrows, and takes its course through low and swampy ground, becomes shallow, and very much choked up with the roots and stumps of trees. Though on a small scale, the banks of this river are interesting. On each side the soil is extremely good on the low grounds, and the hills well wooded; they are not high, but approach the river rather closely in some places, so that the winding stream, spaces of level and cultivated land, and woody heights are agreeably mingled.

The same estuary that forms the channel of the *Kawa Kawa*, branches out in a somewhat parallel direction, receiving the *Waikadi*, a stream about ten miles in length.

The *Waitangi*, or *Weeping River* (*Wai*, signifying water, and *tangi*, weeping), rises in *Lake Maupere*, and enters the Bay of Islands near *Paihia*; it has a narrow channel, but a rapid course of about thirty miles, and forms fine horse-shoe falls at its mouth. Being augmented during its progress by the drainage of the hill range on either side, it attains, before it reaches the cascade, a breadth of thirty yards. The *Waimate* flows into it from the north-east. Between the *Waitangi* and *Tipuna* another arm of the sea stretches far into the land, and receives a small stream called the *Keri-keri*. This river, although only about twenty yards broad, has a very picturesque fall over a basaltic escarpment, ninety-five feet in height. The spray of the waters gives rise to a vigorous and varied vegetation all around.† The country surrounding the Bay of Islands, consisting almost entirely of hills, which, although not of any great height, are too steep to permit horses and cattle to work, alternating with ravines,

which extend far inland. Towards the coast these hills form diminutive bays, generally inaccessible from the land. The different anchorages being separated, or rather formed by distinct arms of the sea, impedes their being connected by the construction of roads with each other, and with the interior, beside which, there is scarcely sufficient room in any of the bays even for a moderate-sized town, unless placed upon the side of a steep hill. The only exception to the mountainous character is the table land, extending between the *Waitangi* and the *Keri-keri*.

Proceeding to trace the coast-line in a southerly direction from Cape Brett, and passing the harbour of *Wangamumu*, and that of *Wangaruru*, and a group of islets called the *Poor Knights*, we arrive at *Tutukaka*, a small but secure harbour, hemmed in by wooded hills, where the *Nongodo river* has its outlet.

From thence the coast is straight, rocky, and bold, interrupted by a few sandy beaches, as far as *Bream Head*,* or *Cape Tewara*, a remarkable promontory, on whose summit several pointed rocks stand in a range, and being surrounded by shrubs and small trees, resemble the picturesque ruins of an ancient castle; it may also be known by some small islands which lie before it, called by Cook the *Hen and Chickens*, one of which is high, and terminates in two peaks. *Bream Head* forms the northern point of *Wangari Bay*, a fine inlet, which contains an extensive and sheltered harbour, and receives the waters of a somewhat considerable stream, of the same name. Much *kauri* forest is found in this neighbourhood. From thence to *Hauraki Gulf*, or the *Frith of Thames*, the coast presents a series of wooded hills and dark projecting rocks, with white sand-banks between the sea and the firm land.

Cape Rodney, in 36° 15' S. lat., 174° 53' E. long., runs out in a long narrow neck of land, forming the north-west extremity of the gulf;‡ the north-east, named *Cape Colville*, in 36° 26' S. lat., and 175° 27' E. long. rises directly from the sea to a considerable

* On the western side of this harbour is the place memorable for the massacre of the ill-fated Marion and his crew. Captain Fitz-Roy, alluding to this melancholy catastrophe, says, that "it is now said to have been caused by mutual ignorance of language. The Frenchmen not understanding that the spot was tabooed [or sacred], persisted in fishing there, and endeavoured to maintain their intrusion by force."—*Voyages of the Adventure and Beagle*, vol. ii., p. 582.

† "A waterfall is called *Wai-anioaninoa* in the Maori language, meaning *rainbow-waters*."—*Travels in New Zealand*, by Earnest Dieffenbach, M.D., vol. i., p. 250.

‡ The name of the Gulf of Hauraki was originally applied only to the eastern part of the large estuary or gulf, entered between Cape Rodney and Cape Colville, which receives the river Thames, or Waiko, and the river Piako, but that appellation is now generally applied to the whole expanse.

height, and is remarkable for a lofty rock which stands on the pitch of the point, and may be distinguished at a very great distance. These two headlands are about forty miles apart. The broad mouth is defended from the sea swell by a chain of islands of different extent, which lie across it, called by Cook the Barrier Islands. *Otea*, the largest, is about twenty miles in length, and consists of high mountains, broken into rugged and fantastic peaks; a considerable portion of the hills are covered with *kauri* forest and brushwood, but on the western shores there is open land. An excellent harbour is situated on its north-western extremity. At *Aiguilles Point* the rocks jut up from the water like colossal needles; a few miles off lie several small islands. The most westerly of the Barren Islands, and the next in size to *Otea*, is called *Shoutourou*. Entering Hauraki Gulf, at Cape Rodney, and proceeding southward, we pass *Point Wakatu-wenua*, a tongue of land, which forms the northern shore of a small sandy bay, called *Matakana*; four miles off is *Kawau*, a steep rocky island, twenty-five miles in circumference, which possesses copper and some silver ore; but like most of the surrounding islands, though extremely picturesque, is totally unfit for agricultural or grazing purposes, the entire area being occupied by steep hills and gullies, frequently clothed with dense forest or brush. The coast is rocky and indented with many sheltered bays, overshadowed by dark overhanging trees, amidst whose branches sit thousands of shags and cormorants, watching their finny prey in the clear shallows beneath.* *Kiahau Harbour* lies to the south of *Mata-kana*; it receives several small creeks, and affords sheltered anchorage.

The *Harbour of Waitemata*, the most important of the various havens in the Gulf of Hauraki, lies at its westernmost extremity, and is distant forty miles from Cape Rodney, and forty-five from Cape Colville.

AUCKLAND, the capital of the colony is situated on its southern shore, in $36^{\circ} 51'$ S. lat., $174^{\circ} 45'$ E. long.

The land opposite to the town forms a peninsula at high water, from which two conical hills rise, that called the *North Head*, or *Takapuna*, is 216 feet high, of an irregular form, and consists of a hard basaltic rock; the other, at a little distance from

it, named *Takarunga*, is 279 feet high, and consists of black and reddish vesicular lava. A signal station has been erected on its summit, where there is a crater partially broken in. The navigable entrance into the harbour is only three-quarters of a mile wide; it is between a reef, the outermost point of which is marked by a beacon, and an insulated rock, called, from its shape, the *Bastion*, which lies to the eastward of Auckland, and is about five miles distant from another small island or rock, called the *Sentinel*. The depth of the harbour is from six to nine miles in the mid-channel, and from three to three and-a-half at the sides. The inlet continues about ten miles to the westward, stretching its ramifications towards the opposite coast, sending an arm to the northward, towards the river *Kaipara*, and another to the southward, towards the *Harbour of Manukao*, on the opposite coast. The northern arm has a deep, but very narrow channel; shoals and rocks obstruct the southern passage, which can, however, be ascended by boats at high water to its extremity, from whence to Manukao there is a portage of one mile and-a-half. *Rangitoto Island* forms a grand natural breakwater to Waitemata Harbour; it is a triple peaked crater, rising in a conical shape, 920 feet above the level of the sea, and commanding a most extensive panorama of the mainland, and of the many lofty and volcanic islands, which, luxuriantly wooded as they are, and divided from each other by deep straits, give a variety to the scenery of Hauraki Gulf, unusual in New Zealand, in most of whose harbours, steep and uniform surrounding hills shut in the view, and confine it to a narrow space. *Waiheke*, the largest and most fertile of these islands lies to the eastward of Rangitoto and *Tapu Island*, which are divided only by a narrow passage. It is about thirty miles in circumference, and has a harbour for small vessels, while ships of a larger size find anchorage in the channel, between it and the main. Many cultivable valleys are found contiguous to the small sequestered bays, which indent its coast line, and are separated from each other by rocky promontories, covered, like the greater part of its irregular surface, with a dense vegetation, amid which the grey columnar stems of the lofty *kauri* are conspicuous.

A few miles to the eastward of Waitemata Harbour is an inlet called the *Tamaki*, the head of which is only a quarter of a mile

* Angus' *Savage Life and Scenes in Australia and New Zealand*, vol. ii., p. 165.

distant from the port of Manukao. At the entrance into this channel is a bar, with six feet depth at low water, but inside, the passage deepens; vessels of 200 tons can ascend for some distance, and large barges can go to the portage. There is good and level land on either side of the Tamaki, but no timber, only jungle.

Coromandel Harbour is situated nearly opposite the island of Waiheke, on the eastern shore of what is properly called the Frith of Thames, and lies between the embouche of that river and Cape Colville, being thirty-five miles distant from the former, and twenty-five from the latter. It is surrounded by hills, which on the eastward rise in a series of longitudinal ridges to the height of about 1,500 feet. One of the loftiest of these is surmounted by an enormous mass of basalt, which, having a castellated outline, and being visible at a great distance, forms a landmark called the *Castle Hill*. The shore is covered with verdure, and abounds in fine timber; but the harbour itself is better adapted for small than for large vessels, as, on account of the shallowness of the water, ships that require any great draught of water cannot enter far enough to be effectually protected from the outer swell, although there is good holding ground.

The *Frith of the Thames*, to the southward of Coromandel Harbour, is not accessible to vessels drawing above eight feet of water, as there are sand-banks and shallows at the southern extremity, where the Thames and Piako discharge. A mud-bank stretches out between the mouths of these rivers; there is, however, a channel into the Thames, and the tide runs up it nearly fifty miles, rendering it thus far navigable for small craft. Its width, at that point, is nearly equal to that of the English Thames at Richmond; its depth, about six feet, and its current moderately rapid. Boats and canoes can ascend as high as the falls at Mata-Mata, which is, by the river's course, about a hundred miles from its mouth.*

The *Piako* is very inferior in importance to its sister stream, being navigable only for boats. It rises in a hill called the *Maunga-Kawa*, and flows along the eastern slope of the *Maunga-Tautari* range, which runs toward the Gulf of Hauraki, separating the *Valley of the Thames* from that

of the *Waipa* and *Waikato*, on the opposite or western side of the island. The so-called Valley of the Thames is a low tableland, nearly one hundred miles long, and from twenty to thirty broad, bounded on the westward by the aforesaid *Maunga-Tautari* range, and on the eastward by a chain of hills connected with the *Horo-Horo Mountains*, in which the Thames originates. These hills, the most remarkable of which is an isolated eminence, called *Aroha*, or the *Mountain of Love*, are generally wooded to their summits; they rise like an artificial wall between the river, which takes its winding course along their western slopes, and the sea-coast, and extend from the remarkable *Rotorua* district to Cape Colville, terminating to the northward in the long peninsula which forms the eastern limit of Hauraki Gulf, rearing their sharp crests, and presenting their steep rocky declivities on either side, but never attaining a height of more than 1,500 feet.

The Thames receives several tributaries from this ridge, one of which, the *Wai-riri*, or *Foaming Water*, forms a magnificent cascade, falling 800 feet in perpendicular height; another, called the *Ohenamuri*, disembogues at *Opite*, a native village, after flowing through a beautiful valley with hills skirting its banks, abounding with *kauri* timber.

Leaving Hauraki Gulf, and proceeding along the eastern coast in a southerly direction from Cape Colville, the next port is *Mercury Bay*, off the entrance of which lie some isles and rocks bearing the same name. The shores of the bay are very steep, being formed by the eastern declivities of the ridge whose western spurs abut on Coromandel Harbour, from which it is distant overland about sixteen miles. There is sheltered anchorage for small vessels in all winds, but the only part sufficiently deep for ships of large burthen is exposed to the tremendous north-easterly gales, which occasionally desolate this coast. In one of these H.M.S. *Buffalo* was wrecked, in August, 1840, having visited the bay to procure a cargo of spars. A creek of this harbour was called by Cook, *Oyster Cove*, on account of the abundance of that and other shell-fish found there.

To the southward the coast forms the deep curve known as the *Bay of Plenty*. Its aspect is in accordance with its name, the native cultivations often sloping down the gentle hills which skirt the belt of sand

* Dieffenbach's *Travels in New Zealand*, vol. i., p. 410. Terry's *New Zealand*, p. 41.

upon the sea-shore, while the rich *Pohutukawa trees*, (*Metrosideros tomentosa*), with their crimson blossoms, combining the beauties of a forest tree and a garden shrub, give the appearance of an ornamental plantation, instead of the usual bleak and barren features of the coast.* This immense roadstead contains several sheltered havens for small craft. *Tauranga* (on whose shores a missionary settlement, *Te Papa*, has been established,) has four fathoms water upon the bar, but the channel is not more than 100 yards in breadth, and bends at a sharp angle. The southern headland of this harbour is formed by a solitary conical hill, *Maunga-nui*, of about 500 feet in height, connected by low land with the main. The northern head spreads out into low and level ground, and is covered with fern for miles inland. Some islands of considerable dimensions and of the same structure and configuration as the mainland, are separated from it by broad channels. Two or three of these are stated by Dieffenbach to be about seven miles long and three broad; others are mere rocks; their height and that of the adjacent coast varies from forty to eighty feet above the level of the sea. A rugged island with narrow but fertile valleys whimsically named by Cook, the *Mayor*, and a group of islets called by him the *Court of Aldermen*, extend between Mercury Bay and Tauranga Harbour; into the latter several small streams disembogue. *Motiti* or *Flat Island*, forms a harbour called *Louland Bay*, eight miles to the southward of which the *Temou* disembogues after a short course, originating in the hills to the eastward of *Lake Rotorua*.

About thirty miles to the south-eastward, of the *Temou*, is the embouchure of the *Rangitaikai*, and of as small stream called the *Tara-wera*, where there is a mission station, named *Mata-Mata*, ten miles from which, in the centre of a large plain, stands *Putawaki*, or *Mount Edgcombe*, a round eminence, about 7,000 feet high. *Rangitaiki* has several tributaries: about the middle of its course, its volume is increased by the united waters of the *Wirinaki* and the *Okahu*. Beyond *Rangitaiki* the coast forms a curve, called *Highland Bay*, at whose eastern extremity the river *Wakatani*, which rises in a mountain near *Lake Waikare*, and receives, on its right bank, the *Waikare* and the *Waimana*—falls into the sea. *Motuhora*,

or *Whale Island*, in whose vicinity there is good anchorage, lies about seven miles from Highland Bay: to the north-eastward, at a distance of twenty to twenty-five miles from the main, is *Wakari*, or *White Island*, the most remarkable of the numerous volcanic islands which characterize the Bay of Plenty, being in a state of continual ignition, and vomiting forth, incessantly, a huge column of white smoke. It is low, and produces a large quantity of very pure sulphur.

Between the *Wakatani* and *Cape Runaway* are the small bar harbours of *Ohiwa* and *Opotiki*: between Cape Runaway and *Otiki*, or *East Cape*, or *Waiapu*, the coast is intersected by numerous creeks, and indented by several bays, which, however, afford but very imperfect shelter, except when the wind blows off the land. The extensive line of coast between Cape Waiapu, the eastern extremity of New Ulster, in 37° 42' S. lat., 178° 40' E. long., and *Cape Palliser*, or *Kawa-kawa*, its southern termination, in 41° 38' S. lat., and 175° 21' E. long., in the centre of which lies the deep bight, called by Cook, *Hawke Bay*, is not known to possess any haven capable of sheltering large vessels during the prevalence of north-easterly winds; it has, however, as yet, been but imperfectly examined. Soundings have been taken at a considerable distance from the shore, which vary generally from twenty-five to forty-two fathoms, deepening off East Cape, from fifty to sixty, and to ninety fathoms.

The country south of East Cape is fertilized by numerous small streams. The *Waiapu* runs in a broad shingly bed, through a lovely plain of grass and fern land; rich patches of wood are scattered over the higher parts of its valley, which is extremely picturesque, being overshadowed by the double head of *Ikurangi*, supported by its three satellites, *Aurangi*, *Taitai*, and *Wariki*, from whose heights descend the impetuous mountain torrents which, in summer, occasion frequent and sudden inundations. Passing a small, but convenient harbour, named *Tokomarou*, we reach *Haua*, or *Tologa Bay*, which lies about forty miles to the southward of the mouth of the Waiapu, and is described by Cook as moderately large, with good anchorage, and shelter from all winds, except the north-east. The tide rises about eight feet; the width at the mouth, between the headlands, is one mile and-a-half. On the south point lies a small,

* *Annals of the Diocese of New Zealand*, p. 49.

but high island, at the extremity of which, in the entrance of the bay, are two rocks, one round, like a corn-stack, the other long, and perforated in several places, the openings appearing like the arches of a bridge. Fourteen miles to the southward is *Gable End Foreland*, a lofty cliff, brilliantly white, resembling the end of a large building, a short distance from which a rock rises, in the form of a spire. About twenty miles to the south-east is *Table Cape* or *Mahia*, the north point of *Tera-kako Peninsula*, in $39^{\circ} 7' \text{ S. lat.}, 178^{\circ} 7' \text{ E. long.}$; the shore between forms a horse-shoe-shaped inlet, called *Turanga*, or *Poverty Bay*, which is thus described by Captain Cook, who first landed here on the 8th October, 1769:—

"The two points which form the entrance are high, with steep white cliffs, and lie a league and a half or two leagues from each other, north-east by east and south-west by west, the depth of water in the bay is from twelve to five fathoms, with a sandy bottom and good anchorage; but the bay is open to the wind between the south and east. Boats can go in and out of the river [a small fresh-water stream] at any time of the tide in fine weather; but as there is a bar at the entrance, no boat can go either in or out when the sea runs high: the best place to attempt it is on the north-east side, and it is there practicable when it is not so in any other part. The shore of the bay, a little within its entrance, is a low flat sand; behind which, at a small distance, the face of the country is finely diversified by hills and valleys, all clothed with wood, and covered with verdure. The country also appears to be well inhabited, especially in the valleys leading up from the bay, where we daily saw smoke rising in clouds one behind another to a great distance, till the view terminated in mountains of a stupendous height. The south-west point of the bay I named *Young Nick's Head*, after Nicholas Young, the boy who first saw the land."

Bishop Selwyn, describing the shore of *Poverty Bay*, and the bays to the northward, says:—

"The whole of this coast forms a succession of small bays with the most lovely scenery. The general character is a half-moon bay with a rich back ground of wooded hills, sloping down to a firm sandy beach of a warm, reddish-grey stone, which with a bright blue sky overhead (which was generally the case) forms a combination of the most pleasing colours; and with a large party of natives forming themselves into moveable groups, presented a succession of perfect landscapes."

Terakako Peninsula, off whose southern extremity lies *Waikawa*, or *Portland Island*, a small island, with which it is almost, if not quite, connected by a rocky ridge, is united to the main by a low, narrow neck of

land, and forms the northern entrance of the deep and wide inlet called *Hawke*, or *Wairoa Bay*, in which there is a depth of seven to twenty-four fathoms, and good holding ground.

The *Wairoa*,† a beautiful river, winding through an extensive plain, receiving several tributaries, and communicating with a chain of inland lakes, falls into this bay, in which the channels of many small streams likewise terminate. To the southward of the *Wairoa* is the pretty valley of *Arapaonui*, in whose vicinity are a succession of cliffs, or rather sandstone hills, which formerly were some way inland; but, by the encroachment of the sea, have been cut in two, and consequently drain inwards, occasioning the water to be lost in the dry soil, instead of flowing down to the beach. Bishop Selwyn speaks of having here had difficulty in obtaining water—a rare case in a country distinguished for the frequency of its pure and gushing streams.§ *Ahuriri Harbour* lies twelve miles south of *Arapaoni*. A few miles beyond, the *Tukituki* disembogues, after receiving four tributaries—the *Makaretu*, *Tukipo*, *Waipawaimate*, and *Waipawa*, which take their course through grassy plains, or gently undulating downs. *Cape Mutau a Maui*, or *Kidnapper Point*, in $39^{\circ} 42' \text{ S. lat.}, 177^{\circ} 10' \text{ E. long.}$, forms the southern head of *Hawke Bay*; from thence to *Cape Palliser* the coast is intersected by various small streams, which descend from a lofty mountain chain, running parallel with it, under the name of the *Puketoi*, and further southward of the *Maungaraki Mountains*, but the shores are very slightly indented. The land between *Kidnapper Point* and *Cape Turnagain* (*Te poro poro*), a high bluff head with yellowish cliffs, is of very unequal altitude; in some places it is lofty next the sea, with white cliffs; in others low, with sandy beaches; the country is not so well clothed with wood as about *Hawke Bay*, but resembles rather the high downs of England.

Between *Cape Palliser* and *Cape Campbell*, the north-eastern extremity of *NEW MUNSTER*, or *MIDDLE ISLAND*, lies the southern entrance of *Cook Strait*, here about forty miles wide, the northern boundary of which (formed by the coast-line of *New Ulster*) is, during eight months of the year, a lee shore, the south and south-west

* *Cook's First Voyage Round the World*, p. 127.

† *Diocese of New Zealand. Journal of Bishop Selwyn*, Nov. 1842, p. 74.

DIV. VI.

‡ There are various rivers of this name in New Zealand, *Wai* signifying water, and *roa* many.

§ *Bishop's Journal*, p. 71.

winds blowing with extreme and often sudden violence. Between Cape Palliser and *Cape Terawite*, the point at which New Ulster most nearly approaches New Munster, the Strait being here only seventeen miles wide, are two inlets, separated by a mountainous, fern-clad neck of land, terminating in a promontory called *Baring Head*, or *Cape Riwa-riwa*. The most easterly of these is *Palliser Bay*, a large open roadstead, notorious for the detention of vessels. The *Ruamahunga* takes its rise in the *Rimutaka Mountains*, from whence it receives several tributaries, flows through the *Wairarapa Valley* into the *Wairarapa Lake*, and communicates at some seasons with *Palliser Bay* by means of another smaller lake, the entrance to which is occasionally quite impracticable, and always very shallow.

The lakes cover an area of 50,000 acres. A late writer states that—

"The river *Ruamahunga* is itself navigable, the channel being sufficiently deep for vessels of forty or fifty tons, whilst whale boats can ascend the river for twenty or thirty miles above the lake. As the colony advances these lakes will no doubt be formed into inland harbours. The improvement of the navigation of the bar presents no insuperable difficulty, and from the great rise of the floods in the river (sixteen feet), it will be easy to direct the surplus water so as to form an available passage for larger vessels."*

About a mile from *Baring Head* is a bold cliff called *Pencarrow Head*; the curve between the two forms *Fitz-Roy Bay*, where small vessels sometimes ride out north-westerly gales.† Immediately to the westward is the entrance to *Port Nicholson*, through a channel about three miles in length, and varying from a mile to a mile and-a-half in width, with high precipitous hills on either hand, and deep water everywhere; except on one reef of sharp pyramidal rocks which runs some distance into the channel, leaving,

* *Handbook for New Zealand*, by a late magistrate of the colony. 1848.

† *Cook's Strait Almanack*.

‡ Angus expatiates, with the delight of an artist, on the varied beauties of *Port Nicholson*, describing it as resembling, "on a sunny day, a large blue lake embosomed deep in hills and rocky precipices, the islands in its centre glistening in the sunshine," while to the northward the valley of the *Hutt* stretches up towards the snowy range of *Tararua*, whose white peaks stand out against the azure sky, a beach of fine white sand meeting the water's edge. —(Vol. I. p. 234.) The picture of the harbour on a windy day is the far less pleasing counterpart of the above. The same writer describes the wind rushing in as through a funnel with unrelenting fury. "These 'south-easters,' as they are termed, generally continue two or three days, the storm being at its height

however, abundant room for a ship to work in. The inlet then expands to the westward, forming a basin, landlocked in nearly every part, of about five miles in diameter, with soundings varying from fourteen to three fathoms; two arms extend from it, on the south-westerly of which is situated the town of *Wellington*. The best harbour for ships is opposite to the embouchure of the *Hutt River*, which takes its rise in the *Tararua Mountains*, and flows through a fertile but limited valley; another stream, having the same origin, enters *Cook Strait*, after a rather longer course, at *Pencarrow Head*. The *Hutt* may be entered by large boats during flood tide, and ascended for a few miles.

The boundary hills, both to the east and west of *Port Nicholson*, rise abruptly from the water's edge; but in that part of the curved peninsula forming its south-western shores, in which *Wellington* is situated, there is a strip of flat land at their base, about one-third of a mile broad, consisting of a soil composed of sand, shells, shingle, and vegetable earth, extending to the western headland of the harbour, where the hills are low and undulating. At the town of *Wellington* there is consequently a long extent of water frontage, with deep water at a few yards from the shore. *Port Nicholson* is unquestionably a spacious and beautiful harbour, but it has the great disadvantage of being, from its position, insufficiently protected from the heavy gales frequent in the Strait, by which vessels are delayed for days together, before they can make or leave the port. The prevailing winds (according to *Dieffenbach*) are north-west 200 days in the year, and during the remaining days south and south-east.‡

The extreme barrenness of the land near the coast, between and about *Capes Terawite* on the second day. During a very severe gale of this kind, we were unable to hold communication with the vessel for three days, and in many of the houses no lights could be burned. So great was the violence of the wind that it was impossible to stand out of doors, and the wooden houses rocked in such a manner at night that many were afraid they should be blown out of their beds. Not long since a sudden gust of wind, during one of these gales, actually raised a large boat that was on the beach, and carried it along for a considerable distance, a woman being killed on the spot where it fell. The vessels in the anchorage were rolling about tremendously; several dragged their anchors; boats were swamped and driven ashore; and the squalls swept down the hills with an impetuosity that almost stove in the houses."—(Vol. i., pp. 242, 243.)

and Palliser, was attributed by Cook to its exposure to the cold southerly winds.

The whole extent from Cape Terawite to *Cape Egmont*, in $39^{\circ} 20'$ S. lat., $173^{\circ} 40'$ E. long., where the northern shores of Cook Strait terminate, is remarkably deficient in shelter for ships. It is, however, intersected by rivers, whose number is so great as to constitute a feature peculiar to New Zealand; all are barred at the mouth, but several admit small craft at full tide, and are navigable for some distance, affording facilities for internal communication, which the mountainous nature of the country, its dense woods, almost impenetrable jungle, and extensive swamps, render extremely valuable. The course of these rivers is short, rising, as they do, not far from the sea-coast; and, from their flowing between hills, which give them many tributaries, the violent rains often swell them suddenly, and the streamlet becomes a mountain torrent, inundating the low alluvial land forming its banks, and carrying with it the stems of large trees, especially pines, which either remain fixed in its bed, or are buried near the sea-coast, when driven back and left dry by the tide.* *Porirua Harbour*, a small land-locked haven ten miles to the northward of Port Nicholson, communicates with an inlet, which here opens in the rock-bound coast, by means of a gut about 100 yards in breadth, through which the tide, at its ebb and flow, rushes with great violence. On the bar, there are about fifteen feet at high-water spring tides, the fall of tide varying from six to seven feet.†

A tolerably good roadstead, with four fathoms water, extends between Porirua and the north end of *Mana*, or *Table Island*, an island about two miles long, by half-a-mile broad, affording pasturage for sheep and cattle, where a sheep station was established as early as 1838.‡ *Kapiti*, or *Entry Isle*, lies fifteen miles to the northward of Mana, is about twenty-five miles in circumference, of an oval shape, and consists of a ridge of steep forest-clad hills, which descend abruptly to the water's edge, forming a rocky and almost inaccessible shore, throughout the greater part of its extent. One high peak rises nearly in the centre of the island,

and is visible at a considerable distance. The surface of the southern extremity of *Kapiti* is less rugged, and here the natives have their plantations; off it lie three rocky islets, which afford anchorage for a limited number of ships, and were formerly much frequented by whalers, as likewise the north-eastern end of the chief island, where a whaling station has been long established. About four miles from Mana on the mainland, is the native settlement of *Waikanae*, situated at the mouth of a stream of the same name, originating in the Tararua mountains, which here take a more easterly direction, leaving a wider belt of light, open, and level, or gently undulating land, between them and the broad sand beach, backed by sand hills, which extends as far north as the mouth of the Wanganui river, in $39^{\circ} 57'$ S. lat.

The mouth of the *Manawatu*, the largest river which disembogues in Cook Strait, is situated twenty-five miles to the northward of *Kapiti*. The tide rises eight feet. Its breadth at the mouth is about 300 yards at half tide; its depth over the bar only seven feet at low water, but inside the bar the channel deepens sufficiently to admit small vessels for about fifty miles. The *Manawatu* rises on the side of the most elevated inland group of mountains, flows beside their base, and then forming a cataract, dashes through a gorge between high cliffs, clothed with wood from their summit to the water's edge, which divides the *Rua Hine* from the Tararua mountains. It receives several tributaries on either bank during its course, which is so tortuous, that in some places, after making a sweep of several miles, it returns within a quarter of a mile of the same spot, and in this manner forms paddocks of very fertile land, often clear, but in parts rich in many kinds of timber.§ About six miles from the *Manawatu*, the *Rangitiki*, a smaller stream, descends from the *Rua Hine* mountains and enters the strait. The *Turukino*, which has its source in the same range, terminates seventeen miles further to the north-west; it is fordable at low water, but full of quicksands, as is also the *Wangaihu*, a stream which originates in the south-east side of the *Ruapehu Mountain*, and, after watering a atua, or 'evil spirit,' who was in the form of a large totara-tree, and wormed himself along like an eel, on his way from the east coast to Cook's Strait. * * * One point on the banks of the *Manawatu*, thirty-six miles by the windings of the river, is only eight in a straight line from the sea.—*Handbook for New Zealand*; by a late magistrate of the colony, p. 118.

* *Travels in New Zealand*, by Dr. Dieffenbach, vol. i., p. 125.

† Cook's *First Voyage Round the World*, p. 483.

‡ *Handbook for New Zealand*; by a late magistrate of the colony, p. 128.

§ Dieffenbach, vol. i., p. 126.—"The natives have a legend that it [the *Manawatu*] was formed by an

considerable tract of country, disembogues three miles to the north of the Turakino.

Nine miles beyond the Wangaihu is the mouth of the *Wanganui River*, an opening half a mile wide, with a dangerous shifting bar, over which the sea breaks at low water. Inside the bar the channel deepens, and is about three hundred yards wide, the low sandy banks being covered with drift-wood and pumice-stone, which the river brings down from its source in the *Tongariro Mountain*, whence it flows through a bed of about 200 miles in length, in the course of which it is swollen by several considerable tributaries, and passing through a great extent of mountainous country, is subject to considerable freshets, which, however, do not rise above its present banks. The little settlement of *Petre*, or *Wanganui*, is situated four miles up the river, which is navigable for small craft about fifteen miles further: at that distance from the coast numerous falls and rapids obstruct the navigation; but the natives, whose paha and cultivations occupy the available land on either side of the Wanganui, pole their canoes (some of which carry a cargo of a ton weight) with singular dexterity, almost to the head waters at the foot of Tongariro.

The scenery of the upper part of the river is exceedingly grand and imposing; about thirty miles from its embouche the hills close in, and the channel winds between ridges, eight hundred or a thousand feet in height, clothed with every variety of forest timber and fern, the slopes being occupied by native settlements: in other parts it is overhung by trees, growing on the summit of the precipitous cliffs, fringed with graceful ferns and mosses down to the water's edge, by which it is hemmed in.*

The coast from Wanganui to Cape Egmont presents a cliff of moderate height, on the top of which the land is flat, rising with a very gentle ascent towards the latter point. The intervening streams worth notice are the *Waitotara*, whose valley is described as resembling, on a much smaller scale, that of the Wanganui, from which it is about twenty miles distant, and the *Patea*, a river originating at the foot of *Taranaki*, or *Mount Egmont*, and flowing through the south-western portion of the fertile tract of open country known as the Taranaki District, in the centre of which the noble emi-

nence itself, rises, from a generally level country, to the height of 8,840 feet, by a gradual ascent from a circle about thirty miles in diameter, which forms the outer circumference of its base. About half this circumference, viz., from the *Waimate*, (a small stream, whose embouche lies about twenty miles to the north-eastward of the Patea,) to *Sugar-loaf Point*, in $38^{\circ} 55' N.$ lat., $174^{\circ} 1' E.$ long., is bounded by the sea coast; Cape Egmont being the most western point of this circle, half of whose area is considered to be sufficiently level for cultivation.† Three branches, or buttresses, diverge from Taranaki, but, from their inferior height, the lofty cone itself appears almost wholly isolated; one of these stretches nearly to Cape Egmont; another extends inland, in the direction of the still active volcano of Tongariro; while the third runs in a parallel direction with the coast, separating an undulating belt of available land, in which the settlement of New Plymouth is situated, from the broken country watered by the western tributaries of the Wanganui river. A countless number of streams flow into the sea from Mount Egmont, or from several small lagoons between it and the coast.

Sugarloaf Point is a dome-like cone, of trachitic porphyry, which rises about 300 feet, in an isolated position, with one side of its base washed by the sea. In its neighbourhood large boulders of volcanic rock are cemented together into a solid conglomerate, which seems to extend like a stream of lava from Mount Egmont into the sea, but cannot be traced far inland. The *Sugar-loaf Islands* are five in number, the largest of them is extremely steep, about one mile in circumference, and 500 feet high; the vegetation is confined to flax, and a few other plants, which grow in the interstices of the rock. *Moturoa*, the northernmost, is joined to the main by an isthmus, dry at low water of spring tides.

The *Roadstead of New Plymouth*, situated immediately opposite the town, is sheltered by these islets from south-west winds, but is exposed to the west and north-west winds, which frequently blow with extreme violence, rendering the anchorage precarious, and causing a heavy surf upon the beach. The holding ground also is bad, the bottom for the most part being sand over rocks.‡

* Dieffenbach, vol. i., p. 121. Power, pp. 108, 150. *Adventure in New Zealand*, by E. J. Wakefield, vol. i., p. 262; vol. ii., p. 89.

† *Handbook for New Zealand*; by a late magistrate, p. 273.

‡ Mr. Hursthouse comments upon the erroneous

One circumstance, however, in favour of the roadstead is that the appearance of the weather invariably gives a warning of sufficient length, to enable ships to get under weigh and make an offing.* The *Huatoki*, *Waiwakaiho*, *Waiongona*, and *Waitera*, flow into it from the hilly ridge already mentioned. The last and longest of these streams enters the sea twelve miles to the north-eastward of the Sugarloaf Islands, and has a bar at its mouth nearly dry at low water, with a rise of twelve feet in the spring tides; inside the bar the river is navigable for boats for about three miles. From this point the sea shore becomes elevated, rising in cliffs, which at the mouth of the *Urinui River* are about 100 feet high; the lowest formation consists of marly clay, above which, twenty feet from the beach, is a formation of wood, very little altered or carbonized, and ten feet in thickness, but irregular, surmounted by a loamy soil. A little farther on the scenery becomes very picturesque, the constant action of the waves having formed the soft yellow sandstone into fantastic shapes, resembling walls and castellated turrets, surrounded by balconies, the effect being greatly increased by the profuse vegetation of fern, alternating with forest, which continues to the water's edge. This formation extends to the bar harbour, practicable at certain seasons for small craft, formed by the mouth of the *Mokau*, a river which flows from a range of hills called *Rangitoto*, lying west of Lake Taupo, through a fertile, but mountainous and densely-wooded country.†

Another river, named the *Marokopa*, originating in the same ridge, discharges itself into the sea, between the embouche of the *Mokau* and *Kawia Harbour*, an inlet of which Dr. Dieffenbach gives the following account:—

"The harbour has a clear entrance about a mile

opinions that the wreck of the third vessel despatched to New Plymouth, and the danger incurred by the emigrant ship *Oriental* have given rise to concerning the character of the roadstead; he states that of 259 vessels which had visited it at all seasons of the year, but one ship and fourteen anchors had been lost; and some of these accidents were such as, after seven years' experience, would hardly occur again.—*Account of the Settlement of New Plymouth*, by Charles Hursthouse, Jun., 1849; pp. 79, 85.

* The country comprised in the Taranaki settlement will be more particularly described elsewhere.

† In the early part of its course, near the native village of *Wakatumu*, the *Mokau* dashes down a perpendicular wall of rock, from a height of about sixty feet, in one broad sheet of water. The rocky steep

and a quarter broad, with two fathoms at dead low water spring-tides. The tide rises twelve feet. The best anchorage is along the northern shore, where the depth varies from five to eight fathoms. The harbour forms an irregular basin, and is joined by two rivers [the *Wahi-haru-keke* and the *Awaroa*] which descend from the hill range and admit boats."‡

A mission station is prettily situated at the south-eastern extremity of the harbour: *Kawia* is separated by a small promontory, skirted with fine pokutukaua trees from *Aotia Harbour*, a long, shallow estuary, with a bar at its mouth, which at high tide presents a noble expanse of water, but at other times is little more than a succession of mud flats.

Proceeding northward along the coast, the next remarkable feature is *Woody Head*, the name given to a rocky group of hills, 900 feet high, which form the southern head of *Wangaroa Harbour*,§ whose northern shores are composed of limestone cliffs, from sixty to seventy feet high, corroded by the action of the water, and half-concealed by the overhanging verdure. The harbour itself is a long inlet, with a bar at the entrance; it has, however, a channel of twelve feet at low water, and admits smaller craft, which find shelter in several bays on the northern shore. The tide rises ten feet.|| The *Wai-te-Tuna*, a small stream, flowing into *Wangaroa* from the eastward, has a channel for boats; and from the point at which, on account of falls, it ceases to be navigable, an easy walk of four hours across the coast range, which slopes gently on either side, leads to the left bank of the *Waipa*, some miles above the confluence of that stream with the *Waikato*. *Waikato River* rises amid the snows and glaciers of the Ruapehu Mountain, and flows in a rapid current, by a very circuitous channel, into the southern extremity of Lake Taupo, having received several tributaries on its left bank; it issues thence a

on each side the chasm are clothed with evergreens, among which the graceful rimu pine stands pre-eminent; high broken rocks resembling castles, fortresses, and towers rise on the opposite side of the glen, and the surrounding hills are wild, and covered with fern.—Angas, vol. ii., p. 84.

‡ *Travels in New Zealand*, vol. i., p. 308.

§ This harbour must not be mistaken for that situated to the north of the Bay of Islands, described at p. 260, *Wanga*, in the Maori language signifying "many waters" and *rou* "noisy," the term *Wangaroa* is frequently applied. The reader will probably have observed that the names of most of the rivers are prefaced with *Wai*, a Maori word signifying "water."

|| Dieffenbach, vol. i., p. 305.

stately stream, about 300 yards wide, and of considerable depth, its volume having been augmented by the waters of several mountain torrents, which fall into the lake from the southward, and of which the Waikato is the common outlet. From the high level of the country round Taupo, the river takes a north-westerly direction, through the centre of the island, gradually approaching the western coast, and is interrupted by occasional falls and rapids in its descent. It is, however, navigable from its sea-mouth, which admits vessels of thirty tons, for a distance of about one hundred miles, when it is joined by the *Waipa*,* which is navigable for boats sixty miles farther.

The left shore of the Waikato consists, for about eight miles from the sea, of shifting sand; the right shore is hilly, and at the foot of the hills, near the embouchure of the river, is *Maraenui*, a station of the Church Missionary Society. There are many small islands in the channel of the river, some of them a mile in length, wooded to the water's edge, and possessing rich alluvial soils. According to Dr. Dieffenbach, the Waikato, with its steep banks, and deep, rapid stream, might advantageously be converted, throughout its course, into a canal, by which means an extensive water communication would be opened to the very heart of the island.

The *Mangakino*, the *Waipapa*, and the *Mangawio*, descend into the Waikato from a mountain range, whose precipitous and fantastic crests border the left bank of the river, when it emerges from Lake Taupo. The *Awaroa* branches off from the Waikato, about eight miles from its mouth, in a northerly direction, and extends to within a short portage of the southern arm of Manukao Harbour.

The *Waipa*, though it has a far shorter course than the Waikato, is in other respects, a more important stream. It rises in the Tongariro group, and flows through a picturesque and lightly wooded valley, bounded to the westward by the coast range, and to the eastward by the Maunga Tautari hills. This valley, which has an average breadth of thirty miles, and may be more properly called a table land, rivals in fertility the best districts in the island, pos-

sessing a volcanic soil, with much alluvium, and having the advantage of being perhaps the most sheltered region in the whole country.

From the mouth of the Waikato river, to the southern head of *Manukao Harbour*, a distance of about thirty miles, the coast runs nearly north and south, and consists of a broad and hard sandy beach, with soft sandstone cliffs, of a moderate height. Manukao Harbour is an inlet, about fifteen miles long, and eight broad. Its south head is formed by a remarkable steep hill, of white conglomerate, heaped up by north-westerly gales; its north head by black conglomerate, of a rugged shape:—

“Inside the outer head the coast presents a bold rocky precipice, alternating with small secluded bays, but a vigorous vegetation covers them to the water's edge, and kauri trees have grown in places where the precipice is inaccessible on account of its rapid declivity. About three miles from the outer headland, the coast sweeps at a right angle round a cliffy inner headland, thus forming a neck of land about three miles long and as many broad. Round this headland, close in shore, is the best anchorage in the harbour, perfectly sheltered from the north-west and south-west winds. A swell which would be liable to set in from the harbour itself is broken by a long sand bank occupying the centre of the basin. The southern shore of the harbour consists of undulating and fertile land, which extends from Onchunga towards the Waikato. There is a second channel on that side of the harbour, and a channel for boats extends towards an arm of the Waikato river, the *Awaroa*. * * * Although the harbour of Manukao has a bar at the entrance, there is a deep and free channel three quarters of a mile broad, close to the northern head. Once between the heads the channel is deep and free from danger. The tide is full two hours and three quarters later in Manukao than at Waitemata [the harbour of Auckland on the opposite coast] and rises ten feet and a half.”†

A long line of sandhills stretches from Manukao to *Kaipara Harbour*,‡ an extensive estuary, into which the tide, (rising ten feet at full and change,) rushes with great velocity. There is no bar at the entrance, but there are shoals and sand banks in the offing, which however leave a channel on either side, between them and the main land. Of these, the southern is the deepest: the soundings vary according to the season of the year; the breadth is about two miles. The harbour branches into several arms, which receive streams of fresh water: the southernmost of these, the *Kaipara*, flows

* Bishop Selwyn describes the junction of the Waikato and Waipa, as reminding him of the confluence of the Rhone with the Saone, at Lyons; the Waikato rushing in like an arrow, and answering to the Rhone—the Waipa to the quiet Saone.

† Dieffenbach, vol. i., p. 294.

‡ Captain Fitz-Roy states that the largest ship may enter or leave either Kaipara or Manukao “without unusual difficulty.”—Parliamentary Papers, 1846, p. 127.

in a moderate-sized valley, formed by the hills which bound the sea coast between Manukao and Kaipara harbours, and is separated from an inlet of the harbour of Waitemata, in Hauraki Gulf, by a low isthmus, only three miles in breadth, of which mention has been before made. The Kaipara is navigable for large boats as far as the tide runs up. It is serpentine in its course, and forms a number of paddocks of alluvial land, which a little drainage would render very valuable. The most important of the rivers of which Kaipara is the estuary is not, however, that from which it takes its name; the *Wairoa* (*long water*), which flows into the northern arm of this extensive inlet, being a far more imposing stream. This latter rises in the hills, on the northern slope of which the *Waima*, an arm of the *Hokianga*, has its source. It is described by a local writer as being navigable, for seventy miles up, for a ship of 600 tons, and as being practicable, 150 miles, for a vessel of 150 tons* (reckoning, evidently, from the entrance of the harbour.) Dieffenbach speaks of it as navigable for canoes for 138 miles, from the head of the harbour, where their further progress is prevented by rapids; he adds,

"Small vessels can go up the Wairoa eighty-five miles from the head of the harbour, where there is a depth of twelve feet; but only fifteen miles lower down, the river has water and a clear channel for vessels of any burden, and also anchorage close in shore." (Vol. i., p. 267.)

The *Otomalia* rises among the hills, near Wangari harbour, on the eastern coast, and flows into Kaipara harbour to the southward of the Wairoa. Much valuable timber is found on its banks, which like those of the other rivers terminating in the Kaipara estuary, afford sufficient available land to enable the colonist to combine agricultural pursuits with the timber trade.

A bold shore, little broken by water-courses, extends in a north-westerly direction from the North Head of Kaipara, and is backed by a mountain ridge, of which the most conspicuous feature is *Mount Manganui* a steep, bluff headland, running out into the sea, rising to a considerable height above the neighbouring country, and forming a landmark to vessels desiring to enter the intricate and barred entrance of the *Hokianga*

River in 35° 32' S. lat., 173° 27' E. long. A pilot is, however, stationed at the heads, with whose assistance vessels of 500 tons can safely enter. This estuary, on whose shores the first Wesleyan mission station was established in 1820, stretches inland, and is navigable thirty miles from its mouth, which may be distinguished by a succession of sand hills on the northern shore, and by the shrubby vegetation and dark rocks, which characterise the southern head. The bar lies nearly two miles out at sea, and should not be taken with the ebb of the tide, which rises from ten to fourteen feet.

The banks of the *Hokianga* are steep, and heavily timbered. The cultivable tracts in its vicinity are small, dispersed among hills, and intersected by innumerable creeks and mangrove swamps. Among the streams which flow from every direction into the *Hokianga* estuary, are the *Mangamuka*, which rises near Mount Maunga-taniwa, and has a course of about twenty miles, for the last half of which it is navigable for vessels of moderate burthen;—the *Waiho*, and the *Wir-inake*.

About fifteen miles to the northward of the mouth of the *Hokianga*, is the embouchure of *Wangape River*, sometimes called *False Hokianga*, from the resemblance between its abrupt shores covered with dark vegetation, and those of the neighbouring harbour. The entrance is somewhat narrow, and there is a small rock near the north head: the soundings at the entrance are said to be three fathoms, and the channel leading to the native village of *Rotokakahi* has four fathoms.† The remaining portion of the western coast of New Ulster is extremely bleak and forbidding. The long, narrow, sandy peninsula which forms the northern extremity of the island terminates to the westward in the low rocky promontory, first sighted by Tasman, in 1643, and named by him Cape Maria Van Diemen, off which at a distance of about twenty miles, lie the *Three Kings*, a cluster of conical islets. From Cape Maria the coast line takes an easterly direction, and is occupied by sand-hills for about four miles, when it again rises in a towering and precipitous cliff of conglomerate rock, unapproachable from the seaward, which extends for about six miles, and against which the ocean dashes with extreme violence. To

* *Remarks on New Zealand*. By Walter Brodie. 1845.

† Polack describes Wangape as a large bay about six miles wide from north to south but no such bay

is laid down either by Arrowsmith or any other hydrographer.—*Travels and Adventures in New Zealand, between the years 1831 and 1837*, by J. S. Polack, Esq., pp. 267, 268.

this dreary locality, whose gloomy desolation is rendered yet more striking by the shrieks of innumerable wild fowl, the New Zealanders have given the name of the *Reinga* or *Flight*, and they hold it sacred, supposing that the soul newly freed from its mortal coil, here takes its leave of this material world and enters the precincts of the *Reinga* or world of spirits, descending down the face of the cliff. A curve called *Sandy Bay*, which however affords no anchorage, succeeds the rock-bound shore, and from thence to North Cape, at which point our running survey of the coast line commenced, a barren and inhospitable country continues, consisting of banks of white sand. Cook describing the aspect of this vicinity, says—

"In about latitude 35° 45' is some high land adjoining to the sea; to the southward of which the shore, is also high, and has the most desolate and inhospitable appearance that can be imagined. Nothing is to be seen but hills of sand, on which there is scarcely a blade of verdure; and a vast sea, impelled by the westerly winds, breaking upon it in a dreadful surf, renders it not only forlorn, but frightful; complicating the idea of danger with desolation, and impressing the mind at once with a sense of misery and death."—*First Voyage Round the World*, p. 161.

MOUNTAINS.—Dr. Dieffenbach, after examining a large portion of the interior of New Ulster, arrived at the conclusion that there was "no regular system of a mountain range running through the island." There are, however, many ridges more or less connected with one another, and almost invariably assuming a north and south direction. Several of these, although devoid of the strongly marked and rugged outline which distinguishes chains of granitic or primitive formation, yet afford much picturesque and varied scenery; huge glaciers and plains of snow characterize the loftiest summits, whence impetuous torrents pour down, forming numerous cataracts in their rapid descent, and nourishing the dense vegetation of stately trees or luxuriant fern, which grows in many places even to the verge of perpetual snow, and entirely covers the winding hills of inferior height, that skirt the base of the loftiest eminences. The coast line, as we have already seen, is generally backed by a chain of high land, varying in altitude and in distance from the shore. Of the interior ranges the most striking is that called the *Rua Hine*, which is connected to the southward with the *Tararua* and *Remutaka* mountains, and to the northward with the magnificent group formed by the *Ruapehu*, *Tongariro*, and two or three lesser peaks,

near the centre of the island. The *Ruapehu*, an extinct volcano, reaches far above the limits of perpetual snow. Its height is estimated at 9,000 feet. A narrow valley intervenes between it and *Tongariro*, a volcano in active operation, from the summit of whose truncated cone white vapours rise from time to time, while dense smoke issues from several crevices in the steep hills on which it stands. During several months of the year, snow extends for a considerable distance down the sides of *Tongariro* peak (whose altitude above the sea is about 6,200 feet), and likewise crowns the inferior eminences clustered around; near its termination are boiling springs, which send up volumes of steam: forests clothe the lower declivities for some miles, the ascent commencing in fern hills. *Taranaki* or *Mount Egmont*, an extinct volcano situated in the south-western extremity of the island, has been already mentioned, and will be again referred to in the section on geology. The height of *Mount Edgecumbe*, a lofty peak sheltering the shore of Highland Bay in the Bay of Plenty, has not been ascertained, but it is supposed to be about 7,000 feet.

RIVERS AND LAKES.—The principal rivers in New Ulster, have been described with the portion of the coast line in which their outlet is situated, all of any importance join the sea, but several small streams flow into *Lake Taupo*, the largest of a chain of lakes which occupy the centre of the island, and are most of them intimately connected with the eruptive character of the country. *Lake Taupo* lies twelve miles north of *Tongariro*; its waters are supposed to be at present 1,337 feet above the level of the sea, but various appearances indicate, that it had formerly a much higher level. It is of an irregular triangular shape; its greatest length is about thirty-six miles, and its greatest breadth about twenty-five; its borders are in many places deeply indented. The western shore recedes, forming a deep hollow bay called *Karangahape*, at either extremity of which, precipitous cliffs rise to the height of many hundred feet, the adjacent country presenting a series of abrupt peaks, and seeming "like a sea of lava cooled while in a state of violent agitation."* The eastern and southern shores, consist of high pumice-stone cliffs, which are continually undermined, broken down, and carried away by the current of the *Waikato*, which enters

* *Church in the Colonies*. New Zealand. Part ii., p. 39.

the southern extremity of Lake Taupo by a sluggish shallow mouth, but issues from it, at a spot marked by an isolated eminence called Tauhara, a deep and rapid stream. A small but delicious kind of fish abounds in the lake, and in fine weather many canoes are out fishing, but the natives are afraid of trusting themselves on its broad expanse, whenever there is the slightest indication of strong winds, for the lake being on most sides surrounded by lofty and almost perpendicular cliffs divided by gullies, its waves are frequently very high, and squalls are both sudden and dangerous.

Lake Roto-a-ro, the chief source of the Upper Waikato, is situated immediately under the north side of Tongariro, whose snowy and rugged top, contrasts very strikingly with the soft woodland scenery interspersed with numerous and extensive patches of native cultivation, which adorn the opposite shore. This lake is about three miles in length; its level above the sea is 1,709 feet, that of *Roto-Pounamu* a much smaller sheet of water, a mile and a half distant, is 438 feet higher. *Roto-Pounamu* is hemmed in on all sides by precipitous, basaltic rocks, and the surrounding mountains are clothed with almost impenetrable under-wood. It is about a mile and a half in circumference, apparently of great depth, and has no visible outlet. *Roto-Kawa* or *Bitter Lake*, so called from its waters being strongly impregnated with alum, lies on the north-eastern slope of Tauhara Mountain, and is three miles in circumference.* *Roto-rua Lake* is situated about thirty-five miles to the north-eastward of Taupo. It is twenty-five miles in circumference, and nearly circular. The hills which surround it are low, and generally covered with fern, but to the westward a wooded range rises to the height of about 800 feet. The peculiar feature connected with *Roto-rua Lake* is the number of hot springs which at several places rise close to its banks. Of these a most interesting description is given by the Bishop of New Zealand, who, alluding to a spot about three miles from the native village of *Ohinemutu*, which he examined in 1843, says,

"Here [at *Wakarewarewa*] are to be seen all varieties of *Ngawha* (hot springs). There are mud cauldrons, black, blue, grey, green, yellow, and red, the very emblem of laziness; a faint stream rises from them, and ever and anon a solitary bubble of gas disengages itself slowly from the surface, which then returns

* Dieffenbach, vol. i., p. 376.

† *Church in the Colonies*. New Zealand. Part ii., pp. 31, 32.

to its usual dulness. Close by the side of these, and in strong contrast, are the clear pools of boiling water, of great depth, and of bright azure, enclosed in precipitous walls of sulphurous formation; from some of these hot streams flow down, which are guided by the natives either into artificial baths, or into natural hollows of the rocks; the supply of hot water being so regulated as to keep the bath at the right temperature. Among these cauldrons and pools, a strong and rapid stream of cold water rushes down, in some places not a yard from the spot at which the natives are sitting up to their breasts in hot water, shelling *Tawa* berries, or peeling potatoes, or, failing these employments, enjoying their never failing resource of smoking. But by far the most beautiful springs are the boiling jets, which are thrown up to the height of many feet from a narrow orifice in the top of an irregular cone, formed of the matter held in solution by the water, which is deposited as it cools, and forms a substance of a pinkish-white colour, sometimes also tinged with yellow by crystals of sulphur. It is perfectly safe to stand upon the tops of these cones, to the windward of the spout, and from that position it is grand, first, to hear the roaring and boiling of the cauldron, and then to see the jet spring up into the air, shivered by the force of its projection into silvery foam, and accompanied by a volume of white steam. The hot water, in its descent, trickles down the sides of the crater, and falls into several natural baths of most agreeable temperature, formed in the pure and white substance of the cone, and lined with the same matter in its half formed state, still yielding and elastic. Here the traveller may lie at his ease, and watch the bursting of the boiling fountain above him: but if the wind should happen to change, he must shift his position, or his place will soon be too hot for him. A small native village is here, with the usual appurtenances of a native steam kitchen at the hot-springs; namely, hot plates, made of large slabs of stone, laid over boiling water to dry the *Tawa* berry upon; steam hangings, or native ovens, always in readiness, and holes of boiling water in which fish and potatoes can be speedily cooked. A native swing completes the equipment of this fashionable watering-place, which, together with the game of draughts, relieve the ennui of those who resort to the baths."†

In the centre of the lake is an island named *Mokoia*, about a mile in length, on which there is a native village, surrounded by boiling springs. *Roto-rua* discharges its waters, by a deep stream about a quarter of a mile long, into another lake named *Roto-iti* (small lake), of a very irregular shape, and bordered by fern-clad hills.

Tara-wera, which Dr. Selwyn calls "the gem of the lake scenery of New Zealand," is situated a few miles to the south-eastward of *Roto-rua*, and is about three miles in length. The southern shore is marked by a lofty mountain, with a broad serrated top, looking like the frustrum of a large cone, from which the point had been violently torn off, leaving a jagged outline.‡

‡ *Annals of the Diocese of New Zealand*, p. 85. Published in 1847, by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

The principal pah is strongly fenced on all sides, and picturesquely situated on a fertile neck of land, a mile in breadth, which separates Tara-wera from another lake named *Kareka*, of about six miles in circumference, with hilly or rocky shores, generally wooded. Dieffenbach records a circumstance with regard to Lake Tara-wera, which seems to throw some light on the subject of the peculiar configuration of this portion of New Ulster:—

“The rocky shores are lined with pohutukaua-trees, other vegetation also overhangs the cliffs and peep out of the fissures of the rock. I was somewhat surprised to find the pohutukaua-tree (*Metrosideros tomentosa*) on this inland lake, as it is a tree which I never found but on the sea-shore. This may perhaps be regarded as another confirmation of the theory, that the lakes which run in a continued chain from Taupo to the eastern coast are the remains of a former arm of the sea, and have been shut from it by an uplifting of the land.” (Vol. i., p. 384.)

Tara-wera is connected with two small lakes, by a rapid, but narrow and serpentine stream, whose waters are of a temperature of 85 degrees, and from whose banks issue numerous hot springs. The larger of these, *Roto-Mahana*, or *Warm-lake*, is not more than one mile in circumference. Its distinguishing feature is a singularly beautiful cascade, formed by the descent of the waters of a boiling pond, down a flight of broad steps, “the colour of white marble with a rosy tint,” into the clear, blue lake, which is itself encircled by verdant hills, and adorned by several islets, some of bare rock, others covered with shrubs, the freshness of whose green foliage, would seem rather heightened than impaired, by the clouds of steam issuing from a hundred openings, around and among them. The steps, which are firm, like porcelain, about fifty in number, and from one to two feet broad, are the result of the siliceous deposits of the waters of the pond. The concretions assume interesting forms of mamillary stalagmites, of the colour of milk-white chalcedony, nor are there wanting stalactites of various sizes to enhance the romantic, and almost magical effect of the scene which greets the eye of the traveller, on attaining the crest of the surrounding hills. A species of water-fowl, called *porphyrio* or *pukeko*, ducks and snipes, frequent the lake in great numbers, as also gulls, which feed upon a small fish that abounds there.—Dieffenbach, pp. 381—383.

* A large number of kauri trees may be seen lying at the bottom of the lake.

The *Wairarapa Lakes* have been described (see p. 266), the only remaining one in New Ulster which needs mention, is that of *Mapere*, or *Omapere*, a sheet of water about one square mile and a half in extent, situated in the northern extremity of the island, near Waimate. Mapere is apparently of no great depth,* nearly circular in form, surrounded by wooded and sloping hills, and bordered, at some parts of its circumference, by extensive tracts of level and fertile land. Occasionally, the shores are steep, and consist of basaltic lava, a fact which seems to indicate that the lake was formerly the site of a crater; and this supposition is confirmed by a tradition extant among the natives, that a large village, with its inhabitants, was here suddenly engulfed during an earthquake.

AUCKLAND AND THE NORTHERN PENINSULA.—Having endeavoured to convey to the reader an idea of the coast line, mountains, and rivers of the Northern Island, it remains to shew the leading topographical features of the several districts into which it is naturally, or politically divided. Unfortunately these divisions are as yet very imperfectly defined; the first and most obvious comprises the long Northern Peninsula, which extends in a north-west and south-east direction for about 200 miles, with a breadth varying from five to fifty miles, and is bounded on the south, by a narrow isthmus separating the waters of Waitemata Harbour, from those of Manukao,† on the opposite or western coast. On this isthmus, and on the southern shore of Waitemata Harbour, is situated AUCKLAND, the principal seat of government in New Zealand. Its position, as the capital of a maritime and commercial colony, with ready access from either coast, is of manifest importance; besides which it possesses the advantage of (comparatively) easy communication with the inland districts, both to the northward and southward, and has a considerable extent of cultivable land in its immediate vicinity, with varied soils, and a climate favourable to agricultural pursuits. In consequence of the dispersion of the European immigrants over various scattered settlements, several hundred miles apart, founded one after another with the most complete disregard of the welfare of the settlers, Auckland has not advanced as rapidly as the capitals of other British colonies in the southern hemi-

† For description of these harbours, *vide* description of coast line, pp. 262 and 270.

sphere, where the formation of new townships has been necessarily preceded by a certain amount of concentration and progress in those already established.

The site of the city is an undulating, open space of fern land fronting the sea beach, two or three miles distant from the heads of the Waitemata Channel, and stretches along two small curves called *Official* and *Mechanics' Bays*, divided by a low ridge, whose summit affords much varied scenery, while its slopes offer numerous pleasant spots for suburban residences. Official Bay contains the dwellings of many of the better class of inhabitants, such as government officers and merchants; and situated as these houses are in luxuriant gardens ornamenting the steep sides of the descent to the water, they present a charming appearance. In Mechanics' Bay the houses are of an inferior description, and are occupied by shipwrights, fishermen, and labourers. Many native canoes enter this bay on their arrival from the Thames and Coromandel Harbour, and the landing from them is often an animated and cheerful scene.*

St. Paul's Church, a brick building in the early English style, with a tower and spire, is one of the first objects which meets the eye on entering the port. Although only opened for divine service in May, 1843, and erected at a cost of £4,000, some portions of the walls have been already much damaged by the weather, in consequence of the unsoundness of the bricks of which it was constructed. At some distance from it, adjoining the house of Chief Justice Martin, stands the *Chapel of St. Stephen*, which having been built of unsound stone, is now dismantled, and enjoys the unenviable distinction of being the first European ruin in New Zealand. The churchyard is consecrated, and is still used as a private burial ground.†

The Wesleyans have erected a very neat place of worship, the Roman Catholics have also a chapel, and in and around a picturesque glen outside the city are situated cemeteries appropriated respectively to members of the Church of England, Presbyterians, Dissenting congregations, members of the Church of Rome, and Jews. The range already described as separating the two bays on which the city is chiefly laid out, terminates in a cliff, perpendicular on two sides towards

the sea, on the top of which are the barracks, built of scorise, and surrounded by a lofty stone wall. The old *Government House*—a long wooden building with gable-roofs, and trellises covered with clematis and a variety of beautiful flowers—stood on a spacious lawn, overlooking the picturesque islands of Hauraki Gulf: it was burnt down about two years ago, and has not yet been rebuilt.

Among the buildings and associations of Auckland may be noticed a Bank, Mechanics' Institute, a Museum, Lecture-room, and Library, an Agricultural Society—which issues useful reports on the best modes of cultivating various soils, and the products for which they are particularly adapted,—a Total Abstinence Society, and Masonic and Odd Fellows' Lodges.

Besides the public structures there are good private houses, and the shops in *Shortland Crescent*, which is situated on the slope of a hill leading to St. Paul's Church, are very creditable to the colony. Queen-street is wide and airy, but the thoroughfares generally are narrow and crowded. The roads are made of scorise, an excellent building material—especially adapted for their construction—which is found in great abundance in the vicinity of the numerous extinct volcanoes scattered over the gently undulating and very fertile table land that extends between Waitemata and the harbour of Manukao. These flat-topped craters vary in height from 100 to 300 or 400 feet, and have a very singular appearance when viewed from the anchorage, rising abruptly one above another in the back ground of the city. The most prominent of them, *Maungawao* or *Mount Eden* has an elevation of 500 feet, with a funnel-shaped and remarkably perfect crater, the interior of which is about 150 feet deep, and is overgrown with short fern. The outer surface of the cone has the peculiarly terraced appearance which characterizes all those in its vicinity, and evidences the flowing of the masses of ejected lava in one direction; the base is strewn with blocks of scorise, while the surrounding soil consists of the richest black vegetable mould.‡

St. John's College was originally established at the Waimate near the Bay of Islands, but in 1844 it was removed to its present position on the banks of the Tamaki

* *Savage Life and Scenes*, by G. F. Angas, vol. i. p. 288.

† *Journal of Bishop Selwyn*, part v., pp. 4 and 5.

‡ *Angas*, vol. i., p. 284. Dieffenbach notes the

similarity of these craters with those of the Ameerque, which, however, they surpass in the preservation and regularity of their funnel-shaped cones.—Vol. i. p. 290.

inlet, four miles from Auckland. This excellent and truly christian institution is designed by bishop Selwyn to answer three important ends, namely, to afford, first,—a place of religious and useful education for all classes of the community, and especially to candidates for holy orders; secondly,—a temporary hostelry for young settlers on their first arrival in the country; and thirdly,—a refuge for the sick, the aged, and the poor. The college estate, comprising 850 acres, stretches from the sea to the Auckland road in a north and south line, and to the eastward as far as the waters of the Tamaki. The plan of the college itself, in accordance with the various purposes which it is intended to fulfil, is on a large and comprehensive scale; but the failure of contractors, the distressed state of the colony, and more recently the high price of masonic and other labour caused by the works in progress in the Royal Engineers' department, and at the pensioners' villages, have prevented the completion of the structure. At present a large stone building with sixteen rooms accommodates the bishop, the English school and master, contains the diocesan library, and furnishes quarters for the reception of visitors.

Another substantial edifice serves for refectory, common hall, and kitchen; the remaining buildings are of a temporary character, among them is a commodious hospital built of wood with a stone foundation; adjoining it is a neat chapel, also of wood on a stone basement, with a burial ground annexed. Beyond the chapel and burial ground is the collegiate Maori school, contiguous thereto is the parochial day school: the college printing-office is near the main structure. Apart from all these is the secular portion of the establishment, comprising a barn, dairy, carpenter's shop, stable, and rickyard, &c., with the various appurtenances belonging to a thriving farming establishment, which is carried on by the members of the institution, on whose minds the apostolic injunction, he who will not work, neither shall he eat, is most judiciously inculcated. A large part of the tillage is carried on by spade husbandry, and probably by this time the edible wants of the inmates of the establishment are supplied by their own exertions.

The college occupies a commanding position on a volcanic hill; and the estate has three distinct frontages to navigable waters on a line of beach of eight miles between

the two extremes. Following the system of English ecclesiastical polity practised in the olden time, the bishop has established seven chapelries in the neighbouring hamlets which have each their temple of worship constructed of stone or of wood, and they are under the charge of the ordained members of the collegiate body. One of these chapelries comprises *Howick*, the chief settlement of the military pensioners sent from England, which is situated about five miles from the college on the opposite bank of the Tamaki. A very few years ago the site of Howick was a "cattle run," now it is occupied by a populous township, laid out in military order, with neat cottages, gardens, and cultivated grounds; its church spire rising from a gentle eminence overlooking the beach to the northward, and the range of the fertile Tamaki valley to the south. Here in this sylvan scene, and amidst the pleasing labours of rural industry, the veterans who have spent youth and manhood in the acquisition and protection of the wide spread domains of England, have turned their swords into ploughshares, and through the benevolence of their sovereign, and the generous statesmanship of Earl Grey, have found a peaceful asylum for their old age.

Among the numerous villages, both native and European, in the neighbourhood of the capital, may be mentioned the Maori settlement of Orakai, situated on the banks of a deep and well-sheltered bay near the mouth of the Waitemata harbour, and established by a remnant of the Nga-tiwatua tribe, who cultivate the land around, and send potatoes, maize, fruits, and other vegetable supplies, and fire-wood, to Auckland, in exchange for British manufactures. By means of this traffic they have amassed considerable sums of money.

The scenery between Auckland and Orakai, a distance of six miles by land, and about two by water, is varied and pleasing; the road lies round the head of several deep bays.

Auckland district is, generally speaking, an undulating country, with table-lands and corresponding valleys; the shores of the estuaries of the Waitemata, the Manukao, and part of the Hauraki gulf, present a succession of argillaceous sandstone cliffs of different heights, with intervening bays receding inland. The country lying between these great estuaries varies in breadth from fifteen to three miles, and at the portage of the Tamaki diminishes only three-fourths of a mile, and affords over its

surface flats of considerable extent, and declivities available for agriculture, the bottoms always occupied by small streams, generally bare of wood, or covered with patches of small-sized trees, suitable for fuel or fencing, and rising in gentle elevations to the mountain ranges to the west and south, which are of a different geological formation, and are usually covered with gigantic trees.

The country between Auckland and the range of mountains west of the Piako river consists generally of level ground, with many pretty and fertile tracts, especially along the valley of the Tamaki, whose embouchure lies a few miles east of the Waitemata Heads, where many settlers have established themselves. About five miles from the mouth of the river or inlet, (as it is frequently and justly called,) on the left bank, is a creek of great depth, leading into a small and beautiful bay, close at the foot of a high volcanic mountain, named by the Maories *Mogia*, by the English *Wellington*. Here are to be seen the remains of extensive fortifications, &c.; as also at Mount Eden, and the ruins of a very large pah, with widely spread cultivable grounds around. About thirty years ago this locality was the scene of a sanguinary battle, in which 7,000 natives were slain, fought between the tribes from the north, aided by the Waikato and Nga-te-Whatua chiefs, and those of the Tamaki and Thames districts, when the people of the latter were either entirely killed, or carried into slavery.* Indeed the whole of this neighbourhood bears unmistakable evidence of having been once thickly peopled by a warlike race, in the remains of extensive entrenchments still to be seen around the natural fortifications formed by the craters; in the great stone ovens, and other significant circumstances.

The land immediately around the extinct volcanoes is covered with loose fragments of vesicular lava and scoræ, or immense masses of more compact lava, cropping out at various points, with a variety of shrubs and trees springing up among the interstices.

With regard to the capabilities of the Auckland district, it may be said, that about one-half, consisting of undulating ground, is covered with fern and various

shrubs, (chiefly the tupaki,) and possesses a soil of a rich yellow clay, mixed with sand and charred vegetable matter. One fourth presents a more level surface, and is covered with dwarf manuka, fern, and a variety of small shrubs and tufts of grass; it has a poor soil, consisting of a whitish clay, mixed with sand. The remaining fourth is generally of a varied surface, being situated near the volcanic hills, composed of a dry, red, volcanic formation to a great depth, for the most part covered with scoræ; but when this latter is only on the surface, there is a rich red loam of high fertility.

With the exception of the volcanic land, the tract of country above described is well irrigated by natural streams, and water can be procured at all times in abundance by means of wells. The banks of the fresh water creeks are covered with evergreens and tree ferns, growing on a friable clay, mixed with ferruginous sand.†

Before passing from the vicinity of the Capital we may remark upon the valuable inland streams which approach within short distances of it, and the numerous harbours, creeks, and coves which indent its shores, and promise to render it the centre of an extensive coasting trade, as colonization extends at the adjacent favourable points. Bishop Selwyn writes enthusiastically on the advantages of its position, declaring that—

"Auckland is admirably fitted for the residence of a maritime nation. Almost every settler has the sea brought conveniently to his door, or at least close to him by one or other of those long fingers of the great estuaries which almost insulate the town and its suburban district: * * * As there never was a maritime people that did not become great and powerful, in spite of the present failure of exports and other commercial difficulties, my faith is still as strong as ever that New Zealand will be a great country, and that it is our duty to strive, as God may give us strength, that it may be as good as it will be great. Look at the position of Auckland, and judge whether it may not justly be called the Corinth of the south."†

The country to the northward of the Auckland district, is of such an irregular form, so deeply indented by arms of the sea, and so diversified on the surface, that it may be necessary to give a general view of the whole, before noticing some of the more prominent places on which Europeans or Maories are located.

* Terry's *New Zealand*, p. 37.

† *Vide* First Annual Report of the Agricultural and Horticultural Society of Auckland. 1843.

† Journal of the bishop's visitation tour throughout his diocese in 1848, p. 30.

Throughout the greater part of the Peninsula, two hilly ranges, of no great altitude, pass along either shore: they are broken in their outline by several harbours, and send out transverse ridges, which encircle or support narrow table lands, and are intersected by numerous valleys and water-courses. Of these steep, fern-clad spurs, the highest extends from Wangaroa across to Hokianga; another, less elevated, commences at Cape Rakau-manga, or Cape Brett, and passes towards Mount Manganui, separating the valley of the Waima from that of the Wairoa.

The intervals between these ranges and hills are numerous and picturesque: the valley where the Kaihu joins the Wairoa, from the westward, near the extensive native settlement of Mangakahia, is nearly a perfect level, with an extent, from east to west, of about twenty-five miles, and from north to south, of eight, the whole sufficiently elevated above the bed of the Wairoa to secure it from destructive inundations. The Maories consider this one of the richest tracts in the peninsula. The valley is bounded by extensive kauri forests, and the hills are clothed with wood to their highest elevation of about 2,000 feet. Proceeding to the southward, the valley contracts, the east side presenting an extensive flat, covered with rank vegetation, while the west exhibits a gradual and heavily-timbered slope.*

The strip of land between the western range and the coast, from the Auckland district to Cape Maria Van Diemen, has a breadth in few places exceeding four or five miles, and is more or less barren throughout its whole length: that included between the eastern ridge and the shore, as far to the northward as Wangari Harbour, consists of a succession of rugged hills, covered with light fern, and broken by deep swampy hollows, in which the *phormium tenax*, or New Zealand flax, delights. This tract is destitute of timber, and in some parts of water, and presents a desolate, uninviting aspect.

The country situated between these ridges is of a more promising character, although abrupt hills, covered with high fern, or a hard clayey stratum, over sandstone—plains with a poor, thin, sandy soil,

and extensive swamps, are described as grievously encroaching upon its cultivable area.† It is watered by the numerous streams which disembogue in the large arm of the sea, named Kaipara Harbour, on whose shores several native villages are situated: European settlers have likewise located themselves here, attracted by the two-fold and rare advantage of excellent agricultural land, and an abundance of the finest timber. The tributaries of the Kaipara have more alluvial land on their borders than is usual in New Zealand: hills, of no very great height, bound, but do not generally reach them, and are often more than a mile distant; the banks are level, and consist of a somewhat clayey and fertile soil. The Wairoa continually carries down a quantity of this soil from the higher to the lower parts of the river, in consequence of which its waters have a yellowish appearance. There are several stations on this river. That of Mr. Forsyth, on the western bank, about sixty miles from the sea, is an agricultural farm: twelve miles higher up is the extensive sawing establishment of Mr. Stevenson, reputed to be one of the most enterprising settlers in New Zealand. In 1842, he launched a schooner, of eighty tons burthen, from a creek near his premises. Twenty-five miles above Mr. Stevenson's is a village, called Hobson's Town, where several European families have made considerable progress in clearing, and built some substantial houses. Fifteen miles beyond this is a Wesleyan mission station. European settlers are scattered in different localities, and have raised good crops on their cleared lands.

The banks of the Wairoa, with the exception of such portions as are of very recent formation, and of those which have been cleared, are covered with a thick forest of timber of all descriptions, but especially of the kauri pine, which is here of remarkable height and diameter, of easy access, and in great abundance.

Large quantities of this valuable tree have, however, been destroyed, and the low, steep hills between the Waiomio valley and the point at which the Wairoa first begins to be navigable for large boats, are now nearly covered with fern and manuka, with here and there the remains of the former kauri forest, half burnt and rotten. The hills alternate with swampy valleys, with occasional forests of the kahitakea

* "A brief Survey of the Northern Districts of New Zealand." Published in Simmonds' *Colonial Magazine*.—May, 1844, signed W. H. S.

† Polack. Vol. i., p. 200.

pine (*Dacrydium excelsum*). A swampy plain stretches to the eastward as far as the rugged hills of Wangari Bay; this plain Dr. Dieffenbach says, offers some fine situations for farms, and would afford excellent opportunities for forming pasturage by the cultivation of artificial grasses, as the land is rich, and the swampy parts might easily be drained. The valley of the Wangari, on the opposite and eastern coast, is far more contracted, and much shorter than that of the Wairoa; its hills, which are for the most part well timbered, generally rise abruptly from the river's edge, leaving, at intervals, limited tracts of level land. There are, however, between four and five hundred European settlers located in favourable spots.

To the northward of the Wangari, lies the early seat of colonization in New Zealand—the *Bay of Islands*. This district consists chiefly of steep hills, but the valley through which flows the Kawa-kawa (an arm of the sea stretching to the southward, and receiving a small fresh-water stream,) has a considerable extent of excellent land. The inlet, which has the aspect of a broad river, is bounded, on either side, by wooded hills, in several of whose nooks the dwellings and cultivations of the settlers and their farm-yards, stocked with fowls, geese, and ducks, have contributed to form very homely English-looking scenery; there are also numerous and extensive plantations in the hands of the aborigines.

Kororarika, or *Russell*, is situated at the commencement of the Kawa-kawa inlet, on a narrow, elongated, tongue of land stretching out into the centre of the Bay of Islands. It stands on a flat of some two or three hundred acres, surrounded by a ridge of hills, which obstruct its communication with the interior, and to a great extent neutralize the advantages offered by its great facilities for shipping. The whole town was burned to the ground by Heke and his followers, in the autumn of 1845, excepting only the two places of worship (church of England and Roman catholic), and the houses of the clergy. It is now partially rebuilt, but still wears a very dreary appearance. *Kororarika* is the head quarters of the Jesuit mission; "a conspicuous ill-planned building, which stands on a rise of a hill behind the flat occupied by the town, is the catholic chapel of Bishop Pompallier.*"

* Angas, vol. ii., p. 173. † *Ibid.* vol. i., p. 169.

Paihia, the settlement of the Church Missionary Society, was established as early as 1823, by Archdeacon Henry Williams, the first clergyman appointed to the New Zealand mission. It is situated on the opposite shore of the inlet on which Russell stands, about three miles distant, and is described as a lovely spot,—a little oasis nestled at the foot of high fern hills, comprising about a dozen neat dwellings, almost embowered in green, and surrounded by gardens in which the loquat and other fruits thrive beneath the mild climate of this sheltered locality.†

Further to the northward is Mr. Busby's estate, termed *Victoria*, near the mouth of the Waitangi river. This tract possesses several requisites for the site of a town, for which it was at one period intended, being level, and of considerable fertility, commanding the Waimate table land, and therefore the best communication with the interior, as well as with the districts lying to the northward. It has, however, no place for the anchorage of vessels, and is open to the whole force of the north-easterly winds.

The little district of Puki-tuna, in the Waitangi Valley, surrounded by clayey fern-clad hills, has all the appearance of a garden. The soil rests on a bed of decomposed lava; is traversed in various directions by streamlets, and yields a greater variety and abundance of herbaceous vegetation than is usually met with in New Zealand. Owing to the light and porous structure of the lava, there is a resonance from the footsteps similar to the noise made by walking over a wooden bridge or causeway. A fine stream, whose banks are overshadowed by lofty trees, arborescent ferns, and cabbage palms, is separated by a low ridge from an adjacent fertile plain.‡

About fifteen miles to the westward of the Bay of Islands is *Waimate*, the agricultural station of the Church Missionary Society, which was formed in 1830, with a view to render the mission independent of New South Wales for its supply of provisions. The whole work of this settlement was done by the natives, under the superintendence of the missionaries, Messrs. Clarke, Davis, and Hamlin. Upwards of 50,000 bricks were made and burnt for building chimneys; 700,000 feet of timber were felled; three weather-board houses were erected, with stalling for twelve or fourteen

† Jameson, p. 247.

horses: stores, work-shops, and ultimately a neat chapel, capable of holding 300 to 400 persons. The introduction of ploughs and harrows, all made at the Waimate, constituted an era in the history of the country. Till these implements were introduced, the Maories little knew what their land was capable of producing; as but very small portions were brought under cultivation, owing to the great difficulty of breaking it up with the hoe or the spade.* Owing to the diligent labour of the natives, the settlement presents the aspect of a thriving English village; the houses are commodious, and of a pleasing appearance, each surrounded by a verandah, with a lawn and garden plot in front. They form a row about a mile in length, and are inclosed within a strong wooden fence, tastefully interwoven with rose-bushes and creepers. The enclosed and unbuilt on ground is laid out in productive gardens and rich clover paddocks. Besides the houses occupied by the missionaries and their families, there are numerous cottages belonging to sawyers, tradesmen, and agriculturists attached to the mission, with their wives and families, and there is a large Maori village. At one end of the settlement stands the church, at the other, a water flour-mill.

The table land on which the settlement is situated, is described as having a length of about three miles, by a breadth of one, with an elevation of 500 feet above the sea. This tract is very deficient in timber, and the climate is so bleak, that it is with difficulty that the more delicate English fruits are brought to perfection.† Dieffenbach describes the soil, as a light, dusty volcanic earth.

There are several conical craters in the vicinity of the station, all of which are covered with vegetation in the interior, and appear to have long been in a state of repose. The two most remarkable are those of Pouerua and Pukenui; they are isolated, and of a truncated form.

Some miles from Waimate is a lake about one mile in circumference, whose banks are covered with efflorations of pure sulphur; at a little distance is a smaller lake, close to which are some curious thermal springs. One of these is strongly aluminous, and has a temperature of 62° Fah.; a few feet from it is a tepid spring of a milk-white

colour and alkaline taste, temperature 124° Fah.; a third is acidulous, temperature 154° Fah.; while from another rises strong sulphuretted hydrogen gas of the temperature of 133°, that of the surrounding air being 80° Fah.‡ Some of the waters are said to contain sulphur in a state of oxygenation, approximating to that of vitriol, and to stain and burn a pocket handkerchief. The springs are frequently resorted to by the Maories for the cure of cutaneous, scrofulous, and other diseases, and much benefit is obtained from bathing in the medicated waters.

The surrounding country, especially to the southward, has the arid and desolate aspect which characterizes the neighbourhood of mineral waters; the uniform brown tint of the stunted fern on the hills, is only occasionally varied by sheltered groves in the ravines. Even the argillaceous rock is altered by the gaseous emanations of sulphuric acid, parts have become white and red, while other portions have been changed into a species of clay covered with sublimations of pure alum, sulphur, and different sulphates.

The country between the Waimate and the mission station on the Keri-Keri river, a distance of seven miles, is of inferior quality, but higher up on the banks of that stream the soil improves considerably. In 1819, Mr. Butler and Mr. Kemp were established at the Keri-Keri on behalf of the Church Mission Society, on a beautiful spot situated at the confluence of the tide with the fresh water. The river is navigable to within four miles of the station by vessels of 150 tons, and by small craft to the wharfs and capacious public store erected by the missionaries. Below the settlement on the banks of this stream the basis of the soil is basaltic, and the river rolls over a bed of lava, forms no valley, and is destitute of timber; it seems as if an immense crust of basalt had been elevated nearly to the surface. The estuary, which has the appearance of a broad river, presents some fine sites for farming establishments. To the northward of Keri-Keri, as far as Wangaroa, the land is mostly hilly, covered with primitive forest; but near the coast the whole forest has been destroyed. Between Wangaroa and Tauranga there is a beautiful and fertile valley, sheltered by the coast hills from the ocean winds, and irrigated by a small river which flows in Wangaroa harbour. An extensive table-land,

* *Annals of the Diocese of New Zealand*: 1847. pp. 12, 13.

† *Brief Survey*, p. 36.

‡ Dieffenbach. Vol. i., p. 245.

varying in elevation from two to three hundred feet above the sea, lies to the south-east of the Waimate district, intersected by the Waiaruhe, one of the sources of the Waitangi, whose waters roll over a bed of lava without forming any valley, and occasionally flood the adjacent country. At the extremity is Pakaraka, the property of the sons of Archdeacon Henry Williams, where there is a considerable extent of land under cultivation.

The vicinity of Hokianga, on the western coast, presents a marked contrast to the country in the neighbourhood of the Bay of Islands, which has no forests, and but few large trees, being surrounded on all sides by steep kauri-clad hills.

To the southward is the valley of the Waima, which has a breadth of from three to ten miles, and is intersected by the numerous tributaries which flow into the river from the hills on the east side. One of these streams rushes down with great fury for about a mile, and then, in its rapid descent over a precipice of 300 feet, forms a transparent arch, and falls in heavy rain into a kauri glen beneath.

The hills around are generally well wooded, and a fertile flat extending on both sides of the Waima for twenty miles, renders it one of the finest spots in the Hokianga district, and has induced the formation of several European stations. About fifteen miles from the head of Hokianga harbour, the country is open to the Bay of Islands; intermediate between the east and west coasts is the plain of Kaikohe, which contains an area of about twenty-five square miles, and is 800 feet above the sea; it is crossed by numerous streamlets, some flowing westerly pass between the hills, and join the Waima, while others running southerly contribute to form the sources of the Waitangi.

To the northward of Hokianga, and thence to Wangaroa, the country for the most part consists of high ground, broken by innumerable ravines, through each of which a stream of water flows: it contains an immense forest of valuable trees, upon whose outskirts, to the northward, is a fine plain, on which are situated the settlements of Mangonui and Kaitaia.

Kaitaia is within eight miles of the coast; it stands on an eminence commanding a view of the whole district, of which it is the centre. The village, with its church and steeple, its gardens and roses before the houses its fields of wheat alternating

with vines and hops, various fruit-trees and vegetables, and herds of well-fed cattle and horses, afford unmistakable evidence of industry and plenty. On the east is a vast plain, with a dark forest in the middle, stretching out towards the flat marshy estuary of the Awanui river, and terminating in a sandy bay; to the northward a bright line of sand marks the district of Muriwenua, or Land's End, which reaches to the North Cape; on the westward, the wooded range of Maunga-Taniwa bridges the whole inland country between Kaitaia and the Waimate.

The valley of the Awanui, or Awaroa, (on which Kaitaia is situated,) is estimated to contain not less than 120,000 acres of arable land; and in respect of the quality of the soil, facility of cultivation, as well as of water communication, abundance of excellent wood and other building materials, this district would seem to be highly favoured.

The country in the vicinity of the river near its embouche, consists chiefly of mangrove swamps; farther up the stream the banks are higher, and the land perfectly level and open, the soil consisting, in some places, of a stiff black loam,—in others, of a lighter earth, to all appearance admirably adapted for grain. Proceeding onward, the scenery becomes very charming, presenting fields of varied cultivation, well-stocked farm-yards, and natural paddocks formed by the serpentine course of the river.* As the stream is ascended it acquires a greater fall and becomes obstructed by snags; the banks are of the same fertile character until Kaitaia is reached; beyond that point it is only navigable by canoes. The hills which stretch from Kaitaia through the interior are wooded and partially covered with Kauri forests. From the settlement to the western coast the land is excellent.

About two miles to the northward there is a small fresh-water lake containing large eels, two kinds of small fish, and crawfish.

The Maories in the neighbourhood of the valley of the Awanui, or Awaroa, (a tribe of Rarawa,) have greatly advanced in civilization through the labours of the missionaries; they have cut and made various roads, one of which, through the primitive forest, from Kaitaia to the Waimate, is thirty-two miles in length.

* Dieffenbach, vol. i., p. 214.

To the northward of *Wara, Waro*, or *Ahipara*, a native settlement situated a few miles to the westward of Kaitaia, low ridges run parallel to the sea coast, small creeks flowing between them, on the borders of which is a light soil eagerly sought for by the natives for the cultivation of the esculent root, kumera. On one of these creeks (the *Wai-mimi*), there is an extensive bed of lignite. Further north commences the long narrow neck of sand which extends to within about eight miles of the northern extremity of New Zealand, when the land rises and forms the bold precipices of Maunganui headland, offering but one valley of small extent, termed the *Reinga*, and no cultivable land worth mention.

Leaving the northern peninsula, we proceed to notice the country south of Auckland, in which the marked feature of continuous coast ranges is still observable; these, with their collateral buttresses, frequently serve to uphold more or less elevated table-lands of varying, but generally limited extent, from whence spring the highest mountains in the island. Intermediate between the parallel coast ridges flow the rivers Thames and Piako, on the eastward, and the Waikato and Waipa, on the westward; each receiving numerous tributaries from broken rocky mountains during their courses, and irrigating large tracts of valuable country. The Thames and Piako, although entirely unconnected with each other, have their embouchures close together at the head of the deep inlet called Hauraki Gulf, or the Frith of Thames (see p. 263), and flow in nearly parallel courses through the most extensive table-land in the Northern Island, which, commencing at the sea coast, has an average breadth of about twenty miles, and stretches between two elevated hilly ranges which approach occasionally in altitude to mountains, as far as Lake Rotorua, a distance of about a hundred miles.

The probable capabilities of this district have been much dwelt upon. Dieffenbach numbers among the advantages of Auckland, that its port is the natural outlet for the extensive agricultural valley formed by the Thames and Piako (those rivers having no harbour for ships), and says that with the exception of the immediate banks, where the kahikatea pine grows to great perfection, the whole valley is occupied by fern, flax, and manuka. This

* Dieffenbach vol. i., pp. 276, 415.

vegetation is interrupted by large raupo (typha) swamps, which increase toward the mouth of rivers where the country is low and subject to inundations, but offer facilities for easy and effective drainage. This remark applies especially to the flat and swampy land in the vicinity of the lower part of the Piako; farther up, the shores of this river are overgrown with brushwood; still ascending, the banks become higher and slightly wooded, and patches of forest, alternate with open spaces covered with soft grass. During one portion of its course, the Piako is closely bounded, to the westward, by hills of amygdaloidal basalt, having on their surface a white exhausted clay. Wood is only here found in some small valleys and ravines; amongst the trees are some kauri pine, but these are scarce.*

Another observant traveller† has recorded a somewhat similar and equally favourable opinion, stating, that although in the lower part of the great valley of the Thames the soil is too little elevated above the mean level of the tides, and being of a clayey character, is in many parts swampy; yet, as the river is ascended, this defect gradually diminishes, and at the distance of thirty miles from its mouth (to which point it is navigable for steam-boats,) the plain becomes dry, and in many places is so unincumbered, as to be absolutely ready for the plough. In one portion of its course the Thames is skirted by belts of wood, including some timber of great size and value, alternating with extensive tracts of the flax plant, and with spaces overgrown with ferns, myrtles, grasses, and cabbage-palms. In several tracts formerly under Maori cultivation, grass is found in considerable abundance. Dr. Martin describes the soil of the greater part of the valley as a diluvial deposit of clay and earth, with a layer of vegetable mould on the top apparently admirably adapted for the growth of wheat.‡

In opposition to the above opinions, the New Zealand Company, in their exclusive advocacy of their own settlements, and unscrupulous depreciation of every district in any manner connected with Auckland, have taken pains to disseminate the assertion of Mr. Bidwell, that "fully one-half of the plain of the Waiho (Thames), is an impassable bog, covered with high rushes, the largest remaining portion, poor fern land,

† Jameson, pp. 311 312. ‡ *New Zealand*, p. 73.

and there is a considerable portion of wet stony land, covered with rank vegetation, without bushes." (Vide *Rambles in New Zealand*, p. 91.) This description is certainly not an attractive one, yet we find in another page, the writer declaring this very spot to be "one of the most splendid situations for a colony that could be found in the whole world," (p. 73.)*

The Thames district is very thinly populated. Near the entrance of the river is a station of the Church Missionary Society, occupying a most picturesque position on the slope of the eastern mountains, which are crowned by a forest of lofty trees. An arm of the sea, which is joined by a creek, (the Wawakauranga,) bathes the foot of the hills where the buildings stand; a fertile alluvial flat spreads along its left shore, on which there is a large native settlement. About thirty miles from the sea, at the spot where the influence of the tide ceases, is the native village of Opita.

Mata-Mata, an ancient, extensive, and strongly fortified pah, is situated on the right bank of the Waitoa (the main branch of the Piako,) and is remarkable for a spacious church, erected solely by the natives. The area is eighty feet by forty; internally it is supported by two well-finished columns, and lined with fern stalks placed close together, and intertwined with stripes of split wood. The tomb of the principal chief, who died about ten years ago, is described as being an exquisite piece of sculpture; some of the houses also are finely carved. The soil round Mata-Mata is very fertile, and well adapted for the cultivation of grain,† which is grown to a small extent by the Maories.

The opposite or eastern side of that portion of the island now under examination, is chiefly occupied by the valleys of the Waikato and Waipa, and those of their tributary streams, of which a general description has been previously given (p. 270). There being but few European stations in this district, and the number of resident missionaries limited, we are not acquainted with more than its leading features.

When the Waikato—the longest river in

* The truth is, Mr. Bidwill's "Notes," bear the stamp of hasty, though clever, writing, and contain several incorrect and contradictory statements; for instance, he speaks of the Hutt (Port Nicholson), a stream of only a few miles long, as a navigable river, equally useful with the Thames; and after stating in one place (p. 74), that "nothing would be easier than to drain the plain of the Thames, which ought

New Zealand—issues from Lake Taupo, it emerges on a country which, though highly interesting to the geologist, offers little inducement to the immigrant, being broken into hillocks composed of tufa or lapilli, and pumice fossils, cemented together by volcanic ashes, and most irregularly dispersed over the perfectly flat surface of the original table land. The level country, consisting of the same materials as the hills, being as yet but little decomposed, nourishes only a stunted vegetation of low fern, and a coarse, discoloured grass, excepting in the vicinity of the numerous water-courses, where the soil is better, and bears a good many shrubs. Where the Waipapa, a deep mountain tributary, joins the Waikato, from the hilly, and occasionally forest-clad ridge, which bounds it on the westward, the river, here about forty yards wide, presents a very wild scene, losing itself in successive falls in a deep fissure, which it has corroded out of the solid rock. The surface of the surrounding country, in some places, forms regular basins, while craggy, castle-like formations of rock—often lined with a shrub (*metrosideros hypericifolia*), with small myrtle-like leaves, which fixes its tendrils firmly to the rock, in the same manner as the ivy does—crown the hills. Here and there a solitary dragon-tree varies the scanty vegetation of this dreary region, which extends as far to the northward as the Maunga-Tautari range.‡ Between this point and the embouchure of the river there are many fertile tracts, occupied by native plantations. Kaitote pah, the residence of Te Whero-Whero, the principal chief of all the Waikato tribes, is situated on the right bank of the Waikato, a few miles after its junction with the Waipa. It consists of an open quadrangle, with houses ranged on either side, the whole surrounded by a lofty wooden palisade, with an entrance at each end. At one end of the pah is a chapel, built of *tohi-tohi* grass. At a little distance are several neat Christian graves, around which are planted tufts of the white and blue iris.

Taupiri Mountain rises on the opposite bank of the river. The conical sides of this ancient land-mark are clothed with to be done at a very trifling expense, as there are deep water-courses running through the plain in all directions, much lower than the marshy spots," he affirms in another (p. 90), that "the swampy lands of the Waiho (Thames) will cost almost as much to drain as heavy timbered land to clear.

† Dieffenbach, vol. i., p. 413.

‡ *Ibid.* vol. i., p. 321.

thick forests and steep wooded hills, on one of which is the site of an ancient fortification, descend towards the stream. A large extent of country is visible from the summit of Taupiri, including no less than seven fresh-water lakes: that of Waikari is remarkable for having a salt stream running through it, in which the sea-fish called *kanæ* are caught, although they are not found in other parts of the lake. Waikari has a communication with the Waikato, in which an occasional stray *kanæ*, from the salt stream of the lake, is now and then found.

The land around Kaitote—formerly the scene of many a desperate fight, followed by the demoniac orgies of cannibalism—has always been of great value in the eyes of the natives, on account of its fine *kumera* grounds: they now employ it in the cultivation of potatoes, Indian corn, and occasionally wheat. About two miles from the village of Te Whero-Whero is Pepe, a station of the Church Missionary Society, which is thus described by Mr. Angas:—"At a bend of the river, the romantic cottage of the missionary (Mr. Ashwell) suddenly appeared in view. It was as lovely and secluded a spot as it is possible to imagine. The little cottage, built of *raupo*, with its white chimneys and its garden full of flowers—of sweet English flowers—roses, stocks, and mignonnette, was snugly perched on an elevated plateau, overhanging the Waikato, and the access to it was by a small bridge thrown across a glen of tree ferns, with a stream murmuring below."*

The coast hills between the Waikato and the harbour of Wangaroa or Waingaroa separate the waters of the Waipa from the streams which flow directly to the western shore. These hills have an easy slope both towards the plains of the Waipa and towards the sea coast. They are lowest at the Wai-te-Tuna river, which flows from the eastward, where communication with the interior is most easily established. The most populous settlement of the Waikato tribes, is situated near the Wesleyan mission station on the southern shore of Wangaroa Harbour; the northern is partially occupied by European settlers, the land, both forest

and agricultural in this neighbourhood, is excellent.†

The Waipa is a deep and placid stream, meandering through a broad and fertile valley, whose peculiar advantages with respect to soil and climate, have been previously stated (p. 270). At the lower part of the valley, there is very little slope in the land; the river banks consist of a stiff loamy earth with layers of sand, but without any fragments of rock, and the surrounding country is of the most promising description for the growth of grain. Higher up the stream, steep wooded hills sloping down to the water's edge, occasionally alternate with extensive native plantations, which attest the great neatness and skill of the native cultivators; and the general level of the valley is interrupted by a few isolated pyramidal hills of volcanic origin, of which arms consisting of tufa and pumice stone, run off in all directions, often presenting cliffy escarpments on the sides.

The mission-station of *Otawhao* is situated on the banks of a small tributary of the Waipa; around it are numerous dispersed and fortified villages belonging to several distinct tribes, all of whom are comprehended under the general name of Waikato. One of these, named Raroera, formerly a very fine pah, but now almost in ruins, contains the most remarkable relic in New Zealand, a *papa tupapakau*, or mausoleum, erected by Te Whero-Whero, in honour of his favourite daughter. This extraordinary monument was entirely carved by one individual, a lame man, named Parinui, whose only tool was the head of an old bayonet. The tomb is about twelve feet high, in the form of a box, with a projecting roof, supported by grotesque figures. The carving is exceedingly rich; the eyes of the figures are formed of *pawa*, or pearl shells (*haliotis*), and the feathers of the *kaka* and the albatross decorate the seams of the wood work. Near the mission-house of Otawhao, is another ancient structure, described by Angas as one of the finest remains of Maori ornamental architecture still extant. It is called Maketu house, and was erected by a chief named Puata,‡ in commemoration of the heathen *tohungas*, and so reasoned with the chief that he embraced the religion he had once despised—had a school established within the pah; and as he lay sick, was accustomed to call his tribe round him and hold morning and evening prayers. In this state he lingered several months; his last words to his people were, "Receive the word of God, and hold fast on Jesus Christ."—Angas, vol. ii., p. 150.

* Vol. ii., p. 42. † Dieffenbach, vol. i., p. 306.

‡ Puata was the principal chief and the greatest warrior of his tribe; until his last illness he had contemptuously rejected the doctrines of Christianity. During that time he was visited by Mr. Morgan (the zealous missionary of Otawhao), who, after considerable difficulty, persuaded him to take medicine instead of trusting to the sorcery and charms of the

taking of Maketu, on the east coast, by the people of his tribe; around the roof are a number of savage figures carved in wood, and intended to represent the various warriors engaged in the battle, all of whom have their tongues protruding, as a mark of the extreme defiance with which they regarded their enemies. The chapel at Otawhao, a commodious structure, which measures eighty-six feet by forty-two, was built solely by the Maories. Angas gives the following interesting description of the circumstances of its erection:—

"The ridge pole, a single tree-stem, eighty-six feet in length, was dragged by the natives from the woods a distance of three miles; and all the other timber was likewise conveyed by them from a similar distance. The rafters are all detached, and most of the wood work is fastened together with flax; the sides are beautifully worked with fern stalks, tied together in cross-stitch with *aka*, a species of wild climber, which gives to it a rich and finished appearance. The entire design originated with the natives, who formed this spacious building without rule or scale, and with no other tools than their adzes, a few chisels, and a couple of saws. After the erection of the frame work the season was so far advanced, that fearing they should not be able to complete it in time, the Otawhao people requested a party of one hundred Maunga-tari-tari natives to assist them in its completion; to whom they gave the entire sum that had been paid them by the Missionary Society, amounting in value to about £23 sterling; they also killed a couple of hundred pigs, that their friends might live well during the time devoted to their assistance. The windows, which are of a gothic shape, and thirteen in number, were fetched from Tauranga on the coast—a distance of seventy-five miles from Otawhao—by fourteen men; who carried them on their backs, over mountains and through forests, without any payment whatever. The whole tribe, amounting to about 600 or 700 natives, are now nearly all Christianized."—(Vol. ii., pp. 141, 142.)

Governor Grey, on visiting the "extensive and fertile districts of the Waikato and Waipa," in the year 1849, declared himself—

"Both surprised and gratified at the rapid advance in civilization which the natives of that part of New Zealand have made, during the last two years. Two flour mills have already been constructed at their sole cost, and another water mill is in course of erection. The natives of these districts also grow wheat very extensively, at one place alone the estimated extent of land under wheat is 1,000 acres. They have also good orchards, with fruit trees of the best kind grafted and budded by themselves. They have extensive cultivations of Indian corn, potatoes, &c., and have acquired a considerable number of horses and horned stock. Altogether I have never seen a more thriving or contented population in any part of the world. The districts I am describing are of the most fertile character, and the quantity of land cultivated or used by the natives is quite insignificant, compared with the extent of fertile country. There would also be no difficulty whatever in ac-

quiring any quantity of waste land, that might be required there, as the chiefs were most earnest to have Europeans settled amongst them, and offered to give up any portions of the country to the government for the purpose of locating European settlers upon. * * * The marked and rapid improvement which has taken place in the natives, inhabiting the districts to which I am alluding, is in a great degree to be attributed to the exertions of the missionaries residing amongst them, whose arrangements for the religious welfare and social improvement of these people appeared to be only deficient in one respect, which was in the extent of the means provided for the education of children in the districts confided to their care; but to the honour of some of these gentlemen I should state, that they are in no respect to blame for this, as some of them, out of their own small means, maintain very efficient schools for the education of native children; and I think that the defect to which I have alluded will shortly be wholly removed by the operation of the law which has recently passed, providing for the education of native children."*

The country to the westward of the Waipa, between the harbours of Wangaroa and Kawia, exhibits dense and continuous forests, with steep eminences, whose summits command many exquisite prospects; occasionally extensive clearings have been made for potato grounds.

The banks of the Oparau, or Oparerc, a small river a little to the northward of the Awaroa river, are of moderate height, and the soil is a good loamy earth, covered with a luxuriant vegetation of fern and flax; the hills in this vicinity ascend gently from the sea coast, and descend gradually to the interior; they are separated by ravines and by narrow valleys. The formation of the hills is volcanic, consisting of a solid basaltic matrix, with numerous pentagonal columns of augite. Many parts are covered only with fern; others, especially the ravines, are still clothed with forest, which appears to have formerly covered the whole. The country bordering the Waiharakeke river, which flows into Ahuahu harbour (an arm of that of Kawia), is varied and romantic; steep banks, clothed with luxuriant foliage, rise on either side, and almost every opening discloses a Maori settlement.

There is a Wesleyan mission station here, situated on a point of land jutting into the harbour; a glassy sheet of water extends in front of the house, and beyond it rises the bold and rugged outline of the mountain of Pirongia. The chapel stands on an elevated terrace behind the house. At Te Pahe, a small heathen settlement several miles up

* Despatch from Governor Grey to Earl Grey, 1st March, 1849. Parliamentary Papers for 1850 p. 27.

the river, is a *wahi tapu*, or sacred repository of the property of a deceased chief, which when visited by Mr. Angas in 1845, consisted of an enclosure surrounded by a double row of palings. Within the inner row, which was painted red (the colour used by the Maories to represent mourning), on a frame-work of raised sticks, were arranged the weather-worn garments, chests, muskets, and other property belonging to the deceased. Calabashes of food and of water, and a dish prepared from the pigeon, were placed for the use of the departed spirit, who the heathen natives aver comes at night and feeds from the sacred calabashes. A small canoe, with sail and paddles, was also within the enclosure, to serve as a ferry-boat for the spirit to enter safely the abodes of eternity. The Maories view the place with superstitious reverence and fear, and will not approach within some yards of the outer enclosure.

To the south-east of Kawia* lies the elevated range termed the Mountains of Rangitoto, which forms a continuation of the west coast hills, and connects them with the group of the Ruapahu, on whose west slope is the source of the Mokau. This stream flows in a narrow valley, formed by two ridges, which branch out from the Rangitoto range, and falls into the sea about sixty miles to the northward of New Plymouth, or Taranaki. The scenery in the upper part of its course, especially near the Maori settlement of Whakatumu somewhat resembles the highlands of Scotland in the bold outline of the fern-clad hills, and the barren rocks jutting up in huge and picturesque masses. In this secluded spot a European missionary and his wife, have taken up their abode in a cottage on an elevated and rocky steep, overlooking an extensive country.

Four miles from Whakatumu the river dashes down a perpendicular wall of rock, sixty feet in height; the steep cliffs on either bank are clothed with evergreens, and

on the opposite side of the glen, the broken rocks resemble castles, fortresses, and towers. Beyond the falls, the river winds its way between barren-looking hills, with blocks of micaceous schist cropping out. The land in the Mokau valley is fertile, though rugged, and much occupied by swamps, which, as in most parts of New Zealand, would admit of easy drainage.

THE SETTLEMENT OF NEW PLYMOUTH, OR TARANAKI, is situated twenty-five miles to the northward of Cape Egmont. It is 125 miles from Auckland (*via* Manukao harbour), and 180 from Wellington by sea, or 238 by land (*via* Wanganui). The town, which has been well laid out by its first surveyor, Mr. F. C. Carrington, slopes upwards from the sea-beach, and with its neat white houses, contiguous cultivations, green forests, and back-ground of wooded hills, crowned by the snow-capped cone of Mount Egmont (see map), presents a pleasing prospect. The country around, is undulating, broken, and interspersed with small dells, which vary in size from half an acre to two or three acres, are densely wooded, and generally contain a small but unfailing spring of fresh water. Of this indispensable element there is an abundance; between the town and the Waitara river, a distance of ten miles, there are eight running streams; springs and rivulets abound, and in the wells that have been sunk, water has been generally procured at from thirty to forty feet depth.† The want of a harbour (*vide* p. 268) is unquestionably a serious drawback to the settlement; the progress of the little town, or rather village, however, bears witness to its great agricultural advantages, and to the energy and civilization of its limited population. The most interesting building is a substantial granite-built church, offered by the first clergyman (Mr. Bolland) and the first settlers of Taranaki, as a thank-offering to Him who had guided them in safety from their native country to

* A few miles from a native settlement named Pari-Pari, situated on the banks of a small stream, flowing from the southward into Kawia Harbour, there are some large limestone caves, presenting the usual features of such formations. The entrance to the largest cave is a spacious arch, in the side of a perpendicular wall of limestone rock. For about sixty feet the cave extends inwards, hung with stupendous masses of stalactite. The stalagmitic encrustations on the floor assume the forms of large mushrooms, tables, and pillars, the latter frequently joining with the stalactites from above, form picturesque columns. At the inner extremity of this anti-chamber, at the bottom of a steep descent, a

rapid subterranean stream flows across the cave: on the opposite side of the stream, twenty feet above it, is a corridor of thirty feet in length, filled with sparkling stalactite columns, leading to a chamber of indescribable beauty, which "appeared as though gnomes and fairies had been at work to adorn the magic hall. The roof hung with stalactites of the most exquisite and pearly whiteness, was supported by columns of yellow and transparent spar, that gave it the resemblance of a natural temple, and the crystalline walls and floor were covered with a sort of fluorine bloom of the most delicate hue and texture."—Angas, vol. ii., pp. 91, 92.

† Hursthouse's *New Plymouth*, p. 13.

this distant land.* About two miles from the church, on the banks of a small clear stream, called the Henui, is a small rustic chapel. There are besides a Wesleyan and Primitive Methodist chapel, an excellent hospital, two taverns, a gaol, and police barracks; three flour mills, two small breweries, and a tannery; and at Moturoa there are two shore whaling establishments. A monthly Court of Requests is held for the recovery of small debts. New Plymouth has as yet no "journal." A small public library, and a literary institution, have been recently established. The overland mail from Auckland to Wellington, carried by natives, passes through New Plymouth; arriving north and south every alternate Saturday, and departing the following Monday. The quickest communication either with Auckland or Wellington is by sea, as dull sailing coasters, although generally three or four days in making the trip, can perform it in thirty hours.†

The New Plymouth district is naturally divided into three parts;—the *first* of these is a mere strip, extending along the coast, covered with light fern, interspersed with tufts of grass; the soil is largely mixed with black iron sand. This strip, according to Mr. Hursthouse (one of the principal settlers), has been found to produce excellent crops of vegetables. The *second* division comprises a large tract clothed with fern six to eight feet high, intermixed with bushes, and the tall tohi-tohi grass. The surface is a vegetable decomposition of from seven to ten inches deep, matted together by the fern root, with a light yellow sub-soil entirely free from stones, shells, gravel, or clay. The principal farms are on this land. The chief difference as respects the cultivation of this soil and the preceding, is, that it requires more exposure before cropping. The *third* division contains the bush or forest land, and extends along the country in an irregular line, two to five miles from the coast, and a considerable distance back into the interior. The soil resembles the second division of fern land, but is ready for cropping at once.‡

The agricultural capabilities of this part of New Zealand, which has been justly termed "its garden," are attested by various

authorities. Bishop Selwyn speaks of New Plymouth as his favourite settlement, and declares that "no one can speak of the soil or scenery of New Zealand till he has seen both the natural beauties and the ripening harvests of Taranaki." Sir G. Grey says, "I have never in any part of the world seen such extensive tracts of fertile and unoccupied land as at Taranaki;" and Dr. Dieffenbach, the unprejudiced and intelligent explorer of the Northern Island, states, "the whole district of Taranaki, as far as I have seen, rivals any in the world in fertility, beauty, and fitness for becoming the dwelling-place of civilized European communities."§

When the New Plymouth settlement was founded in 1841, there were not more than fifty Maories there, the remnant of the Ngatiawa tribe whom the Waikato, in 1834, under Te Whero-Whero, had conquered. Many were carried into captivity, others fled and settled around Cook Strait, but when the Europeans arrived, some of the latter returned to their country, and a large number were released from captivity by the Waikato, owing to the Christian influence exercised by the missionaries. There are now about 1,000 Maories living in the vicinity of the town, located in settled habitations. They cultivate a considerable extent of land—are possessed of more horses and coasting vessels than the Europeans, "and are in fact becoming useful and influential members of the community."|| A single tribe (residing to the southward of the settlement,) have paid £300 to Europeans for the construction of two grist mills, and a third is now in course of erection for them. All are deservedly praised for their industry, sobriety, honesty, and peaceful habits: and through the unwearying exertions of the Episcopal and Wesleyan ministers, they have made remarkable progress in education; so much so that of the adult males, it is estimated that three out of four can both read and write.

A densely wooded range separates the undulating country, in which New Plymouth is situated, from that to the eastward watered by the tributaries of the river Wanganui. Great part of this extensive tract would appear to be broken and moun-

* Journal of Bishop Selwyn's Visitation Tour in 1848, p. 40.

† Hursthouse, pp. 62, 63.

‡ *Ibid.* pp. 13, 14. This little work contains much valuable information of a practical nature

adapted for the use of agricultural emigrants of small capital, to whom the New Plymouth settlement offers especial advantages.

§ *Travels in New Zealand*, vol. i., p. 150.

|| Hursthouse, p. 159.

tainous, and much occupied by dense forests, except round the immediate base of Tongariro, which is clothed with coarse tufted grass. In the various patches of ground cleared by the natives, the vigour of the plantations prove the fertility of the soil. During the upper part of its course the Wanganui flows through a very remarkable volcanic region, consisting of a plain several miles in extent, and entirely destitute of trees, broken with deep ravines and chasms, and diversified with numerous abrupt little hills, like Alps in miniature, some of which rise into tapering cones resembling craters, while others present the appearance of castles and steep ridges crowned with masses of rock, the whole backed by distant mountain ranges. The entire country is covered with blocks of pumice stone, and the rocks appear of igneous origin, the rounded hills presenting cliffs of tufaceous lava, or of lapilli of pumice and sand cemented by volcanic ashes. The only vegetable production is a coarse wiry grass, with occasional tufts of low fern. Through this desolate region the Wanganui, here about twenty yards in breadth, winds its serpentine course over a bed of white sand and pumice, through which the river has formed a deep channel, presenting here and there regularly terraced sides and platforms.

The singular congeries of mountains—some isolated, some in short ridges; the lakes and boiling springs, the pumice-stone plains and dense forests, which form the distinguishing characteristics of the interior of the Northern Island, have been described; but on the actual capabilities of the central districts, our information is too scanty to afford grounds for a satisfactory opinion. Many large tracts are said to be quite destitute of timber, and much more level than the country near the sea-shore. To the north-westward of Lake Taupo there is a considerable extent of available land, including Matahanea and several aboriginal settlements. The region to the westward, in the vicinity of the boiling springs, is described as resembling land over which a flood has swept, leaving it torn, or in many places ridged with terraces formed by slow subsidence, but altogether devastated and dreary; shallow ravines covered with gravel are observable here and there, often turning at sharp angles where the water had found resistance. Sometimes a higher cliff appears, consisting of a tufaceous conglomerate—the upper strata, a pumice-stone

gravel, is covered with stunted ferns and lichens; occasional rushy moors vary the scene, and also swamps and numerous rivulets, near which the vegetation has a fresher verdure.*

In the route from Lake Taupo to Lake Roto-rua, some grass land is met with. The general composition of the soil round the latter lake is,—firstly, a black mould a few inches thick, then pumice gravel one foot thick, below this a yellow sandy loam about six feet thick, and afterwards, another bed of gravel. This soil, if not fertile, cannot be called barren, and might be much improved by a good system of agriculture. A station of the Church Missionary Society is situated on the eastern shore; a valley runs from thence to the eastward, and is, in several places, very promising. To the northward of Roto-rua a dense wood stretches as far as the extensive flat on which the Mission Station at Tauranga Harbour, Bay of Plenty, is situated, covering the hills which run along the eastern coast, bounding on one side the interior and comparatively open table-land, and on the other, sloping gradually, and spreading out into flat land near the sea-shore. The gigantic trees in this forest are festooned by creepers and wild vines, which envelop the traveller in a network, and render his progress wearisome and laborious in the extreme; for more than half the distance, however, a good wide horse-path has been cut by the natives of Roto-rua, at the expense of the mission, the three miles nearest the lake entirely cleared of stumps, and coated with powdered pumice-stone, forming an excellent road. The soil is good throughout, consisting of pumiceous gravel richly mixed with vegetable mould.

Tauranga was, in former times, an important place for the pig and flax trade, and several European traders have lived there for many years. Dieffenbach (writing in 1840,) says the natives are not inclined to sell any land, and their number is sufficiently large to enable them to cultivate their beautiful district themselves, if a durable peace were established among the different tribes (vol. i. p. 408). This desirable end, has, to a very great extent, been accomplished: the propagation of the Gospel of peace has greatly lessened and mitigated the quarrels which rendered native property so insecure, and villages are

* Dieffenbach, vol. i., p. 330.

springing up in all directions, throughout the fertile coast district extending from Tauranga to beyond Hawke's Bay, the whole of which is now professedly Christian. Archdeacon William Williams took up his abode, with his family, at Poverty Bay, or Turanga, in 1840, and in that same year the number of individuals assembling regularly for worship in this district, were estimated at no less than 8,000.*

Opotiki, a central mission station of the Bay of Plenty, is situated in a rich valley containing some thousand acres, with a river running through its centre, into which vessels of thirty tons can enter and lie with safety. The population comprises about 1,000 Maories, who have built a large chapel, and are represented as an industrious, plodding, commercial people, possessed of horses and cattle, and of six small vessels, which they navigate themselves, carrying on a large trade with Auckland and other places, in pigs, potatoes, Indian corn, and wheat. They make their own bread, and supply their visitors with abundance.† One, and, occasionally, a second, Roman catholic priest resides here. At the native villages of Wakatane, Matata, Tunapahore, and the Kaha, the beneficial effects of missionary labours are likewise evidenced in the growing civilization of the people. At Waiapu River, a population of about 2,000 souls, who, as heathens, lived huddled together in three fortified paha, now dwell in peace and security, scattered over their fertile and picturesque valley, or along the coast on either side, congregating on the sabbath in central spots, around the chapels erected by them for divine service. The river is very shallow, and Bishop Selwyn, who, following its course, traversed an old and scarcely practicable inland war-path leading from Rangitukia paha to Opotiki, says, that without counting the exact number of fordings he had been compelled to make, he contented himself with "the general impression that it was a day of as much wading as walking."

A mission station has been recently established at Kawa-Kawa (near East Cape), on a plain immediately adjoining a mountain on which the original inhabitants resided, but from which, on the introduction of fire-arms, they were swept off,

* *Church Missionary Intelligencer*, for June, 1851; p. 126.

† *Ibid*, p. 127.

almost to a man, by the natives from the northern part of the island.

At various places between East Cape and the Wairoa, a river flowing through an extensive and fertile valley to its embouchure in Hawke Bay, there are several mission stations and numerous native villages, whose names it is not necessary to record. The country in their vicinity has been little explored, on account of the great difficulties it offers to the traveller, who is obliged to follow the old native paths over frightful cliffs, steep and lofty mountains, across swamps and rivers, or in the soft and yielding sand of the seashore. On the southern side of Hawke Bay, in the neighbourhood of the Ahuriri river, extensive grassy plains are found; and the Tuki-tuki, which enters the bay a little to the southward of the embouchure of the Ahuriri, flows amid a succession of plains and gentle hills, chiefly covered with grass. Near the Waipawa, a tributary of the Tuki-tuki, is a small native village, pleasantly situated on an island in the centre of a lake named Roto-Atara, surrounded by grassy downs.

Of the large tract of country extending between the coast district, whose leading features have been above enumerated, and the immediate borders of Lake Taupo, little more is known than that it is extremely broken and mountainous: on the right or eastern bank of the Upper Waikato, there are said to be some grassy plains.

WELLINGTON AND THE SOUTHERN DISTRICTS.—In order to mark a geographical division of the island, I proceed to define a *southern* peninsula, which may be said to extend from Cape Matau-a-Mani, or Kidnapper Point, on the east coast, to the north limit of the Wanganui settlement on the west coast, and thence south, with a gradually decreasing breadth to Cook Strait. Along the northern limit, the greatest breadth from east to west, is about 125 miles; at Cook Strait, about 40 miles; the extreme length of the east or outside of the curve (formed by the peninsula), 170 miles, and of the west or inner curve, about 110 miles.

The above extensive track of country has an almost unbroken coast-line, compared with that contiguous to Auckland, but it is marked by the same features of continuous ridges, with intervening spurs, table lands, valleys, forests, and swamps; though from its greater breadth these are

on a larger scale than on the northern peninsula.

From Cape Matau-a-Maui, the south extremity of Hawke Bay, to Cape Palliser in Cook Strait, the coast is bounded by a range of moderate height, varying from five to fifteen miles' distance from the shore.

The opposite coast is likewise bordered by hills, but their outline is far less regular and connected. Through the interior the lofty Rua Hine range, stretches in a north to south-east direction, terminating in two branches, called the Tararua, or Remutaka Mountains. The extremity of the latter ridge forms the tongue of land, which, stretching into the sea, separates Palliser Bay from Port Nicholson.

Wellington, the chief settlement formed by the New Zealand Company, is situated at the south-east corner of Port Nicholson,* on the shores of an inner basin, which is called Lambton Harbour. The houses lie in tiers, scattered around and above the margin of the bay, for a distance of three miles, and being closely hemmed in by steep hills clad with thick forest, form a picture which can scarcely fail to please the eye of an artist, but is calculated to produce a very different impression on that of the agricultural immigrant. The town occupies two level spaces of limited extent; Pipitea, or Thorndon, and Te-Aro Flat, on the western and southern sides of the harbour, and stretches over some of the least impracticable declivities. On or near Pipitea Flat, are the government-house, church,† law courts, police-office, and the residences of many of the principal inhabitants. On the Te-Aro Flat are the custom-house, exchange, bank, Wesleyan chapel and mission-house, Roman catholic chapel, jail, a second set of barracks, and several strongly-built houses and warehouses. On the beach, which is the main line of connexion between the two flats, stands the Scotch kirk, a conspicuous object in a line of taverns, shops, and stores. An excellent hospital for Europeans and natives was opened in 1847. It is two stories high, and consists of brick, plastered with Roman

* Port Nicholson has been described at p. 266.

† So lately as 1848 there was only a temporary church at Wellington; the bishop of New Zealand writing in that year, says, "with the exception of a piece of land which we bought at Te-Aro (south end of Wellington), we are still without a site for a church in a town half as large as Constantinople. The piece originally marked out is a mere water-

cement outside. There are three cemeteries, in secluded spots; the largest is appropriated to the use of all protestants, whether European or Maori; the other two are allotted for the burial grounds of Roman catholics and Jews. Wellington has a Mechanics' Institute and a Savings' Bank, and its settlers have associated themselves in societies under the denominations of the Freemasons' Lodge, the Independent Order of Odd Fellows, and the Loyal Antipodean Lodge. A Horticultural Society (always a useful association in a young settlement), was established as early as 1841; it receives seeds of the best kinds from that of London, and distributes them among its members; holds shows of fruits, flowers, and vegetables every three months, and gives small prizes for excellence in these, as well as in the cultivation of cottagers' gardens.‡

The progress which the town has made furnishes undeniable evidence of the energetic and enterprising spirit of its settlers, who have struggled, and are still struggling, through many difficulties, by means of a heavy expenditure of labour and capital. The want of good and level land near the town is a grievous disadvantage, and the results of the fundamentally erroneous system on which the settlement was formed, impose a heavy clog upon their most strenuous exertions. Not the least of the obstacles with which they have now to contend has arisen from the exaggerated scale on which the town was originally planned, and the gambling manner in which the sections, after long delay (*vide* Div. v., pp. 154, '5), were allotted, indiscriminately, to speculators in London, or *bona fide* colonists. To provide 1,100 acre sections of at all available land, it was necessary to extend the boundaries south of the harbour, to a distance of two miles from the beach. Twenty-one sections, extending for about half-a-mile along the beach, at the southern extremity of the harbour, are private property; but, with this large exception, the public road lies between high-water mark and the boundary of private property. A public wharf, with 140 feet frontage, occupies the centre of the above-named private property, and there

course, scarcely available even for the small parsonage which stands perched upon the only flat part of the ground, with a most uncomfortable exposure to the wind and rain. Of course I declined to accept such a site for the main church of the Southern Division.—Visitation Tour in 1848, p. 90.

‡ *Handbook for New Zealand*, by a late Magistrate of the Colony; p. 202.

are several substantial jetties at other parts of the beach.

Behind the first street are various houses and structures, including a windmill, brewery, steam flour and sawing mill, &c. In the back-ground, rise the steep, wooded heights of Tinakore, which are included in the belt of land reserved all round the town for public purposes. Only the few main streets, in which sections are built upon, or otherwise occupied, are even marked out, and one or two of the principal ones are alone made passable for wheeled vehicles. No paving has been attempted; and the only street-lights are the lamps which the licensed publicans are required to maintain burning over their doors all night.*

The Te-Aro flat, or southern part of the town, near the beach, consists partly of undrained marsh, and partly of a poor, gravelly soil. Near the foot of the western hills, however, it improves sufficiently to permit the formation of several well-cultivated gardens. The more distant town sections to the south are covered with natural pasture, of inferior quality, for which they seem alone adapted. The soil of Thorndon flat, on which is the north-western portion of the town, is said to have been exhausted by the potato cultivations of the natives, but the careful cultivation of the settlers has reclaimed some limited spots, and given the gardens a cheerful appearance.

Immediately beyond the town belt, on the other side of the Tinakore range, is the Karori district, which consists of an undulating table land, 600 feet above the sea, surrounded by higher hills; and contains about 1,200 or 1,500 acres of land, originally covered with dense forest, in which partial clearings have now been effected by the axe of the settler. Wade's Town comprises a rugged hill of 100 acres, immediately adjoining the northern extremity of Wellington. It is principally occupied by industrious cottagers. There are several good roads in the vicinity of Wellington: that called Pitone lies along the western shore of Port Nicholson, close under the steep and wooded hill-side, from whence jutting buttresses of rock were blasted to make space for a passage. The Porirua road is the principal outlet from Wellington to the northern districts, through the Kenepuru valley.

With the exception of one or two patches

* *Handbook of New Zealand*, p. 97.

of level land, close to the mouths of small streams, the whole eastern shore of Port Nicholson is steep to the water's edge. The peninsula which forms the western shore of the entrance of the Port, called Watts' Peninsula, contains about 1,800 acres, chiefly of steep hills, totally devoid of timber. In its centre a lake, covering about 100 acres, is in course of drainage, and about 200 acres of swamp around it, will probably be also rendered available for pasture or tillage. An isthmus, which connects the two indentations called Lyall and Evans' Bays, is a sandy tract, totally unfit for cultivation of any kind. A race-course has been laid out on the Peninsula, closely adjoining this tract.

The *Ohiro* or *Happy Valley*, the *Kaiwarawara Valley*, and the *Makara Valley*, are situated beyond the ridge of hills which form the western boundary of the Wellington town district. They are generally narrow, with steep sides, affording among "roughish" sections a few hollows capable of tillage. To the south and west of Makara Valley a tract of high hilly ground extends to Cape Terawite, to the northward of which is the Ohariu district, which contains some wooded hollows, cut off by a steep and rugged country from Wellington, and approachable only by two precipitous Maori footpaths.

The *Valley of the Hutt*, a small river flowing into the northern part of Port Nicholson, is divided into two districts, upper and lower; the latter extends somewhat in the form of a triangle, having its base on the shores of the harbour, and its apex at a gorge about six miles and-a-half from the sea, where the Tararua and Remutaka mountains approach so closely to each other as to leave room only for the passage of the river. Below this gorge, the Hutt gives rise to three watercourses, which occasionally overflow, and render a limited area of soil very fertile. Ninety sections of 100 acres each have been laid out, and eighty-eight selected in this district, and considerable efforts have been made, with some degree of success, to cultivate different portions. The village of Aglionby, on the west bank of the river, is said to be thriving. The exertions of the Hon. H. W. Petre, of the late Mr. Francis Molesworth, and of other enterprising colonists, to render valuable the unfortunate site chosen by the New Zealand Company for an agricultural colony, deserve commendation.

The *Upper Hutt valley*, to the north of the gorge, is a level tract, about eight miles long, by two broad; the soil is inferior to that of the lower vale, and it receives less of the alluvium from the floods: the weather, however, is milder, the neighbouring hills sheltering the district from the cold southeasterly winds. Sixty-two sections have been laid out here. Two smaller valleys open into the Hutt from the eastward; that formed by the Mungaroa streamlet is almost entirely a swamp, yet, for want of better land, thirty-eight sections have been laid out there, and twenty have been taken; on that through which the Pakiritahi flows, fourteen sections have been laid out and taken. The Hutt road is continued up the latter valley.

The *Wairarapa Valley*, or *Plain*, situated between the Remutaka Mountains and the eastern coast range, is about sixty miles in length from south to north, with an average breadth of more than nine miles, and contains about 400,000 acres; four-fifths of this extent are on a dead level, intersected by several swamps, and the remainder undulating ground. Of the level land, about 200,000 acres are covered with grass, fern, anise, flax, and tohi-tohi (a sedge-like plant eaten by horses and cattle). The undulating surface consists chiefly of grass or fern tracts. Of the plains, about 80,000 acres are finely timbered, and the soil is there particularly good; in the open land at the lower part of the valley it is in general clayey and gravelly. The Ruamahunga River runs from north to south, through the centre of the valley, and disembogues in a shallow lake termed the *Wairarapa*, which communicates with another and smaller lake separated from *Palliser Bay* by a variable bar of sand, and surrounded by a tract of low swampy ground. The area of the two lakes is about 50,000 acres. The channel of the river, until it leaves the lakes, is deep enough for a vessel of fifty tons; above them a whale-boat may ascend for twenty or thirty miles, after which it presents a succession of shoals and falls, and is only available for canoes in times of freshets, when the floods sometimes rise suddenly to the height of sixteen feet.

The *Wairarapa Vale* is divisible into three parts; the lowest, or that nearest the sea coast, is mostly swampy, and covered during the winter months with water; the eastern portion consists chiefly of grass

land, on which European settlers have, by renting tracts from the Maories, established stations for grazing stock; the lower ground near the river, comprises the woodland previously described. Above these, in what may be termed the *Upper Wairarapa*, which is by far the largest portion of the valley, there are fine grassy plains intersected by belts of wood, watered by numerous streams, and supposed to possess a very rich soil. The above details are extracted from an able description of the *Wairarapa Valley*, which appeared in the *Cook's Strait Almanack*, for 1846. This district promises to be so valuable, that I also subjoin a condensation of those furnished by Mr. Tiffen to the New Zealand Company. This surveyor estimated the contents of the *Wairarapa* and *Ruamahunga* districts at 350,000 acres, which he divided as follows:—water, 55,000 acres; swamps, 20,000; unavailable hills, 25,000; wooded land, 80,000; grassy plains, 170,000. The first head comprises the upper and lower lakes, the rivers *Ruamahunga*, *Hungaroa*, *Waingowa*, and small streams; some of the *swamps* he considered undrainable, others might be converted into rich pastoral or agricultural land. Several of the isolated eminences included under the denomination of *unavailable hills*, might likewise possibly be made to afford tolerable pasture. The *wooded land* he describes as extremely rich, the forests, in extent, from ten acres upwards, are scattered over the whole extent of country. Among the *grassy plains* there are tracts of 10,000 acres perfectly level, where good grasses grow as luxuriantly, and nearly as close in the sward, as in English meadows. The substratum of many of the plains is conglomerate, with but a few inches depth of mould, unfit for anything else but grass; the soil is, however, extremely variable; in some places of the best quality, in others very indifferent; in many very sandy, in some gravelly; in others it consists of a stiff poor clay.*

The distance from *Wellington* to the ferry across the *Wairarapa Lake*, is about forty-one miles along the coast, and the way is, unfortunately, rough and difficult for cattle and sheep—another somewhat shorter road will probably be soon, if, indeed, it is not already, formed through the *Hutt District*, and along the eastern foot

* Nineteenth Report of the Directors of the New Zealand Company, pp. 61, 62, 63.

of the Remutaka range. To the northward of the Upper Wairarapa district, are the *Hauriri Plains*, which are said to contain "an area of 500 square miles of level grass land;"* and still further to the northward is a tract of level country watered by the five streams which unite to form the Tuki-tuki. This plain is called *Rua O Taniwa*, and is described by Bishop Selwyn as "stretching as far as the eye could reach, and covered in almost every part with grass, without a bush or tree of any kind, with the exception of two small Kahikatea clumps, the small remains of an ancient forest which had formerly occupied the ground."† The fine river *Manawatu* flows from north to south, in a direction parallel with the Rua Hine Range, before making a decided bend to the westward. During this portion of its course it flows in a very deep and winding channel, with precipitous wooded banks feathering down to the water's edge. There are several small native settlements on either shore. The adjacent country has been very imperfectly explored; its general character is reported to be tolerably level, with much timber, and many swamps.

Between the sea and that portion of the coast range which forms the eastern boundary of the Wairarapa Valley, there is a long narrow strip of flat land, called the *Awaawa Motuai table-land*; and below it, in the south-eastern angle of the island, there are also some grassy terraces: the whole of this portion of New Zealand, (if it do not prove too damp,) will probably be occupied by extensive cattle, horse, and sheep stations. Merino sheep are said to thrive well at the Wairarapa; and the average annual increase of the different stations is stated by Mr. Fox (the late principal agent of the New Zealand Company,) at 90 per cent.‡ The climate is very different to that of Wellington; being more inland, it is less exposed to tempestuous winds, and is consequently warmer, with less rain during the winter months.

The country to the northward of Port Nicholson, through which the Lower *Manawatu*, the *Rangitiki*, *Waingaiho*, *Tarakino*, the lower portion of the *Wanganui*, and other small streams, flow towards the west coast, is bounded inland by the *Rua Hine* and *Tararua Mountains*, which send

out several spurs towards the sea-shore. The intervening space contains considerable tracts of level land, sometimes covered with grass, but more frequently with fern, and intersected by numerous water-courses and swamps. Many of the latter may be drained, as the fall of the land is favourable to carrying off the surplus water. On this line of coast several small hamlets have been formed as offshoots from Wellington, when it was found that the neighbourhood of Port Nicholson did not contain one-twentieth part of the assumed "cultivable" land which had been laid out in paper sections, and sold by the New Zealand Company in England, in anticipation of the millions of acres of first-rate land that Colonel Wakefield was confidently expected to purchase with a portion of the muskets, gunpowder, red blankets, and jews-harps, &c., which formed the freight of the *Tory*, in 1839; (vide p. 157.)

On, and in the near vicinity of the hilly and forest-clad shores of the harbour of Porirua (dark pit), eighty-four acre sections have been laid out, and a small hamlet called *Paramatta* is situated on a low point of clear land on the north side of a narrow gut, by which the waters of the inner harbour communicate with a deep bay, opening into the sea nearly opposite the island of Mana. Commodious stone barracks were built here in 1846. A good road was constructed at nearly the same time from Wellington, a distance of about twelve miles, at the joint expense of the Company, (who commenced it,) the government, and the settlers, (who contributed some amount of both labour and materials,) by working parties of troops and natives, at a total cost of about £700 per mile.§

In the midst of all the warfare and disputes raised by the "Land Question," it was generally agreed that five or six hundred acres of land should be freely given up to the Bishop and his successors, for the purpose of founding a college in which the Maori and English youth might be trained up together in the knowledge of God, and in the habits of civilized life. Bishop Selwyn selected for the site of this New Zealand "Trinity College," *Witereia*, a peninsula immediately opposite Mana Island, where a space of 600 acres is separated from the main land by *Titahi Bay* and *Porirua Har-*

* *Cook Strait Almanack*, for 1846.

† *Church in the Colonies*. New Zealand. Part i., p. 68.

‡ Vide *Six Colonies of New Zealand*, by William Fox, p. 6.

§ *Hand-book*, by a late Magistrate, p. 111.

bour, with an isthmus of three-quarters of a mile between the two waters. This nearly isolated position is within little more than a mile of the main road to Wellington. About 200 acres are covered with wood, the remainder is open, rising into grassy hills, with steep declivities to the sea-beach. From the bold headland of Witereia there is a full view of Mana Island, and a beautiful prospect of the hills of Middle Island, or New Munster.*

A few miles of broken woodland intervene between Porirua and *Pukerua*, a native village, built on the top of a steep bank, commanding a beautiful sea view, with the island of Kapiti in the distance. Six miles further is the Maori settlement of *Pari-Pari*, situated on a rocky spur, which juts into the sea at high water; a little beyond this the hills commence slowly retiring inland, and the country assumes the character of a broad sandy belt, backed by sand ridges for about six miles from the shore, the intermediate space widening gradually to the northward, until at Wanganui the main ridge is about twenty-five miles distant from the sea. In this interval numerous streams flow from the mountains to the sea; some fordable at all times, others occasionally impassable. At *Waikanae* there is a native village where some hundred acres of wheat have been successfully cultivated. Here, too, a native has set up a house of entertainment, with an ordinary on the weekly market days, which is usually well attended. Two pounds of pork, as much of potatoes, and a pint of coffee, with sugar, are furnished to each guest for a shilling. The chapel here is a most creditable specimen of aboriginal architecture and embellishments; the ridge-piece, seventy-six feet in length, was formed out of a single tree, and presented by the people of Otaki, to the people of Waikanae, at the termination of hostilities, in token of peace and goodwill. This and other adjacent villages owe much of their prosperity and happiness to the exertions of the Rev. Octavius Hadfield, of the Church of England Mission. Ten miles to the north of Waikanae is *Otaki*, a thriving village, whose streets have been regularly laid out by a surveyor. The natives have deserted their fortified paha, and built comfortable houses in the middle of their cultivations; the architecture is Maori, but the doors, windows, and other appurtenances, are after the

* *Visitation Tour of 1848*, p. 86.

English fashion. The number of cattle, horses, and pigs feeding around the settlement afford evidence of its prosperity. Power, writing in 1848, says—

"We lunched with E. Martene (Martin) whom we found in a comfortably furnished house, with tables, chairs, knives, and forks, and pictures of the Queen and Prince Albert over the chimney-piece. Martin and his wife were comfortably dressed in European clothing, and they gave us butter, milk, eggs, tea, bread, and cakes, any one of which articles it would have puzzled us to find here a year ago."—(p. 129.)

Bishop Selwyn, on visiting the settlement in the same year, found old Te Rauperaha at the head of about 300 men, engaged in raising, by their own native methods, the heavy pillars for the support of the roof of a chapel 300 feet in length.

Further to the northward, towards *Manawatu*, which is seventeen miles distant, and on the banks of that fine stream, there are several prosperous Maori villages, and scattered European settlers. In the back ground are two fresh-water lakes, one of about two miles, the other (named *Horowenua*), of about five miles in circumference; both drain into small water-courses, and flow into the sea. In the neighbourhood of the Manawatu river and Lake Horowenua, above 300 acre sections have been laid out and selected by Europeans. A recent anonymous writer, (who appears to have been in some manner connected with the New Zealand Company,) says—

"About 150 of the sections in the Manawatu, or eastern district of the two, are in a swamp which will be easily drained, so as to afford the richest soil; and the rest are level forest land, covered with deep vegetable deposits and alluvial soil from the annual freshets. With the exception of a few woody sections, and a few more of reclaimable swamp, the Horowenua district, consisting altogether of 192 sections, spread over open pasture or fern land."—*Handbook of New Zealand*, by a late Magistrate, p. 117.

The above description, evidently penned by a witness disposed to take a favourable view of the capabilities of the district, does not convey an impression of its affording much, if any, land immediately available for agriculture. Thirty miles above the end of the clear navigation of the Manawatu, or eighty-two miles from the sea, by the tortuous course of the stream, but only sixty in a straight line, is the gorge, between the Rua Hine and the Tararua ranges, through which the Manawatu rushes in its progress from the western side of the Rua Hine mountains, where it takes its rise. Small vessels that can cross the bar may ascend the river

thirty-two miles from its mouth, but the tide does not flow for more than two-thirds of the distance; and after heavy floods, the navigation is impeded by large masses of drift timber.

The village and township of *Petre* is situated about four miles up the western bank of the Wanganui river;* the site of the town is level, with the exception of two or three low sandy ridges; and contains 508 sections, of a quarter of an acre each, besides reserves, and a belt for public purposes: the whole plan extends over 807 acres, forming nearly a square, of which two sides are bounded by the river, and a third by a steep, wooded slope, leading up to the high table-land; bold cliffs bound the opposite bank of the river.

A small church, a lock-up house, post-office, and school, constitute the only public buildings of the town, which the author of the *Hand-Book of New Zealand*, writing in 1848, described as containing about thirty houses. There are numerous aboriginal villages bordering the river, and several mission stations. Of these latter, another has been very recently established at Pipiriki, a romantic spot, situated eighty miles from the sea, where the cliffs (200 feet high) tower perpendicularly, like immense bastions, clothed with moss and ivy; in some places tall stemmed trees spring forth from the fissures, in others streams of crystal water flow over them from a great height. A church built here by the Maorics is seventy-five feet long, by thirty-five feet broad, and twenty high, exclusive of the roof.

MIDDLE ISLAND—NEW MUNSTER, OR TAVAI-POENAMMOO.—The physical outline of the Middle Island differs considerably from that of New Ulster: it is of an elongated form, with nearly equal breadth, except to the southward; has few great indentations save those at either extremity; and is characterized by a lofty mountain range, which runs parallel with the west coast. The length of the island in a south-west by south direction is about 500 miles between the parallels of 40° 31' and 46° 35'; the average breadth 120 miles, and the area

* The above details respecting the country between Wellington and Wanganui, have been collated from the accounts given by Bishop Selwyn, the *Hand-book of New Zealand*, by a late magistrate, another later *Hand-book*, by G. B. Earp, Esq., the reports of the Missionary Societies, and some local authorities. Power, who repeatedly traversed the country between Wellington and Wanganui, before

60,000 square miles, or 38,400,000 acres. This estimate is given on the authority of Mr. Frederick Tuckett, whose extensive explorations in the Middle Island, added to the brief, but valuable notices of Cook; the recent nautical surveys of Captain Stokes, the notes of Bishop Selwyn, the "journal" of Mr. Edward Shortland, the results of the long and perilous expedition of Mr. Brunner, the reports of Messrs. Fox, Mantell, and Hamilton, and the recent facts furnished by the colonists themselves, comprise the whole of the information yet acquired of this extensive territory (excepting, of course, the country in the immediate vicinity of Cook Strait).

When the topographical accounts furnished by these authorities materially differ, their respective statements are given, in order that readers or intending emigrants may form their own conclusions. It should, however, be borne in mind, that some years must first elapse, and colonization make considerable progress, before the capabilities of the Middle Island for the support of a large agricultural population, can be satisfactorily ascertained. All that can at present be done, is to indicate the most prominent features of the country; the character of the soil given by surveyors, or other travellers, and the actual capacities of such portions as have been tested by the comparatively few emigrants who have, as yet, established themselves there.

Coast Line.—The southern shores of Cook Strait, unlike the northern coast, afford numerous harbours, and are much broken by spurs, stretching out from the rocky barrier which extends the whole distance behind them, in one great semicircle from *Cape Farewell* their eastern, to *Cape Campbell* their western extremity, and sends forth from its central and highest part the long mountain ridges which divide Massacre Bay and the Takaka on the one side, from the Wairau Valley on the other. *Massacre, or Coal Bay*,† a deep recess containing no good ship harbour, and only a tolerable roadstead, is situated between Cape Farewell, in 40° 3' S. lat., and Separation Point, in 40° 46' S. lat., 173° 5' E. long.

any road was attempted, described the intervening space as 150 miles of forest, swamps, sand-hills, and rivers.—*Sketches in New Zealand*, p. 127.

† The first name, Massacre or Murderer's Bay, was given by Tasman, three of his crew having lost their lives here (see p. 408), the second by the Nelson colonists, from the abundance of coal discovered on its shores.

A point of low land stretches off from the cape, in an east by south direction, and terminates in a long sand-bank, thus barring all entrance to the bay from the north. On and within this bank the water is shoal.

Two rivers, the *Aorere* or *Hauriri*, and the *Takaka* disembogue in Coal Bay, at the entrance of the first of these streams an outer sand-bank affords shelter for small craft: the mouth of the *Takaka*, which is fourteen miles distant to the south-westward, is likewise accessible with the tide to vessels of moderate size. Between the *Takaka* and Separation Point, opposite the village of *Tata*, are two rocky limestone islets, which form the small roadstead above mentioned. Proceeding along shore from the *Takaka* to *Tata*, there is, for a few miles, a frontage of fertile land, backed by lofty and very picturesque crags of white limestone. At the mouth of the *Motu-pipi*, a small stream of three or four miles in length, which originates in the overflowings of the *Takaka*, at a point above a rapid where the river makes a considerable circuit, just above high-water mark, several beds of coal are visible; the limestone rock cropping out close by.*

To the westward of *Tata* is *Tukapa*, or *Toucapo Cove*, from thence the coast is bluff and inaccessible to *Separation Point*, the bold rocky headland, which separates Coal Bay from *Blind Bay*, or *Tasman's Gulf*, a deep bight, whose western shores are generally steep, rocky, and unavailable. There is no limestone at this part of the coast; the rocks are chiefly of whinstone, some sienite, and a crumbling coarse-grained substance, which appears to be an unformed or decomposed granite. *Astrolabe Roadstead*, so named by the French navigator D'Urville, in honour of the corvette which he commanded, is situated in $40^{\circ} 58' \text{ S. lat.}$, $173^{\circ} 6' \text{ E. long.}$ It affords safe anchorage, and is formed by *Adèle Island*, which shelters it on the east. A few miles to the southward are the outlets of the *Rewaka*, a small stream; of the *Motueka*, a considerable river, which flows between mountain ridges, is joined in the early part of its course by the *Motu-pika*, and subsequently receives three or four tributaries; and of the *Moutere*, another small stream.

Proceeding along the southern shore of *Blind Bay*, about ten miles east of the

Moutere, we arrive at the western mouth of the *Waimea River*, and the islands of the same name, to the north-east of which lies the port of the *Nelson Settlement*, a deep tidal harbour, in $41^{\circ} 14' \text{ S. lat.}$, $173^{\circ} 15' \text{ E. long.}$ formed by a narrow bank of very heavy boulders, six miles in length. The tidal stream flowing down the bay, is cleft by a peaked rock called the "Arrow," outside the entrance; part, with a sudden turn northward, rushes into the harbour with the velocity of a mill race, but the main flood passes onward, up the eastern arm of the *Waimea*, which also affords anchorage for vessels. A stream, called by the natives the *Wakatu*, rises in the mountains between the rivers *Waimea* and *Pelorus*, and disembogues in *Nelson Haven*. In this extremity of the bay, wind and rain are both infrequent, and notwithstanding the almost incessant gales which blow one way or the other through Cook Strait, it is usually calm at *Nelson*; but the sea often sets down with a heavy swell from the north and north-east. *

About ten miles from the entrance of *Nelson Haven* is *Pepin Isle*, to the northward of which lies the deep recess, named by the French *Croix Isle*. The shores are steep, and backed by lofty mountains; some small islands at the entrance form a partial breakwater, but a heavy swell enters from the north and north-west, on which account it is not a very eligible harbour. *French Pass*, or *Current Basin*, between D'Urville Island and the main land, extends between *Blind Bay* and *Admiralty Bay*; and, with ordinary care, affords a safe channel for small vessels: large ones ought not to attempt it. The *Astrolabe*, however, succeeded in effecting a passage without receiving serious damage. The shores of *D'Urville's Island* are, for the most part, bold and rocky, and the surface nude, or covered with a stunted vegetation. The southern coast is lower, affords some fertile land, and abounds in beaches and sheltered coves, of easy access to boats. The *Pass* and this shore forms a much-frequented native fishery. On the eastern coast is *Rangitoto*, a considerable native village, situated on a small bay of the same name; and on the northern, in $40^{\circ} 44' \text{ S. lat.}$, $173^{\circ} 57' \text{ E. long.}$, is *Port Hardy*, the best ship harbour in *Blind Bay*.

* This coal is said to be sulphurous, and not very bituminous; it is considered by Mr. Tuckett not good enough for steam-boats, and decidedly unfit for

forge work. It has, however, been of great service in burning the contiguous limestone, and as the vein is worked at a lower level, the quality improves.

Stephens' Islet is separated by a narrow passage from *D'Urville's Island*; it forms the western extremity of *Admiralty Bay*, an opening studded with hilly, wooded islets, among which good anchorage may be obtained. At the southern end of the bay is *Pelorus Sound*, which is about a mile in breadth at its entrance, but immediately expands, and stretches inland for twenty or thirty miles, between wooded ridges, and has thirty to forty fathoms depth of water. Several lesser inlets branch off from the head and sides of the Sound, some of which, from two to three miles broad, are hemmed in by lofty mountains clothed with forests to their summits;—forming altogether a labyrinth of lake-like scenery, of surpassing grandeur. Here and there valleys, or level spots, of very limited extent, are found between the water and the steep hill sides, and serve to add diversity and beauty to the landscape.* The banks of the river are well timbered: they are described by Mr. Tuckett as so rugged, "that it would be difficult to find, on either shore, an extent of level surface sufficient even to admit of pitching a tent. The prevailing rocks are slate; on the east bank, particularly micaceous. Possibly, in the next century, the vine may be cultivated, and the *Pelorus* may be styled hereafter the *Moselle*, or *Rhine* of the *Antipodes*." At the head of the Sound, the *Kaituni*, which flows from the east, and a smaller stream from the neighbouring hills on the west, have their outlets. The islands and rocks on the coast between the *Pelorus* and *Point Jackson*, the north head of *Queen Charlotte's Sound*, are principally of trap and slate. To the west of *Point Jackson* is *Point Gore*, a large open inlet, backed by high, wooded land, which is sometimes used as a harbour of refuge for vessels caught in an adverse gale in the Strait.

Queen Charlotte's Sound is described by Cook as comprising "a collection of the finest harbours in the world." It is about three leagues broad at the entrance, but gradually narrows, and is in many not more than a quarter of a mile broad; its depth continues almost to its head. The regularity of its tides render it as easy of navigation as it is of access: it has deep water close in shore, is perfectly land-locked, and

singularly free from shoals, rocks, sandbanks, or any hidden danger.† Two small islands, called *Long Island* and *Motuara*, lie near the mouth of the Sound. Between the latter and the western shore is *Ship Cove*, an excellent harbour, famous as having been the favourite anchorage of Cook. *West Bay*, a capacious and safe haven, lies to the southward of *Ship Cove*, and several smaller coves indent the western side of the Sound to its termination in a bay called *Anakino*, which receives no river, as the channel of the *Kaituna* (flowing into *Pelorus Sound*) intercepts the drainage from the interior. To the eastward of *Anakino Bay* is a smaller inlet, into which a stream, called the *Waitoa*, about six miles long, descends gently down a narrow, wooded valley, and through a small but fertile flat, from the spot near which the "still waters" of the *Tua Marino* originate, and flow by an equally gradual slope, in an opposite direction, to join the *Wairau*.

The north-western shores of *Queen Charlotte's Sound* are formed by the *Island of Alapawa*, which is about fifteen miles long, and two broad, has a very broken coast line, and is, throughout its extent, extremely hilly, intersected by ravines, and covered with wood. Between this island and the main land, a passage, called *Tory Channel*, connects the Sound, about ten miles above its termination in *Anakino Bay*, with *Cloudy Bay*. The channel, which bears, for the most part, the appearance of a broad river, is generally bordered by mountain ridges, wooded from the water's edge almost to their summits: it has sufficient depth throughout for vessels of the largest size, but its eastern entrance is not more than a quarter of a mile wide, and the tide very rapid, both at ebb and flow.

An extensive harbour, called *East Bay*, is situated on the west coast of *Alapawa*, about six miles south of *Cape Koumaroo*. The north-west shores of this island mark the narrowest portion of *Cook Strait*, at one point only seventeen miles wide. Mr. Anderson, who accompanied Cook in his third voyage, gives the following interesting account of this portion of the coast:—

"The land everywhere about *Queen Charlotte's Sound* is uncommonly mountainous, rising immediately from the sea into large hills with blunted tops.

to the northern, the ebb to the southern head of the Sound: in sailing either in or out with little wind attention must be paid to this. The rise and fall is between seven and eight feet perpendicularly.

* *Handbook*, by a late Magistrate of the Colony, p. 224.

† The only circumstance that makes any particular caution requisite, is the set of the tides—the floods

At considerable distances are valleys, or rather impressions on the sides of the hills which are not deep, each terminating toward the sea in a small cove with a pebbly or sandy beach, behind which are small flats. * * * In every cove a brook of very fine water, in which are some small trout, empties itself into the sea. The base of these mountains, at least towards the shore, consist of a brittle yellowish sandstone, which acquires a bluish cast where the sea washes it. It runs in some places in horizontal, at others in oblique strata, being frequently divided at small distances by thin veins of coarse quartz. * * * The mould or soil which covers this is also of a yellowish cast, not unlike marl, and is usually from one to two or more feet in thickness. * * * The hills (except a few towards the sea, which are covered with bushes) are one continued forest of lofty trees, flourishing with a vigour almost superior to anything that imagination can conceive, and affording an august prospect to those who are delighted with the grand and beautiful works of nature. ⁹—(*Voyage to the Pacific Ocean*, p. 58.)

Port Underwood, in $41^{\circ} 20'$ S. lat., and $174^{\circ} 10'$ E. long., is a magnificent lake-like inlet, surrounded by lofty, forest-clad mountains, situated in the north-western portion of the extensive curve called *Cloudy Bay*. It is about a mile broad at its entrance, and five or six miles in length, widening as it extends inland, and terminating in two small well-sheltered bays, of which the western is divided from Queen Charlotte's Sound by a narrow, hilly isthmus. In the principal harbour there is excellent anchorage; but the south part of it is much exposed to the violent gales which blow in that direction, causing a heavy rolling swell.

The *Wairau River* disembogues to the southward of Port Underwood, after an extensive course through the valley and plain to which it gives its name. The entrance to the river is dangerous, and only accessible in fine weather. Proceeding still in an easterly direction we pass *White Bluff Head*, the termination of a hilly ridge bordering the Wairau—the outlet of a small stream flowing through a plain called the *Kaipara te Hau*, which is practicable for boats with the tide—and arrive at *Cape Campbell*, the headland in which the southern shore of Cook's Strait terminates, and the eastern coast of the Middle Island commences. *Mount Tako*, an eminence of moderate height, rising immediately behind Cape Campbell, is the first of a long series of mountains and hills which continue along the coast, sometimes approaching it very closely.

From Cape Campbell, in $41^{\circ} 40'$ S. lat., $174^{\circ} 27'$ E. long., to *Port Cooper*, in 43° S. lat., 172° E. long., there is no harbour

or sheltered anchorage for ships; about forty miles south of Cape Campbell, is a small mountainous peninsula, named *Kaikura*, which partially shelters a cove called *Lookers-on-Bay*. A little beyond is the embouchure of the *Waiau-ua*, while in the background, clearly visible to vessels sailing along the coast, rise snow-crowned summits of from 4,000 to 5,000 feet in height. The *Hurunui*, a river formed by the confluence of several streams, joins the ocean some five-and-thirty miles to the southward of the *Waiau-ua*; the country through which both these rivers take their course, will be subsequently described. The coast below the mouth of the *Hurunui* forms a deep wide curve, called *Pegasus Bay*, into which several considerable streams disembogue; of these the most important, called the *Wai Makariri*, or *Courtenay*, has its sources in the lofty mountains of the interior, and receives on its left bank the *Eyre*, the *Cust*, and some smaller tributaries; at high water there are two fathoms on the bar at its sea mouth. The native name signifies *furious*, or *very angry*, and well describes the impetuous current of the river when swollen by floods, at other times it flows through a shallow bed, and is easily forded. The southern shore of Pegasus Bay is formed by the oval-shaped, mountainous, and densely-wooded peninsula, to which Cook gave the name of Sir Joseph "Banks." On the northern side of the isthmus, uniting the peninsula with the main land, is the extensive inlet called by the natives *Takalebo*, and by the settlers *Victoria Harbour*, or *Port Cooper*, in $43^{\circ} 36'$ S. lat., $172^{\circ} 45'$ E. long., which extends nine miles from *Godley Head*, the rugged promontory that marks its northern limit; with an average breadth of a mile and-a-half, and a very varying depth. The harbour is easy of access, and has no bar; there are several small coves, but the water in them is shoal. About four miles from the heads on a curve of the northern shore, is the site selected by the Canterbury Association for *Port Lyttelton*; immediately off which, brigs, schooners, and small craft can lie at anchor. The port is nearly surrounded by precipitous hills, twelve to fifteen hundred feet high, over which a road is now being formed to facilitate communication with the extensive tract which has obtained so much celebrity under the denomination of the *Canterbury Plains*. *Port Albert*, or *Levy*, branches off from the same opening in the coast which

forms *Port Victoria*, and extends inland in a southerly direction for about three miles. To the north-west of Port Victoria is a lagoon about three miles in length, connected with the sea by a narrow gut, through which boats pass direct into the channel of a small stream called the *Avon*. *Pigeon Bay*—an inlet of the coast, running in a parallel direction to Port Albert, from which it is only a few miles distant—affords a good haven.

On the opposite shore of the peninsula, at its south-east extremity, is the capacious harbour of *Akaroa*, in $42^{\circ} 54'$ S. lat., $173^{\circ} 1'$ E. long., formerly a favourite resort of French and American whaling ships. It was here that about eighty French settlers established themselves in 1840, under the auspices of a small association called the *Nanto-Bordelaise Company*. [See p. 164–5.]

In the account given by Sir Everard Home, Captain of H.M.S. *North Star*, of his visit to Akaroa harbour, the following particulars are recorded:—

“The entrance may be known by a ledge of large flat black rocks, which lie to the northward. From thence to the anchorage there is a clear passage of about five miles, with a breadth of one to one and-a-half miles, and in one part, about one-third of the way up, the width is not more than three-quarters of a mile. There is no anchorage for the first two miles within the entrance, which is open to seaward with a rocky bottom fifteen to twenty fathoms deep. The tide is scarcely perceptible; the wind blows generally in or out of the harbour, and squalls occasionally blow with violence from the adjacent highlands.”

At the south-west angle of the peninsula is the extensive sheet of water, termed *Lake Ellesmere*, or *Waihora*, separated from the sea by a narrow barren plain, eighteen miles in length, and from ten to thirty feet above its level, which forms the commencement of the continuous range of uniform shingle, called the *Ninety-Mile-Beach*. During the whole of this apparently interminable extent, neither bay or headland (worthy the name) vary the monotonous outline. Numerous rivers, several of which will be noticed in a subsequent page, disembody here, and as far to the southward as Otago; the majority are blocked up at their outlets by a shingle bank, within which the river expands itself into a small fresh-water lake, but a few of the larger ones have an open mouth. They generally follow a strait course, which circumstance, together with the inclination of the plain through which they flow, accounts for their rapid current; their waters are mostly of a

dirty white, or pipe-clay colour. One striking difference distinguishes the rivers originating in the snowy mountains of the interior, from those whose sources are less remote, for whereas in the summer months the former are flooded by the melting snow, and the latter are partially dry; in the winter months the former contain comparatively little water, and the latter overflow the barriers, which at other seasons obstruct their outlets.* At one portion of the coast there is a decided scarcity of water, except in the winter months, for, between the *Rakaia* and the *Wanganui*, a distance of twenty-five miles, there is not any attainable. The former of these rivers is said to have its sources in no less than nine inland lakes. Mr. Shortland, who forded it in the month of January, 1844, describes it as dividing into several branches, the deepest water being scarcely higher than the hips, but so swift that in wading he could feel the shingles moving down the stream. The *Rangitata*, or *Kakitata*, is another rapid stream, flowing into the ocean to the southward of the *Wanganui*; it also takes its rise partly in three lakes, called *Kirioneone*, *Oue*, and *Otamako*, and is subject to floods on the melting of the snow during a north-west wind. The river in the vicinity of the coast runs in three channels, near which a cliff on the northern shore rises about fifty feet. The western mountains appear to be here about thirty miles distant, the intervening space being a level plain, without a tree to be seen on its surface. Beyond the dusky outline of the western range the white tops of a snow-clad ridge appear like distant clouds.†

Immediately beyond *Waitarakao*, the fresh-water lake which marks the termination of the *Ninety-Mile-Beach*, the coast forms somewhat of a headland, and shelters a small roadstead, called *Timaru*. Still proceeding to the southward, towards the parallel of 45° , we reach the mouth of the *Waitaki*, or *Waitangi*, a river which, in times of flood pours into the ocean so vast a body of water, that its stream is perceptible for some miles off the coast. In the winter season the *Waitaki* has been forded, but the hazard is very considerable. There is no permanent bar at its entrance, although such may be temporarily formed during a heavy south-east gale, and Mr. Tuckett

* *Southern Districts of New Zealand*, by Edward Shortland, M.A., 1851. Pp. 241, 242.

† Shortland, p. 260.

considers it practicable for an ocean steamer with the tide. The North Head is high and clifty, the south low, with a shingle bank on it.

Moeraki, or *Moerangi Bay*, is in lat. $45^{\circ} 30'$, with cliffs twenty to fifty feet high: a conspicuous reef, lies about a mile from the shore, and acts as a breakwater against the swell from the south-east, forming a roadstead in which a vessel might ordinarily ride at anchor, or quit readily, if requisite, with the wind from the north-east. A whaling station has long been established here, and a small port for vessels of fifty tons might be formed at comparatively little expense. Opposite the reef is a native village, which gives its name to the bay.

The next headland is called by the natives *Womroa*. Farther to the south at *Matakaea*, there is a bed of coal visible in the rocky cliff, which can be approached by boats through a narrow entrance between the outlying submerged rocks. Tracing the sea coast-line towards Otago, we find the *Wai-imu*, or *Waihemo River*, a clear, still piece of water, bayed back inland by a bad bar; it may, however, be entered by large boats or barges, and flows through a very beautiful and fertile valley. The hill land between it and the next declivity, which is named "Pleasant Valley," is almost equally good. A few miles further south, is *Waikouaiti River* and whaling station, which, with the aid of a short projecting pier from the northern headland, would furnish a tolerable harbour for small craft. From Waikouaiti to Otago, a distance of about nine miles, a bay extends, in whose south-west angle is a small but available harbour, called *Purakounui*, which offers a very eligible site for a village to husbandmen as well as fishermen, as there is good pasture and bush-land, well watered, adjacent to it.

Otago, or *Otakou*, the next harbour to Akaroa in a southerly direction, from which it is about 200 miles distant, is formed by a triangular-shaped peninsula, terminating in *Cape Saunders*, in lat. $45^{\circ} 53'$; long. $170^{\circ} 50'$: it is about fourteen miles long by two miles broad, with a depth of six fathoms, the whole way to Port Chalmers, the anchorage for large ships. At the seaward entrance, there is a bar with three fathoms on it at low tide, which is not more than 120 yards wide, and may therefore be scooped away by a steam dredge, whenever the trade of the port will bear the expense.

The channel up to Port Chalmers, half-way from the head to the top of the haven, though deep, is narrow and winding; the depth of water from thence to *Dunedin*, the new Scottish settlement, is only sufficient for boats. A narrow and low bank of sand, across which boats may be conveyed, separates *Dunedin*, and the estuary on which it is situated, from the ocean. This bank is swampy, and covered with high grass.

The whole harbour, from the Heads to *Dunedin* (fourteen miles,) is bounded on each side by a succession of headlands, projecting a little way into the water, and forming little bays, with beaches of hard, dry sand. The headlands rise at once to a height of from three hundred to four or five thousand feet, and are wooded from the water's edge to their very summits. This ridge and some lesser hills separate *Dunedin* from the *Taiari Plains*.

Port Chalmers, or *Koputai* is a peninsula-formed bay, along whose shores a town has been established, which already promises to rival *Dunedin*. Ships of any tonnage can anchor within a short distance of the town, perfectly sheltered from the strongest winds, and uninfluenced by the tides. The depth of water is sufficient to allow coasters to heave down at high-water mark, for repairs. *Deborah Bay*, opposite Port Chalmers, is a pretty spot.

South-west of Cape Saunders is a lofty-peaked, rocky islet, named *St. Michael's Mount*, and on shore, some distance inland, is a conspicuous elevation, called *Saddleback Hill*. Two small streams, the *Kaikarai* and *Otokia*, disembody on the coast between these two points; the former flowing from the northward, and the latter from the westward. To the southward of *Saddleback Hill* is the entrance of the *Taiari River*, which has a wild and inhospitable appearance, being almost blocked up by shoals and breakers. A rocky islet at the mouth is occupied as a whaling station. Schooners, by means of the tide, can cross the bar, within which there is deep, navigable fresh water for some miles inland. A few miles from *Taiari* is a tidal haven, accessible to large boats; but the coast is very rude and inhospitable down to the river, the *Tokomariro*, a stream of some extent, but completely barred at its entrance from seaward by a sand-bank: cliffs, fifty feet high, extend from thence along the coast, as far as the *Molyneux*, or *Matau River*. Several islets lie a mile or two off the shore,

between Taieri and Tokomariro, three of which are named *Matukatu*, *Hakanini*, and *Anui*.

About midway between Tokomariro and Molyneux rivers there is visible, on the coast, a cliff of coal, about a furlong in length, and upwards of twenty feet in vertical section. Mr. Tuckett considers this the best coal found by him in New Zealand, and has no doubt of its being an extensive coal field, as it reappears inland, on the banks of the Molyneux. The land above the coal, and adjacent to it, is particularly good.

The Molyneux river has two and-a-half fathoms on its sea bar, within which there are six fathoms of clear fresh water, communicating with a tract of fine land in the interior. The stream has been explored for 100 miles inland, and is, in some places, half a mile broad. Near its sea-mouth it receives the *Puerua River*, and has a northerly course, parallel to the shore, for about five miles, when it divides into two branches, forming an island about ten miles in length, and two in breadth. When the branches reunite, the river has a north-westerly, and subsequently a northerly course. The *Korero River* disembogues midway between the Molyneux and Tokato Point, from whence a range of lofty hills stretch inland.

At *Tokato Point*, off which there are some rocks, called by the whalers the *Naggets*, in lat. $46^{\circ} 30'$, long. $169^{\circ} 57'$, a vessel may lie while the wind is southerly. On the opposite side, an inlet in the lofty rocks of the coast, with a small river (the *Owaka*), affords shelter for schooners. Coal can also be obtained here. In this neighbourhood, the low cliffs and open pasture country cease; and from hence to the *Waikawa Haven and River*, the coast becomes extremely bold; lofty rocks, often of basalt, alternating with steep, wooded heights.

Tautuku Bay is commodious and picturesque, with good land, on which several whalers are located; and, united with Maori women, have expended much labour in clearing and tilling the soil. They possess a large stock of geese, ducks, and fowls; and on an island off the north-east headland there is a prolific rabbit warren.

A rocky headland, called *Chasland's Mistake*, and two lofty islets, named the *Brothers*, lead us to *Waikawa (Success)* river and harbour, about twenty-eight miles south of Tokato Point. The haven is second-rate, very narrow, and not easily distin-

guishable; the inner shore is a low beach, and the outer a lofty, precipitous headland. A large rock outside the entrance, on which the waves dash furiously, looks like the end of a submerged reef, and may deter the navigator; but the danger is more apparent than real, and a vessel of 300 tons may pass on either side. As at Port Nelson, the tide carries a vessel swiftly into the port, which opens into a somewhat narrow basin, running several miles inland to the north-west, and completely enclosed within lofty, wooded hills. The river enters the head of the harbour from a narrow and thickly-wooded valley, but the navigation is soon impeded by rapids and falls. The land does not appear so fertile as at *Tautuku*; basaltic rocks are not visible, but chiefly a soft iron and ochre-stained grit.

On approaching the *Mataura River*, the hilly, wooded land, and bluff coast terminates; the shore trends to the westward; and a level, open country reappears, which extends about twenty miles towards *Bluff Harbour*, and inland, in a north-west direction, for about fifty miles, to the *Aparima River*. *Tuturau*, a good fishery and a favourite native residence, is situated on the *Mataura*, twenty-five miles from its mouth.

Near the shore of *Bluff Harbour* the ocean-waves break on a high beach of fine quartz gravel, and from thence inland to the *Waiopai* the prevailing composition of the country is the same. The vegetation is chiefly of low shrubs, heather, and deep beds of moss. Numerous streams intersect it, and disembogue between the *Mataura* and the *Bluff*: deep peat occurs in several parts of this tract.

The following account of that portion of the southern shores of the Middle Island which forms the northern boundary of *Foveaux Strait*, is compiled from data furnished by Mr. Tuckett. *Stewart*, or *South Island*, will be subsequently described:—

"Bluff Harbour is a capacious basin, and has a good entrance accessible by two channels, one from the east along shore, and the other from the south. A large permanent bank, outside the entrance, is the cause of the diverging channels. Within, the tide extends for several miles to the north-east, and the sudden reflux of such an extent of shoal water effectually clears the entrance. There is no deep water in the harbour, excepting along the opposite, or south-western shore. The land north-east is low and flat, but the peninsula on the south-west is high and bold, especially on the outer face, sloping down to the water's edge inside the harbour, and affording a limited extent of fertile bush land and excellent timber.

"The same peninsula which forms *Bluff Harbour*

to the westward, shelters to the eastward the embouchure of the river *Eurete*, *Omaui*, or *New River*, where ships can enter and anchor in safety. Between it and the western extremity of Bluff Harbour, a narrow tract of low land intervenes, on which, at seasons of high tides and copious rains, the waters have already traced the line of lowest level.

"A little inland of the anchorage, the *Eurete* makes a considerable bend to the north-west; here the *Waiopai*, coming from the north-east, unites with it. The latter not having a mountain source is comparatively sluggish, and can be easily ascended, but against the former stream it is difficult, even with a whale boat and a whaling crew, to make much way beyond the influence of the flowing tide. The 'totara' abounds on the sandy banks of the *Eurete*, from whose entrance to that of *Aparima* or *Jacob's River*, the water is very shoal, and the shore an extensive sand-bank; towards the *Aparima* the surface becomes firmer and is covered with grass growing in small tufts as on the plain near Port Cooper. Behind the sandy frontage, there is a great extent of table land of gentle elevation and promising appearance. Small detached woods, chiefly of birch, form pleasing and park-like landscapes. The unwooded surface, however, is almost nude; it consists of a deep, whitish calcareous grit earth, and produces only bunches of the toi-toi (or tohi-tohi), and other coarse grass and junci. Tall *Manuka* and small birch are the principal growth on the western bank of the *Aparima*, which, as it is ascended, becomes steep and stony. From the estuary of this river an arm named *Purupuruke*, uninfluenced by the tide, diverges to the eastward, from whose extremity to the river *Eurete* a short canal might easily be constructed, which would connect the navigation of the two rivers—a necessary preliminary work, in the event of the climate and soil proving sufficiently favourable to render the district an eligible site for colonization."

On the coast to the westward of the *Aparima* basaltic rocks again occur, and the country, though hilly, broken, and difficult of access, is more fertile; passing a small but deep inlet called *Colack Bay*, and the rocky islets of the same name, we arrive at a wider curve, in the centre of which a stream called *Te Wai-wai* disembogues, to the westward of which a long beach extends, backed by white cliffs, and broken only by the outlet of the *Waiiau*, a stream flowing in a southerly direction from an inland lake called *Te Anau*.

The south-west extremity of the island, between 46° and $45^{\circ} 30'$ S. lat., presents a striking assemblage of islands and inlets, forming in this limited space numerous deep-water havens. The first or most southerly of these, *Port Preservation*, which was formerly considered a very good whaling-station, may be said to be an arm of *Chalky Bay*, to the northward of which is *West Cape*, in $45^{\circ} 56'$ S. lat., $166^{\circ} 18'$ E. long. *Dusky Bay* lies about nine miles further to the northward; it has an entrance three or four miles broad, and con-

tains several islets, behind which there is shelter from all winds. Its northern shores are formed by *Resolution Island*, from which stretches a long tongue of land, called by Cook, *Point Five Fingers*, on account of five high-peaked rocks which lie off it. The land on the point is lofty, level, and wooded, forming an exception to the general character of the country for a considerable distance around; this latter being barren, rocky, and mountainous.* No Europeans are now stationed in this neighbourhood, neither are there any native settlements from the West Cape to nearly 43° of latitude; but there are said to be a few bush or wild natives, the small remainder of the former possessors of the soil, who have escaped the more general doom of death or slavery. *Doubtful*, or *Gaol Harbour*, is in $45^{\circ} 15'$ S. lat., from thence to *Milford Haven*, in $44^{\circ} 32'$ S. lat., mountain masses abut on the coast, giving it a dreary and inaccessible appearance. The sea is of great depth near the shore, and bays or serratures like the fiords of Norway are frequent.

Milford Haven is large and commodious, but there is no available land on its shores. To the northward is the mouth of a broad river called the *Awarua*, or *Arahua*, whose channel extends towards the extensive inland lakes, where the *Poenammoo* or green talc is obtained.

Cascade Point, in $43^{\circ} 55'$ S. lat., derives its name from four small streams which fall down its high red cliffs; it is the termination of a promontory whose northern shores shelter a recess called *Jackson's Bay*, off which lies a small island. Sealers, to whom every boat harbour on these shores is familiar, report that there is here a considerable tract of very fertile land, with a warm climate and good fishing. Mr. Tuckett was informed by several of the most intelligent of this class of men, that in every respect, save the absence of a real harbour, it was admirably adapted for the requirements of colonization; and their accounts all agreed in asserting it to be the only tract on the whole western coast, adequate for the requirements of a British settlement.

Titihiaia Headland is interesting as the furthest point reached on the 19th of November, 1847, by Mr. Brunner, an enterprising and most zealous surveyor, who penetrated on foot from Nelson to the

* *Cook's First Voyage Round the World*, p. 179.

Kawatiri, or *Buller River*, in $41^{\circ} 46'$ S. lat., and from thence traversed the coast as far as *Titihia*,* in about $43^{\circ} 38'$ S. lat.

The following facts respecting the portion of the coast which still remains to be described, are gleaned from Mr. Brunner's valuable report (Parliamentary Papers, New Zealand, 1850; pp. 31 to 56.):—

Twenty miles beyond *Titihia* is a low rocky point named *Kohai-hai* which forms the northern headland of a curve called *Looking-Glass* or *Narrow Bay*, into which two streams descend; the larger of these, named the *Waiweka*, was crossed by Mr. Brunner on a raft, and is described by him as a very dangerous stream flowing from the mountains over a rocky bed. Some miles to the northward is the *Waihu*, a large mountain-rapid running over a broad granite bed, and fifteen miles further is *Okaritu*, the most southerly of the native villages on this coast. Ten miles north of *Okaritu* is the mouth of the *Wairoa*, a mountain torrent falling over a large bed of granite rocks; between these two points there is no level land, the snow-capped range descending to the coast. Still proceeding in the same direction, and passing a long range of cliffs surmounted and surrounded by a dense mass of forest, we arrive at a strong running stream, about 150 yards wide, noted for a pond on its banks abounding in eels of a fine quality; a little beyond is a pretty river named the *Wanganui*, flowing in a wooded valley with but little level land. A stream about half a mile wide intervenes between the *Wanganui* and a projecting headland called *Paramata* or *Bold Head*, where Mr. Brunner found a stratum of fine-grained slate, having a good cleavage and of a reddish-brown colour, under a kind of blue clay. Between *Paramata*, and the *Okitika*, a considerable river about sixteen miles distant, the country is level and densely wooded. On the banks of the river there is some good bush land and deserted 'tara' plantations. The natives who formerly resided here, have gone further north, the bar at the mouth of the river having become so dangerous as to prevent their continuing the hapuka fishery, which formerly rendered the place so valuable to them [the hapuka being the best and heaviest fish found in New Zealand]. Mr. Brunner states that the encroachment of the sea on the land has created this obstacle, and mentions elsewhere several indications of a similar encroachment.

The *Okitika* rises in a lofty snow-capped mountain, considerably higher than the main range of which it forms part. This peak, called by the natives

* But for an unfortunate accident, by which his foot and ankle were severely injured, this enterprising and courageous explorer, would (though without aid from the colony, and subsisting precariously, from day to day, on such food as could be procured by the way) have proceeded south of *Titihia* to *Jackson Bay*, and ascertained beyond a question the real character of that part of the country.

When only a short distance to the north of the spot where this unlooked for calamity frustrated the execution of his project—he had thus recorded in his journal his confidence in his increased capability to endure and surmount the difficulties of his path—"I believe I have now acquired the two greatest requisites for bushmen in New Zealand, viz., the

Kaimatua, is visible from Port Cooper on the eastern coast; a branch diverges from it towards the westward, and terminates in the before-mentioned promontory of *Paramata*. The rivers *Arahura* or *Brunner* and the *Tera Makau* also originate in the northern slopes of the *Kaimatua*, and flow into the ocean to the northward of the *Okitika*.

To the northward of *Tera Makau* is the *Mawhera* or *Grey*, a clear deep river, (with a bar at its mouth, the depth of water on which Mr. Brunner does not state,) running over a bright shingle bed; the undergrowth on its immediate banks is a beautiful mixture of shrubs, and the adjoining bush fine lofty rimu, rata, and black birch, with scattered patches of fern land. Its delta is described as a recess in the Alps of New Zealand, affording with the *Teramakino* valley (which is separated from it only by hills of gentle elevation), a considerable extent of available country. About six miles up the river is a seam of coal of apparently very fine quality, which presents itself under a stratum of mica slate. The coal is hard and brittle, very bright and sparkling, burns freely, and is free from smell; the seam is some feet deep, and level with the river's edge, but at least fifty feet below the surface of the earth. At a point about three or four miles further up, the river divides itself into two streams—the right-hand and smaller branch, called *Kotu-urakaoka*, bearing about south-east, and leading to a pass to the east coast, almost at right angles to the main stream. This branch of the river is wooded, but has a considerable belt of level land. [The *Kotu-urakaoka* takes its rise in a lake, of which some description will be given in speaking of the promising district connected with the *Grey* and its tributaries.] From the mouth of the *Mawhera* to *Cape Farewell*, the northern extremity of the *Middle Island*, a range of mountains runs parallel to the coast, sending down to the sea spurs or lateral forest-ridges, terminating in cliffs and headlands more or less bold and precipitous, the valleys or ravines between each of these contributing a stream more or less considerable, fed by the snows of the central chain and the drainage of its sides. 'In walking, therefore, along the coast between these points,' says Mr. Brunner, 'you have frequently to clamber over a rocky promontory jutting out into the sea, or, where this is impossible, to take advantage of the receding tide to pass round its base, strewn with the granite fragments which have been detached by the action of the water; and, having toiled among the broken rocks for a greater or less number of miles, you again come to another stretch of sandy beach, another river to be forded, and another precipice to try the goodness of your footing and your nerves.'

capability of walking barefoot, and the proper method of cooking and eating fern root. I had often looked forward with dread to the time when my shoes would be worn out, often fearing I should be left a barefooted cripple in some desolate black birch forest, or on this deserted coast; but now I can trudge along merrily barefoot, or with a pair of native sandals, called by the natives *pairairai*, made of the leaves of the flax, and what is more durable, the leaves of the ti, or flax, tree. I can make a sure footing in crossing rivers and ascending or descending precipices; in fact I feel, I am just beginning to make exploring easy work. A good pair of sandals will last about two day's hard work, and they take only about twenty minutes to make."

The only interruption to this occurs on the banks of the *Kawatiri* or *Buller River*, which enters the sea near the southern extremity of the wide curve extending between *Cape Foulwind*, in $41^{\circ} 46'$ S. lat., $171^{\circ} 29'$ E. long., and *Rocky Point*, a prominent headland in $40^{\circ} 54'$ S. lat., $172^{\circ} 10'$ E. long. The *Kawatiri* is a great river flowing from two mountain lakes called the *Roturoa* and *Rotuiti*, which lie inland nearly due east, the furthest being about seventy miles distant, and about sixty miles south-west by south from the town of Nelson. The *Inakaiona*, with its numerous mountain tributaries, joins it from the south-eastward.

But one more feature requires notice before closing our brief examination of the coast-line, commenced at Cape Farewell, viz., *Wanganui Haven*, which lies immediately to the southward of that point, and has a straight entrance between very bold headlands, leading to a tidal basin eleven miles in length, running parallel with the coast. The northern portion has deep water; that to the southward is shoal; on the western side four seams of coal are visible in the cliffs at low water; the highest of these is about fourteen inches thick, of inferior quality; the second and third, four inches, and the fourth ten inches thick, all of good quality. The adjacent rocks are of a soft grit, similar to that seen at Newcastle (England), but inferior in compactness and sharpness, and very much streaked on the surface by numerous small veins of iron ore. Should this prove an extensive coal-field, the harbour would require surveying, as there is a reef outside the entrance on which the white water looks dangerous; it is, however, believed that a ship may safely enter at near high water.

MOUNTAINS.—An immense mountain chain ranges the entire length of the island, running parallel with the western coast, and having the greatest elevation from 42° of latitude to the northward, and from 45° of latitude to the southward. The mean height of the entire range is supposed to be about 8,000 feet, but some summits are said to exceed 12,000 feet in altitude. Among the loftiest peaks may be noticed a snow-clad ridge, situated in 40° lat. a little south of the lakes *Rotuiti* and *Roturoa*, a position nearly equidistant from the eastern and western coasts.

Numerous branches diverge from the great chain; of these one already mentioned extends northward to the head water of Queen Charlotte's Sound, separating the valleys of the *Wairau* and *Oyerri*; an

eastern divergence has its northern extremity terminating on the coast at *Kai-kúra*, and more towards the centre of the island a series of minor ridges, with numerous spurs and buttresses, rise behind the Canterbury Plain, and then, taking a south-easterly direction, gradually approach the coast in the vicinity of Moerangi and Otago, to the very verge of the ocean. With the exception of a few small plains and narrow valleys, the whole country north of the forty-second parallel is an extremely rugged and inaccessible region; it is thus truly described by Cook, as seen by him at sea off the western coast:—"There is a narrow ridge of hills that rises directly from the sea, and is covered with wood; close behind are the mountains extending in a ridge of stupendous height, and consisting of rocks that are totally barren and naked, except where they are covered with snow, which has probably lain there ever since the creation of the world. A prospect more rude, craggy, and desolate than this country affords, cannot possibly be conceived—for as far inland as the eye can reach, nothing appears but the summits of rocks, which stand so near together, that instead of valleys there are only fissures between them."

RIVERS AND LAKES.—The rivers in the Middle as in the North Island of New Zealand, flow uniformly from the interior to the sea coast; the most important have consequently been already mentioned, and the little which remains to be said of them, will be related in describing the character of the country in which they are situated. Many take their rise in inland lakes. Of these latter, some few in the northern portion of the island have been visited by Europeans, but respecting those in the central and southern regions of the uninhabited and almost inaccessible interior, where they are said to be far more numerous and extensive, we have no other knowledge than the vague traditional reports current among the natives.

SETTLEMENTS OF THE MIDDLE ISLAND.—*Nelson, and the adjacent Country.*—The town of Nelson is situated at the south-east extremity of Blind Bay, in $41^{\circ} 15'$ S. lat., $173^{\circ} 16'$ E. long., on a small flat at the head of a haven hemmed in by rugged hills, and incapable of holding vessels of above five or six hundred tons,* but with a

* Strenuous endeavours are being made to improve the harbour, and it appears by the latest Colonial newspapers that 150 feet of rock in the entrance

have been shattered and partly removed, which is nearly one-half of what is sought to be achieved.—*New Zealand Spectator*, July 13th, 1851.

good roadstead outside the bar. This position, the most unfortunate that could well have been selected for the site of an extensive agricultural settlement, was chosen by the New Zealand Company, probably with the motive of benefitting Wellington, their "first and principal settlement," which was then on the very verge of ruin.

Mr. Tuckett, the chief surveyor to whom the selection had been nominally confided, found himself, on arriving in New Zealand, utterly powerless to prevent Captain Wakefield, R.N., (the local agent,) from fixing the site in so manifestly ineligible a locality, and, in despite of his remonstrances, the three shiploads of emigrants who had already arrived, and who were speedily followed by the remainder of the deluded body, despatched by the New Zealand Company with their usual precipitancy, were landed, and the formation of the town commenced forthwith.—(*Vide* p. 180.) Instead of having in and around Nelson at least a quarter of a million acres good land, the whole of the shores of Blind Bay do not contain more than 50,000 acres of level surface, and of these not half is cultivable.* But for the characteristic perseverance and energy of the settlers, the place, notwithstanding the deceptive reports and fallacious promises made by the Company and their agents, must have been abandoned; as it is, it cannot be regarded as otherwise than a complete failure, both as a colony and as an agricultural settlement—while the "town," after the lapse of ten years, is little more than a straggling village, although nominally comprising a space of 1,100 acres. Of the emigrants originally introduced, a large proportion have re-emigrated; fled from the scene of bitter disappointment, which had been described to them as a paradise, and it has only been by the remainder devoting their time and means to the rearing of cattle and sheep, that they have been saved from utter destruction.

The town has been as well planned as circumstances would permit, but there are no public or private buildings requiring notice. In the centre of it, a square, called Trafalgar, has been laid out, in the middle of which, about forty feet above the surrounding streets, an Episcopal church, constructed of wood, in the form of a cross, has been recently erected in place of the temporary building previously used for the

* A coloured map admirably illustrating the physical features of the country surveyed to form the

celebration of divine worship. The Wesleyans have a neat brick chapel. There is a literary institution, with a small library, an agricultural and horticultural society, and a printing-press and newspaper. There are three or four flour, saw, and flax mills, a brewery, six public-houses, and an inn, called an "hotel." Nelson has no municipal institutions, having in fact no civic community to carry them into effect. A magistrate and a collector of customs, appointed by the Governor-in-chief, form the whole government staff. Many of the proprietors of land in the settlement are absentees, the higher class of *non-absentee* proprietors (for *resident* they cannot properly be termed) are stock-holders and squatters, scattered over several districts, and the chief number of actual inhabitants are composed of the very men who, according to the so-called "Wakefield policy," were never to have emerged from the condition of hired labourers, but who now, owing to the complete breaking up of the whole scheme, have, after undergoing most severe hardships (*vide* p. 241), become cottiers, and are now engaged in cultivating the land for themselves and for their families. Squatters, cottiers, and waste land at thirty shillings an acre; what an immense sacrifice must not the original purchasers have incurred to bring about this result! The population of the settlement in 1843 was 1,568 males, 1,354 females = 2,922; and in 1848, 1,657 males, 1,433 females = 3,090,—increase in five years, only 168 souls.

The nearest available land to Nelson of any extent, is that comprised in the *Waimea Plain*, which was discovered and explored by Mr. Tuckett in 1841. It affords about 40,000 acres of level land, about half of which is worth cultivating, and some portions very good. That which was under water at the time it was surveyed, proved the most profitable when the sections had been properly drained. In a hill east of the Waimea, at about 200 feet elevation, is found marine limestone of excellent quality. Some portion of it is a conglomerate of shells. The country to the westward is thus described by Mr. Tuckett—

"Between the Waimea and a small stream called the Moutere is a considerable table land of moderate elevation and gently undulating surface. The soil is an impervious cake of an iron and ochreous stained gritty clay, which produces only a stunted growth of manuka, fern, and rushes, being available in point of settlement of Nelson, was given in Sidney's *Emigrant Journal* for 1849. Published by Messrs. Orr and Co.

level, for want of better land, it has been subdivided into sections, but it is quite worthless. Inland it is bounded by a valley, about nine miles in length and two in breadth, which runs parallel with the coast, crossing from the western ridge of the Waimea to the eastern of the Motueka. It is called the Moutere Valley, it has for the most part a thick growth of tall forest trees, but wherever it has been cleared it has disappointed the cultivator, who digs or ploughs in a deep gritty white coloured clay, from which rains and floods have washed all the soluble earth.

"In the vicinity of the Motueka River, adjacent to the coast, about 6,000 acres of good land have been obtained, of which about half is of excellent quality. The unwooded portion of the plain between the Motueka and Moutere is much of it very stony, and the unwooded part of the same plain between the Motueka and the Rewaka, is mostly wet and swampy. About 120 adult natives reside at the Motueka, and cultivate land extensively.

"The north-west shores of Blind Bay are steep, rocky, and unavailable; on this account, no land has been surveyed for occupation or even for sale, between Astrolabe Roads and Separation Point.

"Near the mouth of the Takaka, in Massacre Bay, there is some fertile land, but on being ascended for a few miles, the channel is found to contract suddenly, the land consists more largely of river-sand and stone, and is liable to frequent floods, which wash away all soluble or light deposits. Coal is visible in several places in a north-west and south-east direction. A reddish marble is visible in a cliff called Rangitata, near the mouth of the river, and large masses of white quartz are observable in various places. Between the mouth of the Takaka and the Aorere, or Hauriri, fifteen miles to the westward, there is a considerable tract of land of very moderate elevation, but with the exception of one block, not exceeding 200 acres, it is of little value. Its composition is, however, remarkable. A very level surface, covered for the most part with dwarfed rushes growing out, deep, white coarse-grained sand, resembling crushed quartz and oolite, and sodden with water.

"The Aorere valley is heavily timbered, but the river descending rapidly from the neighbouring mountains, frequently lays a considerable portion of it under water. The beautiful tree-ferns, one variety of which (the mamakou) is edible, abound in this valley. They flourish in moist and shady places, as does also a cabbage-palm—but this latter is more rare. There is a native village at the mouth of the Aorere. Along the northern shore of Massacre Bay there is a narrow frontage of available land at the foot of the hills. There are three native villages; about the centre, at Pakouwau, a native path passes over the hills to Wanganui, on the west coast; on the track behind Pakouwau, about a mile and-a-half from the shore, at an elevation of four or five hundred feet, a seam of coal is visible in the bed of a rivulet; this coal is hard and lustrous in fracture, of good quality, and has been used for forge work."

To the north-east of the town of Nelson, with the exception of a narrow strip extending along shore about three miles from Pepin Isle, the intractable nature of the district has forbidden any attempt at occupation. There is a flax swamp at the

termination of the surveyed land of about 1,200 acres in extent, which when drained will be valuable for cultivation.

Some so-called roads have been formed or attempted in the immediate vicinity of Nelson; one from the town to beyond the village of Wakefield, in the Glen-iti valley, is twenty-one miles in extent, and has eight miles of cross-roads. Ten miles of road-way have been opened from Waimea to Motueka; three miles from Motueka to Rewaka, and nine miles from Wakapuaka to the Happy Valley. Most of these are not passable in the winter months. From three to four miles have been opened about Nelson; viz., to Brook Street Valley one mile, Haven Road one and a half mile, up the Matua Valley nearly a mile. The greatest amount of cultivation is in the Waimea Plain, but the whole extent under tillage does not amount to 1,500 acres.

The climate of Nelson is peculiar,—unlike Wellington, where wind and rain are among the chief sources of discomfort, the former is here rarely tempestuous and the latter not frequent enough, that is, on the low land surveyed for occupation adjacent to the coast. There is more than enough in the mountains near at hand, as is usual in other parts of New Zealand. The sky is rarely overcast, and the sunshine is bright and hot in winter as well as in summer, but in the shade the air is always cool even in summer. For the same reason, (the contiguity of snowy mountains), the spring climate is harsh and ungenial, checking vegetation, but the autumn and winter climate is very mild and constant.

To the eastward of Nelson, near the head of Queen Charlotte's Sound, there is a small extent of excellent land and also some very fine timber. From hence, by means of the narrow valley of the Waitoi River, a road might be made to the extensive Wairau District; a broad level plain, eight or ten miles wide, which forms the low western shores of Cloudy Bay, runs inland for eighteen miles, and then suddenly converging to a width of about two miles, extends from forty to fifty miles inland. Though apparently quite flat, there is really a considerable fall from the head of the valley to the sea. According to Mr. Fox, the land for four or five miles from the sea is generally swampy, but of easy drainage; for the next eight or ten miles it is dry, covered with long grass and generally of good quality; beyond this it continues getting

lighter till it becomes very poor and stony, and only fit for grazing purposes.

The hills on the west side of the Wairau are mostly wooded, on the plain itself there is only one small tract of forest. The eastern portion of the plain is closely covered with grass, and affords good pasture for sheep, as do also the slopes of the boundary hills, which divide it from a smaller plain, called *Kaipara te Hau*. This latter tract is wholly unwooded, neither is there any timber visible from it: the high land bordering it to the southward and stretching to the eastern coast, is grassy, and affords better pasture than the plain itself, which is for the most part arid and stony.

A town in connexion with the Wairau and Kaipara te Hau plains will probably be eventually formed at Port Underwood, whose shores, however, scarcely afford as much level land as could be desired for the purpose. There is now a native village near the head of the harbour, where a Wesleyan missionary resides. Unfortunately for Nelson a heavy mountain ridge, unbroken except in three places, divides Blind Bay from the Wairau; the only pass at present practicable for horses or live stock is fifty miles south of Nelson, and enters the upper part of the Wairau Valley at a point sixty miles from Cloudy Bay, making the whole distance from bay to bay 110 miles.

It is said, however, that there is another pass, which, by a moderate amount of engineering skill and expenditure, might be made available, and would bring the Wairau Plain within thirty miles of Nelson. This route lies through the mountains, a mile north of Nelson by the Maitai river, which flows through the town, crosses the upper part of the Pelorus or Oyerri, and enters the Wairau by the Kaituna Valley, about fifteen miles from the sea.—(*Vide* Report on the Nelson Settlement. 1848. W. Fox, Esq., p. 10.)

The country forming the back-ground of that extending along the shores of Massacre Bay, is a vast mountainous tract, utterly unfit either for tillage or pasture, stretching as far southward as the valley of the *Kawatiri* or *Buller*, an extensive river, recently traced by Mr. Brunner from its sources to its outlet, with a very unsatisfactory result. The whole of the northern bank is declared by its adventurous explorer to be—

“Perfectly valueless, bearing mostly black birch

and very steep. There appear no indications of coal, slate, or any metals, the chief formation of the country being coarse granite rock. The opposite bank seemed to contain pine trees in many places, and to have large flats of level timbered land; but the valley of the *Inakaiona* is the only open country of any extent on the banks of the *Kawatiri* from the *Matukituki* to its embouchure. * * * I was much disappointed in the last eight or ten miles of this river. I had previously seen the land from the coast, and thought it good and richly wooded where, on inspection, I found a wet, mossy surface, with little, if any, vegetable soil, the growth being chiefly rata. It will certainly not be in my time that the banks of the *Kawatiri* will be cultivated by a white population.”

The *Matukituki* valley, through which the *Kawatiri* flows on emerging from the rocky gorges by which it is encompassed up to this point, is formed by the receding of the mountains; two other valleys open into it, both contributing their stream to swell its waters—the *Matiri*, from the northward, and the *Tutaki*, from the southward. A ridge of hills separates the latter valley from that of the *Tiraumea*. Beyond the *Matukituki* the river passes seaward through a “frightful country;” and Mr. Brunner speaks of the continual heavy rains, which increased the combination of difficulties formed by “large granite rocks, heaped confusedly together on the surface, with a thick growth of underbrush and briars, an immense quantity of dead and rotten timber, and all these on the steep and broken declivities of a range of high mountains, interspersed with perpendicular walls of rocks, precipices, and deep ravines.”

Lakes *Roturoa* and *Rotu-iti*—from whence the streams flow, which, uniting form the *Kawatiri*—are about six miles apart, the former is entirely surrounded by a chain of snow-clad mountains; near the latter there is some pasture; but Mr. Brunner considers the *Rotu-iti* valley too cold and open for a sheep-run, and the grass much inferior to that found on the Wairau Plain.

The valley of the *Inakaiona*, or *Oweka River*, extends southward of the *Kawatiri* to the *Mawhera* or *Grey River*, and is a tract of level country, sixty miles long, by four or five miles broad, separated from the sea by the coast range, and hemmed in to the eastward by the interior mountains. Mr. Brunner notes in his journal having passed through tracts of fine, rich land in this valley; but he gives no estimate of their area. On approaching the *Mawhera*, or *Grey River*, the aspect of the country changes—the hills diminish in height, gradually sinking into an open and level, or

gently undulating country, with a coast line of about forty miles, stretching far into the interior. This extensive tract, called by its first European explorer the *Grey District*, is watered by the *Kawatiri* and three smaller streams, viz., the *Tramakau*, *Arahura*, and *Okitika*.

The *Mawhera* is a fine river, affording much land fit for arable purposes, some good grazing districts in well-sheltered positions, and excellent sawing timber. The shingle bed of the stream abounds with coal, though of inferior quality to the seam near the sea coast. In it is also found the stone used by the Maories for rubbing down their *poenamoo*, or jade, which is something like a Newcastle grindstone, but closer in the grain, and has a better cutting quality. Several of the bends of the river are as picturesque as nature can make them; the undergrowth on the banks is a mixture of beautiful shrubs, and the adjoining bush consists of fine, lofty trees, with scattered patches of fern land; grass and open country, for the most part, bound the northern bank of the river to the average extent of between three and four miles.

The north branch of the *Mawhera*, which runs nearly parallel with the sea-coast, has long reaches of shingle border on either side; on the north bank there is a thick forest reaching to the chain of mountains that bound the coast. The timber is chiefly pine, with a belt of manuka nearest the water. The southern branch of the *Koturakaoka River* flows from an extensive sheet of water called the *Brunner Lake*, which is connected by a short channel with another smaller lake, from the head of which there is a passage to the east coast. *Brunner Lake* has an area of about six or seven square miles, is very deep, with a sandy or mud bottom; in some places there are large granite rocks, and near the middle is a small island. The neighbouring country is a level bush; bounded by a pine forest, and surrounded on three sides by black birch hills of moderate elevation; towards the east the land is low, but the district is shut in by a high mountain region, towards the south-west. From Mr. Brunner's account, the *Grey district* appears to offer a fair field for colonization, in all respects, except the absence of an harbour. So far as we know at present, there are none nearer than those on *Banks' Peninsula*.

Passing the *Grey district*, we re-enter

the region of rocks, precipices, torrents, and mountains, so graphically described by Mr. Brunner, who, from his own experience, and the accounts of the natives, concluded that the country to the southward continued equally barren and forbidding, and that though it might be possible to follow the coast down to *Dusky Bay*, (provided the danger of starvation could be guarded against,) the only result would be the gratification of curiosity. He adds:—

"I am sure there is nothing on the west coast worth incurring the expense of exploring, but I certainly think the natives there, require something to be done for them. They are quiet, and do no harm, and ought to have some share of the attention that is paid to the natives who are amongst the white population. They have all books, both bibles and prayer-books, but their condition would be much improved by giving them a few good axes, and some other tools, as also some nails, of which they are very fond and know the value. They are much cleaner in their habits than the natives in the settlements, and they have better houses, most of them having chimneys, and also bedsteads, or rather a raised floor, on which they sleep. I trust something will be done for their welfare, in which I take great interest. It would be a very trifling expense to convey a few things to the *Kawatiri*, from whence the natives themselves would gladly distribute them down the coast. The introduction of goats would much benefit them, and ultimately ourselves."

Leaving the western, we now proceed to examine the eastern portion of the *Middle Island*.

To the southward of the *Wairau* plain and valley, down to near *Banks' Peninsula*, there is said to be a continuous succession of mountains and hilly ranges alternating with grassy plains. One isolated peak termed *Kaikora*, attains the height of 9,300 feet, others rise 4,000 to 5,000 feet.

The subjoined account of the leading features of the country, as far southward as *Double Corner*, is framed from the statements of Messrs. *Weld* and *Hamilton*, published by order of the Governor-in-chief. The first of these gentlemen (a *Nelson settler*), in December, 1851, explored a route between the *Awatere River* and *Port Lyttelton*, by which stock of any kind may be safely driven, with the advantage of good pasturage during the whole journey. Mr. W. J. W. *Hamilton* accompanied Captain *Stokes*, R.N., while engaged on the survey of the eastern coast, in 1849, and described the character and extent of the plains lying between *Kaikora Peninsula* and *Double Corner*. It must, however, be borne in mind, that these opinions

are founded upon but cursory personal examination, aided by native reports, and that in a country where appearances are so deceitful, and the soil so variable and uncertain, as in New Zealand, the eye of even these practised observers could form but a partial judgment of the capabilities of such extensive tracts.

Much of the country among the offspurs of the Kaikoras is at some height above the sea level, and is covered by a mixture of bushes, grass, and scrub, while frequent patches of black birch on the hill-sides indicate the inferiority of the soil, which, from its light puffy appearance, appears to be frequently covered with snow. In some of the water-courses among the mountains light has never penetrated; the fissures rise in perpendicular walls, separated only by a few feet, and are overhung with vegetation. Juniper bushes, dwarf nettle, and broad-leaved English dandelion, mark a climate different to the contiguous plains. On a peak near the sources of the Awatere river, there is a curious semi-cylindrical aperture that looks like the extinct crater of a volcano. In attempting to explore the valley leading inland from the Kaikora peninsula, to gain such a view and knowledge of the country as would enable him to judge of the most eligible route between the Awatere and Waiau-ua rivers, Mr. Weld found that the river whose banks he trusted would take him to the head of the valley, issued from between two mighty and precipitous walls, several thousand feet high, cleaving the very heart of the mountain, whose summit is here above 8,000 feet above the sea; a more fearful chasm could not be found in Switzerland. To seaward the Kaikoras rise abruptly from the coast, and are well wooded. The *Awatere River* has its origin in the Kaikora and Mongatere mountains; numerous rivulets and rills unite to form the main stream, which is joined in its progress to the ocean by several smaller rivers. The main channel pursues its course between the spurs forming the inland base of the Kaikoras amidst scenery of wild sublimity; in some places winding with snake-like twistings and writhings, amongst volcanic rocks and cliffs, presenting at every turn the most romantic features; in others flowing through level valleys, or meandering amidst undulating downs. One of the most remarkable of the latter tracts has been called the Fairfield Downs, from its picturesque character and natural advantages of wood, water, and luxuriant herbage; the district being irrigated by the Isis and other tributary streams of the Awatere, which at this point of its sea-bound course takes a sudden bend to the south-westward. Some miles above the ford at Fairfield Downs the river is joined by a considerable stream, running from a high dark mass of castellated crags, and after passing some remarkable needle rocks, flows in a direct course through a narrow plain some five miles long, with an even breadth of half-a-mile. Small rounded hills, with bare rocks peering through their grassy sward, are ranged at either side as regularly as if placed there by a surveyor; "and such," says Mr. Weld, "is the artificial and street-like appearance of the place, that I could hardly divest myself of the idea that I was looking up a long vista of some grass-grown remains of Cyclopean architecture." The view is closed by a conical peak, at whose base the river divides into two

branches. Near this point, amidst an array of fantastically-shaped rocks, there is one of a steeple-like formation, consisting of a solid block of stone, rising from the plain to a height of about fifty feet. The well-grassed valley of this stream seems central between the Kaikoras and the inland ranges of Mongatere.

The mountains of the Kaikora ranges here bear evident traces of volcanic action, and among the lower ridges, on ground covered with yellow or reddish dust, glittering with mica, quartz, and feldspar, or again presenting the appearance of a deserted brick-field, there is the greenest and most luxuriant vegetation, whilst the dark-coloured scorioid and basaltic rocks rise in every describable and indescribable form of dome, and spire, and minaret.

The opposite inland ranges are of a more rounded and massive form, generally presenting bare summits, covered with small pieces of freestone, like a macadamized road; at their base the vegetation is good, but not luxuriant. The valley of the Awatere has a communication with that of the *Waiau River*, by means of the *Tuakuku River*, which pierces the inland range, and joins the latter from the northward. A beautiful grassy plain lies at each side of the *Waiau-ua River*; from thence to the *Hurunui River* the track of downs and valleys is, in the opinion of Mr. Weld, the finest he has seen in either island, and for the greater part not inferior for sheep farming.

The general character of the coast line of hills from Hurunui to Double Corner is bold and rounded, occasionally limestone, but oftener of clay, gravelly, or sandy formation. The vegetation throughout is exceedingly rich, and though in many places rather rough, and not capable at present of being very heavily stocked, it is generally a clean wool-growing country, with a great variety of herbs and grasses, apparently little affected by the seasons.

The country watered by the *Waiau-ua* and *Hurunui* is described by Mr. Hamilton as consisting of two plains, the latter about twenty-five miles long by fifteen broad, contains 242,000 acres; while that of the *Waiau-ua* is, according to the natives, double this size, or 484,000 acres, all level, so remarkably so indeed as to look, hemmed in as it is by hills and mountains, like the dry bed of some lake. Grass of the finest description abounds everywhere on these plains, generally knee deep, but in many places on the banks of streams or soft ground, breast high. The few swampy patches are covered with luxuriant grass. The soil on the banks of the rivers was deep, of excellent quality, and fit for putting the plough into at any moment. About one-third, either from swampiness or having been covered by a considerable depth of gravel in some great flood, is at present only suited for keeping sheep and cattle. The *Waiau* is only separated from the *Hurunui* at its head by a low rise, and is consequently easily accessible to drays.

From the *Hurunui Plain* to Double Corner a succession of low limestone ranges, alternating with sandstone, extend from the coast, and in lines parallel to it, to a distance of ten or twelve miles inland. These ranges lie close together, are somewhat abrupt, and abound in deep water-courses, and excellent keep for sheep. Towards the coast the gullies are wooded; but nowhere on the hill sides, except in deep sheltered glens, is wood to be seen. On the mountains, however, rimu (red pine), totara, kahikatea (white pine), matai (black pine), and towkai (or black birch) [a beech], are in abundance.

At the north-east foot of Mount Maukateri is the picturesque grassy plain of the Waipara, about fifteen miles long by eight miles broad, and containing some 70,000 acres.

In concluding his report, Mr. Hamilton estimates the actual amount of land between Double Corner and Kaikora Peninsula, taking the mountain range on the west of Hurunui and south-west of Waiau as a boundary, at 1,600,000 acres, divided as follows:—

	Acres.
Plain—Waipara	about 76,000
" Waikare	38,000
" Hurunui	240,000
" Waiau-ue	480,000
Undulating land and downs	100,000

934,000

Leaving for rugged country, but good }
for sheep-runs } 566,000

The next great block beyond, from Kaikora peninsula to Kowiniwini is by the sketch nearly of the same extent; but as it may be much broken, I will attempt only an estimate of that adjoining the Waiautoa, to which, from its size, I may fairly allow a course of fifty-six or sixty miles, with an average breadth of ten miles available land on its banks.

	Acres.
This would give about	358,000
And allowing for broken country } suited for sheep, one-third }	152,000

510,000
1,500,000

Total, with last block . . 2,010,000

THE CANTERBURY DISTRICT AND COUNTRY TO THE SOUTHWARD.—The tract selected by the Canterbury Settlement comprises Banks' Peninsula, and the greater part of an extensive plain, or series of plains, which, commencing a few miles to the southward of the forty-third parallel, extend along the eastern coast in a south-westerly direction for about a hundred and fifty miles, having a breadth in the centre of about fifty miles, which diminishes at either end. The land has a very gradual rise towards the interior of the island, and also to the southward: at Taumutu, near Lake Waihora, the surface is not more than eight feet above the sea-level, but at the Hakatere or Ashburton river, (the south-west boundary of the Canterbury Settlement,) it has a height of thirty to forty feet.

Several rapid and shallow rivers rise in the snowy mountains which form the inland boundary of this extensive tract, and flow by nearly direct courses to the sea; the most important of these are the *Ashley*, the *Waimakiriri* or *Courtenay*, the *Waikirikiri* or *Selwyn*, the *Rakaia* or *Cholmondely*, the *Wanganui* or *Wynne*, the *Hakatere* or *Ashburton*, and the *Rangitata*. Timber is only

found in small isolated clumps, and with the important difference of having probably been recently covered by the waters of the ocean—the great southern plain of New Zealand resembles in some points the immense prairies of North and South America.

Of the Canterbury District, the northern portion is distinguished as the Wilberforce Plain, the central as the Sumner Plain, and the south-western as the Whately Plain; the eastern is occupied by Banks' Peninsula, whose rugged heights (sometimes attaining an elevation of 3,000 feet) and densely-wooded surface, form a striking contrast to the level and open country in its vicinity. It has been before stated that Mr. Tuckett, when engaged in exploring the Middle Island for a suitable site on which to plant a Scottish colony, examined and rejected this district (*vide p. 245*), of which he has furnished me with the following description:—

"Banks' Peninsula is mountainous, its summits are frequently hidden in the clouds for many successive days, and like other mountainous peninsulas, it has a disagreeable climate—gales of wind and heavy rains being frequent. The near vicinity of immense mountain masses to the north of it, and the long, low, and dreary intervening plain which affords no shelter, renders it a very unattractive locality. There is some good upland pasture about Port Cooper, especially on its southern shore; the rest of the peninsula (which comprises, in all, an area of about 250,000 acres,) is, for the most part, wooded, but it is rather bush land than forest. A steep and lofty ridge, 2,000 feet in altitude, intervenes between Port Cooper and the plain, whose northern and western slopes afford good pasture for sheep; that on the plain itself is very inferior, the grass growing only in isolated tufts—a narrow frontage to the north excepted, which affords a limited quantity of fertile land suitable for enclosure and cultivation. Around the Waihora Lake is a vast extent of swamp filled with a dense growth of bull-rushes; if any portion of this can be hereafter drained, it will prove far more valuable for occupation than the rest of the plain, three-fourths of which is irremediably arid and sterile. On the banks of a few of these rivers there is a little fertile land. Such spots are favourite residences of the natives, for the advantages they afford for the cultivation of potatoes as well as for fishing."

In July, 1851, at the meeting of the British Association for the advancement of science, Mr. Tuckett declared that the vast plain was for the most part too arid and stony, or too wet and swampy, to be eligible for occupation, adding—

"There is but a very limited quantity of fertile land good enough for tillage, within a distance of twenty miles of either of the harbours of Banks' Peninsula. The surfaces of plains in New Zealand usually present a succession of terraces in lines parallel with the courses of the rivers, rising in steps of from six to fourteen feet in elevation. Much

of the surface, is desolated by a closely-imbedded boulder and shingle; and usually where these occur of the greatest breadth, and where there is a dead level, the surface is the most stony. On the hill lands of Banks' Peninsula there is good pasture; but it is not so on the plain."

Several points in the above account derive confirmation from a trigonometrical survey and topographical delineation of a "part of the Canterbury Settlement," issued by the Canterbury Association in 1851, but unaccompanied by any descriptive notes. From this it would appear that between the site of the embryo town of Lyttelton and the estuary into which the Avon disembogues, there is a tract of sand-hills and swamp four miles long, by three to four miles broad; to the north of Lyttelton is a swamp of five to six square miles, mostly dry in summer, and to the south-east of the town there are also extensive swamps, stretching as far as Lake Waihora, and tracts covered with "raupo," flax, and rushes: to the east and north-east are the open Sumner Plains of grass and fern. Sand-hills and swamp stretch all along the coast from the mouth of the *Avon* to that of the *Ashley River*, a distance of more than twenty miles; these tracts are three to five miles wide, and contain only here and there patches of grass and fern. Between the Courtenay and Ashley, a distance of fifteen miles, at ten miles from the coast, in what is termed the Mandeville District, there is another swampy tract about twelve miles long, by ten broad, mostly dry in summer, and with a few patches of flax and grass, and manuka scrub. This district is intersected by the *Cust* and *Eyre* rivers, which disembogue into the above mentioned swamp, whose southern boundary is an anastomosing branch of the *Courtenay River*. The settlers have chiefly selected their lands within five miles around the town of Lyttelton, which has been laid out in a plain called Christchurch, about six miles in a direct line from the sea, and five miles from Banks' Peninsula. The site of the town occupies an area of one square mile, and is surrounded by a space reserved for a park varying in breadth from a quarter to half-a-mile. The Avon river, or rather creek, flows through the town from south-west to north-east, and is navigable for boats throughout, to its mouth in the lagoon on the north of Banks' Peninsula. The banks are five to twenty feet in height, the waters cool and clear, and the rise and fall during rain and drought not more than two feet.

A road, including a bridge and sea-wall, necessary to connect the port with the town of Lyttelton, a distance of about eleven miles, is now being formed; it is estimated that it will cost more than a thousand guineas per mile. The most expensive portion is over the Port Lyttelton mountains, where the gradient is one in nineteen over an ascent of two miles in distance.

At the Port, a jetty, store, and about fifty cottages have been erected; at the Town nothing worthy of note has yet been done.

About 25,000 acres of land have been sold by the Association; twenty ships have been despatched to the settlement, containing 3,500 emigrants, of whom about three-fourths were of the labouring class, and the expenditure of the Association has been already not less than £100,000, including £25,000 borrowed from the New Zealand Company.

The soil of the surrounding portion of the plain, where not swampy or shingly, is a sandy loam, with a sub-soil of sandy clay; the vegetation grass, flax, and fern; and there is little if any timber adapted for building purposes within reach. The settlers must therefore make bricks to build their houses, or construct them of clay, or possibly of stone, until wood can be cheaply obtained by importation.

Opinions very different to those of Mr. Tuckett, have been entertained by other authorities, respecting the eligibility and attractiveness of the Canterbury district. Captain Stokes, R. N. (the surveying officer of H.M.S. *Acheron*), has expressed himself in general, but very favourable terms respecting the plain, as also with regard to the undisputed merits of the port; so also have Bishop Selwyn; Messrs. Fox, Mantell, Hamilton, and Weld; Mr. Thomas, the chief surveyor, despatched by the Association, to prepare for the reception of emigrants, reported to his employers, in May 1849, that, although like all extensive districts, portions of it were of inferior quality, but a very small part was swampy, and much of the soil was well adapted for agricultural purposes; while the whole tract afforded excellent natural pasturage, and was well adapted for agricultural purposes. In a report of a committee of the Canterbury colonists in New Zealand, made in 1850, with reference to pasture regulations, statements are set forth which agree with those of Mr. Thomas:—

"The whole country comprised within the bounds

of the Canterbury Settlement is peculiarly adapted to the purposes of grazing and the depasture of cattle and sheep; not so much by reason of its extent, which to a certain degree is limited, but from the peculiar features of the country—the richness and fertility of its soil, its extent of level land, its temperate climate, and its abundant supply of water by the innumerable rivers and water-courses by which it is intersected.

“The high lands and mountain slopes by which it is enclosed, and which extend the whole length of the colony, from Double Corner at the north-east, to the southernmost part of the settlement, being highly fitted for sheep stations, whilst those large tracts of country which lie at the foot of the mountains are of a flat and slightly undulating character, and afford pasturage of the best description, as well for the breeding and propagation of cattle, as the maintenance of sheep, and being open land, free from woods and bush, highly productive of herbage and well watered, are equally well calculated for agricultural purposes, when occasion shall require them.”

The appearance of the district, even judging from the description of one of its warmest advocates, Mr. Godley, the resident agent, can scarcely, however, be deemed inviting; writing in August, 1850, he says:—

“To the eye there are but two features—a range of mountains thirty or forty miles distant, and a vast grassy plain (the colour of which, as seen from a distance, is not green, but rather that of hay,) stretching from the sea towards them, as far as the eye can reach, without any inequality, and almost without any variety of surface; for streams, though numerous, are not large, and they are sunk between very steep banks; and the patches of wood are, unfortunately, both rare and small. The grass on the plain is intermixed with fern and flax.”

South of the great plain, lies the undulating country of *Timaru*, which is described, as having a very promising appearance; still further southward, beyond a small stream called the *Waihao*, a grassy plain of five or six miles in width, extends between the coast and a low ridge called the *Cheviot Hills*, which continue to approach the sea, until they terminate in an open plain, watered by the *Waitangi* or *Waitaki*, described by Bishop Selwyn as being forty or fifty miles in length, and twelve in width, and stretching east and west, without a tree or shrub.* The grass near the mouth of the river is of an inferior description, but as the stream is ascended, the soil improves.

* *Church in the Colonies*, Part iii., p. 14.

† Of this block the settlement, according to the prospectus issued in November, 1847, comprises 144,600 acres of land, divided into 2,400 “properties,” each “property” consisting of sixty acres and a quarter, divided into three allotments, namely:—a town allotment of a quarter of an acre, a suburban allotment of ten acres, and a rural allotment of fifty acres. The sum to be raised on these “properties” at 40s. an acre, would amount to £289,200,

At *Moreaki*, or *Moerangi Bay*, in latitude about 45° 30', a tract of country extends for ten miles north and south of the native village of *Moeraki*, which is described by Mr. Tuckett as a beautiful and fertile district, replete with advantages for the site of a settlement; affording a gently undulating surface, a rich deep soil, abundance of luxuriant pasture and flax land, and frequent streams, not torrents, of fresh water. The woodland is conveniently dispersed, comprising timber of the best description, (the *mai*, or black pine, being especially plentiful), enough, but not too much for the facilities of occupation. Good building-stone, brick-earth, materials for cement, and coal, are also obtainable, and but for the subsequent discovery of a still larger tract of equally promising country, the Scottish settlement would have been established here.

Between *Moeraki* and *Otago*, a distance of forty miles, there are some fertile valleys divided by hilly ridges, almost equally good. At *Waikouati*, there is a Wesleyan mission station; Mr. Jones, an enterprising whaler, merchant, and farmer, resides there, and successfully cultivates a considerable quantity of wheat land; several other English settlers are likewise engaged in agricultural pursuits.

OTAGO, AND THE SOUTHERN EXTREMITY OF THE MIDDLE ISLAND.—The Otago block or district comprises an area of 400,000 acres,† extending from 45° 50' to 46° 20' S. lat. It has a good ship harbour (the only one between *Banks' Peninsula* and *Foveaux Strait*, a distance of nearly 300 miles), abundance of unwooded fertile land, open grassy pastures, interspersed with an adequate supply of timber; a navigable inland water communication, running up the centre of the block for nearly its entire length, and rich land, remarkably well watered on either side of it. To the westward, stretching away to the far distant *Snowy Mountains*, which border the opposite coast, is an immense sheep walk, open to the farmer and flock owner.

of which three-eighths, or £108,450, was to be employed in emigration; two-eighths, or £72,300, to be employed by the New Zealand Company, in founding the settlement, and contingent expenses; one-eighth, or £36,150, to be appropriated to religious and educational uses; and two-eighths, or £72,300, to be appropriated to the New Zealand Company. Nothing like this amount of land had, however, been disposed of at the close of 1850, or in June, 1851.

Though two degrees south of Banks' Peninsula, the climate is as mild, if not milder, in consequence of the greater distance of the "Southern Alps," and the less exposed nature of the country. The natives are few in number, and well disposed to Europeans, who find in them intelligent and useful coadjutors. With all these natural advantages, so rarely combined, with building materials and coal readily available, the Scottish settlement, formed and zealously promoted by a Presbyterian Association, composed of men of high character, (among whom the celebrated Dr. Chalmers took a leading part,) and established by a small, but worthy band of honest and energetic pioneers, led by Captain Cargill, and their minister, the Rev. Thomas Burns,—has made but little progress. The pernicious effects of the selfish policy pursued by the New Zealand Company, (with whom the Otago Association unhappily connected themselves,) were never more fully exemplified. Undeterred by the mortifying results which had attended the fixing of a ruinously high price for waste land, and the disgraceful "town acre" lottery system, with its attendant jobbery, delusion, and disappointments, both at Wellington and at Nelson, they raised the price of land, which had been 20s. per acre, at the former, and 30s. at the latter place, to 40s. at Otago, and planned the town on their usual exaggerated scale; thus at the outset, excluding the very class of small farmers, for whom the settlement was peculiarly adapted, and making the progress of the town contingent upon the efforts of a large and wealthy population. The effect of these two fundamental errors, not to mention many minor ones, is manifest. The Otago Association, at the close of November, 1850, "owing to a combination of adverse circumstances which have retarded their progress,"* had disposed of no more than 18,000 acres out of the 144,000 comprised in the settlement, and the number of persons who had embarked thither direct from the United Kingdom, amounted only to 1,400.

By the latest accounts, the town, which is called Dunedin (the Celtic name for Edinburgh), comprises about 150 habitations, most of which are constructed of wood, or clay, and roofed with shingle: the streets which have been laid out, are

sixty-six feet wide, but they are neither gravelled, drained, or lighted; and within the civic boundaries, there is about one dwelling to five or six acres. The Scottish kirk is a commodious wooden structure, there is also a manse and school-house. Sites for the markets and public buildings have been reserved in the principal streets. The position of Dunedin is extremely picturesque; it stands at the head of the harbour, and is intended to occupy the whole water frontage, and stretch for some distance inland; but the chief part of the existing habitations are built between two small hills, in a thoroughfare called Princes-street, which runs in a continuous line, north and south, through the town. Lofty hills form the background of the town and harbour, wooded to their summits, and are said to afford "a very rich soil of dark vegetable mould, in some places several feet in thickness."†

Port Chalmers, where all ships are obliged to discharge their cargoes, is situated midway between Dunedin and the Heads, that is, about seven miles from either extremity of Otago Harbour; a small, but thriving community is established here. Eighty suburban sections have been chalked out, and about a hundred more, in a line between Port Chalmers and Dunedin.

From the *Otago News*, the only newspaper published in the settlement, it would appear that the colonists complain of the want of proper provision on the part of the Company, especially in the non-formation of roads, which has prevented the land-purchasers from settling on the rural portion of their "properties," and induced them to expend their little all within the narrow limits of their suburban section. (*Otago News*, April, 1850.)

A settler, (whose name is not given,) in a letter published in the *Otago Journal*, likewise complains that the roads being "merely formed out of the soil, are more like canals of liquid mud and clay in winter, than any thing else;" and after adverting to the heavy drain upon the capital of the infant settlement, consequent upon its dependence on other colonies for supplies of provisions, he adds, with perfect truth, "were facilities given to the labouring men to cultivate the ground, this would soon be at an end."

Since the above was written, a drag road

* Vide *Otago Journal*, published in Edinburgh by the Otago Association.

† Vide letter from the Rev. Thomas Burns, published in the *Otago Journal* for November 1848.

has been formed from Dunedin to "Scrogg's Creek," on the Taieri river, and other improvements have been made to facilitate communication in the vicinity of the town, which it must be remembered was only established at the commencement of 1848.

The following observations respecting the physical features, and soil of various parts of the Otago district, are given in small type to save space:—

The soil is described by the Rev. Thomas Burns, as a strong, rich, yellowish clay, containing generally a small mixture of sand, with a covering from three or four inches to a spade's depth of black vegetable mould; but all appears to be excellent wheat soil, calculated to bear a long succession of cropping with little or no manure. In many places the clay passes into a strong, fine, reddish-coloured earth. The open, as well as the fern-land, does not produce well until turned up and exposed to the sun and air; but the bush-land bears admirably the first year.—*Otago Journal*, 1849, p. 69.

To the west of the town, separated from it by some grassy hills, is the Kakarai valley, a tract of open land, with a rich alluvial soil apparently well adapted for agriculture. The Taieri River enters the sea about twenty miles to the southward of Otago Harbour, and for the first five miles from its mouth, is confined within lofty and precipitous hills, with barely sufficient distance between them to afford it a channel; beyond this the valley suddenly opens, and the river branches, leading to the Waiholo Lake, or lagoon, on the south, and passing through the bulk of the valley, on the north, which is said to contain about 40,000 acres, of which two-thirds are available for cultivation, and one-third swampy, but drainable.

At the head of Waiholo Lake, where a landowner named Valpy, who has greatly benefitted the settlement by the expenditure of a considerable sum of money in labour and improvements, has a farming establishment, and a sheep and cattle-station—the country consists of undulating downs, round topped, and covered with grass and herbage of various descriptions; but this tract, like the Taieri Plain, is somewhat deficient in wood.

The Tokomariro Plain is quite level for fifteen miles, and is estimated to comprise an area of 14,000 acres. To the eastward, hills with a breadth of seven miles, extend to the coast; to the north lies the portage of six miles, between the Tokomariro and the Waiholo Lake; to the westward, undulating prairies of great extent, said to be available for cattle and sheep three parts of the year.—*Otago Journal*, 1848, p. 12.

There is no formidable obstacle to prevent the formation of a road from this plain to the Rakitoto Lake, or lagoon, which is about eighteen miles from the mouth of the Molyneux River. This lagoon is about six miles long, and distant about twelve miles from that of Waiholo.

The Tokomariro and Taieri Plains are separated by a mountainous and difficult tract, from the valley through which the fine river Matau, or Molyneux, takes its course. This valley or plain is described by Dr. Munro as containing from ten to twenty thousand acres of undoubtedly good land, covered with a fine growth of grass, flax, &c., interspersed

with a fair sprinkling of wood. The landscape he mentions as "altogether one of great beauty and unusually rich softness."

According to Mr. Tuckett, "The river Matau (Molyneux), inland, just below a place called Twikitea, is separated into two branches by a narrow island about ten miles in length. The lake the natives call Kari Tongato, the western branch of the river Koau; it has the deepest channel. About twenty miles inland, above Twikitea, on the river Matau, is the Kunna-Kunna station, a fishery resorted to by the natives at particular seasons, when the fish so named ascend the river in vast quantities from the ocean. Lampreys also enter the Matau, the Waikauwa, and other rivers in the south, at certain seasons of the year, and ascend far inland, managing to surmount both falls and rapids; at such obstacles they link themselves in chain, and the hindmost probably propel the foremost.

"South of the Matau there is a tract of large forest on lofty and rugged hills, which the natives are afraid to enter, alleging that great, hairy, and very strong men, who do not speak, inhabit the wooded mountain. They call them *Miroro*, and say that they can easily carry off a man. There is, perhaps, some foundation for the fear, and the supposition which is probably traditional, for there may have been, at no very remote period, gigantic apes, as well as gigantic birds, in the country."

Bishop Selwyn, in describing the Otago District, says—

"Cape Saunders, Pikiwara (Saddle Hill), and the ridge near Dunedin, appear to have been upheaved by volcanic action, through the great alluvial plain which forms the eastern face of the Middle Island, and of which the Taieri and Matau (Molyneux) districts, over which the sections of the Dunedin settlers are spread, form a part. The fault of this settlement is dispersion, its advantage will be the range of down-like hills which open to the southward, sometimes of great height, but often of small size, with flattened tops of uniform elevation, as if a sea of lava in a state of wavy motion had been cooled under the pressure of a solid plane resting equally upon it; or, to use a simpler description, as if a dish of rolls in an oven had been baked with a tray lying on the top of them. This wavy country is considered to be admirably adapted for sheep pastures. The want of firewood will be the chief inconvenience at the sheep stations in this island; but Otakou (Otago) itself is abundantly supplied from the wooded banks of the river."—(*Visitation Tour*, 1848, p. 114.)

Colonel Wakefield likewise expressed a high opinion of the capabilities of this district, and draws a comparison between it and Port Cooper decidedly favourable to Otago, stating forcibly enough, in one of his reports to the directors of the New Zealand Company, that:—

"At Port Cooper, half of the labourers' time would be consumed in bringing fuel from a distance from any suitable site for a settlement; and it may be safely asserted, that a section of fifty acres there would not pay the cost of fencing, and building on it, in the course of the owner's life. The neighbourhood of Otago is on the contrary, essentially, as was

observed to me by a labouring man from Nelson, a poor man's country—containing good land and plenty of wood."

At Tokato Point, the southern boundary of the Otago District, a range of lofty hills stretches inland, which affords shelter from the cold southerly winds. An opening occurs in this hill range about fifteen miles from the coast, which presents an easy route, along fertile land, to Tuturau, a native village, on the river Mataura, and thence to the Waropai, the east branch of the New River, or Eureka, which flows into Foveaux Strait.

The country westward of the Molyneux River (watered by the Mataura, the Eureka, or New River, and the Aparima, or Jacob's River), was traversed by Mr. Hamilton and Mr. Spencer, of H.M.S. *Acheron*, in 1850. They consider it to offer peculiar advantages for the formation of an extensive settlement, and state that the plain which stretches eastward from the latter-named stream, comprises at least 600,000 acres of rich soil, clothed with fine grass, and with timber, everywhere very equally distributed. Eastward of this plain, a chain of densely-wooded hills, before mentioned, extends as far as Molyneux District, having, towards the sea, an elevation of about 2,000 feet. Inland, however, the hills gradually decrease in height, and the masses of forest disappear altogether, giving place to the finest pasturage. The absence of timber may possibly be compensated by peat or turf, of which there are some indications in a valley little more than half-way between Tuturau and the Mataura River. At Tuturau the soil is extremely rich; and the potatoes grown there, by a single resident Maori family, exceed in bulk those brought by Bishop Selwyn from the Chatham Islands, which were nine inches each way. The climate is very equable, though rather wet towards the sea coast. Snow rarely lies on the low land: ice was occasionally seen between 15th March and 1st June, when the thermometer ranged from 40° to 60° Fah.; on a few occasions the mercury was at 32° Fah.: the wind veered from north-west to south-west.—(*Vide* Report of Messrs. Hamilton and Spencer, given in a letter from Captain Stokes to Lieutenant-governor Eyre, dated Wellington, 1st September, 1850.)

At the same period, Captain Stokes, R.N., examined the sea-board from Otago to Preservation Harbour, a distance of 220

miles, and found only four roadsteads and one intermediate port. Of twenty-three rivers in this extent of coast line, he states that but four are available for small vessels; and only two—the Waikawa and Omaui, or New River, for ships of from three to four hundred tons. The latter "was ascended in a whale-boat for near thirty miles, in a north-half-east general direction. In that distance the land rose gradually 200 feet, by three steppes, each change of elevation being attended by corresponding and somewhat dangerous rapids. The depth of water varied from two to eight feet; the width from 50 to 100 yards. The soil, on either bank, consisted of a rich mould, and appeared clothed with trees or verdant pasture, as the stream wound through clumps of wood, or swept across the open plain." This river Captain Stokes considers highly important, from its vicinity to Bluff Harbour, (from whose head waters it is separated only by a portage of half-a-mile,) and its connexion with the extensive tract so favourably described by Messrs. Hamilton and Spencer. Captain Stokes says, his first view of this "prairie land" was from the summit of the Bluff, a basaltic hill of 855 feet high, from whence the plain appeared stretching between south-east and north-west, in the shape of a bishop's mitre, measuring full 100 miles: isolated patches of woodland were agreeably dotted over its surface; and a range of rugged, snow-clad mountains, the highest of which (distant eighty miles, and 6,700 feet in altitude) he named the Eyre, terminated the extensive landscape. In conclusion, he expresses himself strongly on the advantages offered by the land in the vicinity of Bluff Harbour for a settlement, adding, that it has one peculiar to itself—namely, that it is fully a fortnight nearer to England than any other portion of New Zealand now under colonization.

A paper containing the above statements respecting the south-eastern extremity of the Middle Island, was read at the meeting of the British Association before referred to. Mr. Tuckett dissented from the opinions expressed of its eligibility for colonization, on the following grounds:—

"Having had occasion to examine carefully the district described, I can fully confirm the accuracy of the observations in respect to the vast extent of available surface which exists south of Tuturau and the Mataura river to the shore of Foveaux Straits; between the Eureka or New River and the Aparima westward, as also to the east Eureka. I cannot,

however, concur in recommending it as a district eligible for a settlement. Instead of its affording good pasture for grazing or fertile soil for husbandry, in my judgment the surface is rather nude, and the vegetation, chiefly large, detached bunches of a very coarse sharp-edged junk. Where the banks of the Aparima and Eureka are wooded, I found chiefly the totara and the manuka growing luxuriantly, but in deep sand; whilst those portions of the gently undulated uplands which are wooded would afford, almost exclusively, varieties of the birch, which abounds and attains great dimensions even on the poorest land. The earth presents a surface of a whitish hue when dry, without mould or humus, being a deep and gritty clay (as I found by frequent digging), which I am convinced would not bear any adequate crop without being first well manured. Between the east and west branches of the river Eureka the land is low and sandy. Eastward to the coast is a vast bed of fine quartz gravel covered with heather and luxuriant mosses; and in some places peat occurs of pretty good quality and considerable depth. There is good timber at the western extremity of Bluff Harbour, and between it and the river Eureka some extent of bush land, in and around which a herd of cattle finds sufficient pasture, but feeding chiefly on the milk thistle, &c. There is a small community of Europeans at the Bluff and at the Aparima, who have intermarried with the natives, and who, pursuing whaling, sealing, and husbandry, and in a few instances stock-keeping, have attained to very comfortable circumstances. Some were in the practice of growing wheat, but they informed me that the climate was unfavourable, rains being frequent and copious, and the gales of wind boisterous. While my vessel lay at anchor in the Eureka in the month of May we had to encounter, in the surveys executed and on our several exploratory journeys, very inclement weather. Considering then the climate, the soil, and the natural growth, I am convinced that there is no very eligible site for a future settlement south of the Mataura river and Tu-tu-rau; a favourite residence of the natives formerly, when they were more numerous, because it afforded shelter from the southern climate, good fishing, and fertile land. From Tu-tu-rau north to Otokau there is an unbroken tract of fertile and well-watered land, affording abundant pasture and much of it of excellent quality for tillage. It abounds with supplies of coal, wood, timber, brick-earth, stone, conveniently dispersed through the district and very accessible by the facilities of inland navigation which its rivers and lakes afford."—*Athenæum*, July, 1851.

NEW LEINSTER, RAKIURA, OR STEWART ISLAND.—The southernmost of the New Zealand group, derives its usual appellation of Stewart Island from the master of a trading vessel, who, in 1816, discovered its insularity, and named the strait which divides it from the Middle Island "Foveaux," which appellation it still retains.

The strait is about fifteen miles wide from north to south, seventy miles from east to west, and has at some seasons the aspect of a tranquil arm of the sea, with numerous islets dotting the space between shore and shore. The largest of these, named *Ruapuke*,

lies at the south-east entrance of the strait, and is about five miles long and five broad. It is very picturesque, containing all the characteristic features of New Zealand in miniature; native villages, woods, swamps, hills, lakes, bays, and rocky headlands. The island has about 200 aboriginal inhabitants. Mr. Wohler, a German missionary, has been established there since 1844, and his labours have greatly benefitted the natives residing there, and also at Stewart Island and Bluff Harbour. A Mr. Kelly also lives at Ruapuke, and is described as an intelligent and successful colonist; his Maori wife is a good and religious woman; and he has a fine family of promising children. The climate of this little island is humid, but extremely mild; so much so, that frost sufficient to wither the hulk of a potato is there unknown. The navigation of Foveaux Strait has been facilitated by the recent surveys of Captain Stokes, to whose meritorious labours on the shores of Australia frequent reference has been made in vol. ii. of this work.

Stewart Island is of a triangular form, the apex bearing due south: its length from north to south is about fifty miles, and its greatest breadth from north-west to south-east is about the same. The area is estimated at 1,400 square miles = 896,000 acres; the highest altitude is about 3,200 feet. The west coast runs nearly due north and south for about fifty miles; the south-east shore along Foveaux Strait extends for about sixty miles, and the southern shore for about forty miles.

The 47th parallel of latitude and the 168th of longitude, intersect the island. The coast-line, according to Captain Stokes, is strangely distorted in the charts now in use, the south coast excepted, which was laid down by Captain Cook with his accustomed accuracy.

The shores are very pleasing, woods feathering down to the water's edge, and noble bays indenting the coast at short intervals, with rocky points, interspersed with brushwood, between them.

Paterson river, the chief stream in the island, disembogues in the strait, a little north of the 47th parallel; the harbour at its mouth, called *Port Somes*, is very extensive, has many bays and coves, is easy of access, convenient for heaving down, affords good shelter, and is surrounded by fine timber. There are several British adventurers residing here on a narrow tongue of land,

most of them have married native women, and some have lived twenty years in these solitudes. These men have clearly a claim to the land in right of their wives and children,* and in consideration of their own industry and enterprise. Their small clearings exhibit a fertile though shallow soil, and they have a small amount of stock. The valley of the Paterson river extends east and west across the island, to the northward of it the country is mountainous, and affords but little available land; to the southward it is more level and promising. The coast between Port Somes and *Pegasus Bay* or *Southern Port* presents a remarkable similarity in its general features, in the structure, elevation, and composition of its rocks, in the frequent serratures of its surface, and the varieties of trees growing on it, to the shores of the far-distant extremity of the North Island.

Pegasus Bay is a noble harbour, situated a little to the east of South Cape, of which, about three leagues distant, are some dangerous rocks, named by Cook, the Traps or Snares.

The temperature is described as less cold, even in mid-winter, than might be expected from its high southerly latitude, and the number of parrots flying about give the island almost a tropical appearance. Mr.

Tuckett also speaks of the climate as "far more eligible than that of any place on the northern shore of Foveaux Strait, on which during the inclement season, and at all seasons, are spent the fury of south-east and south-west gales, whose violence would appear to be increased rather than diminished by the proximity of an immense mountain region.

LAND IN CULTIVATION, AND LIVE STOCK.

—This sketch of the topography of New Zealand may be concluded with the following statements of the land in cultivation, and the live stock owned, by Europeans, in the latest year of which there are returns, viz., in the New Munster province:—

Settlements or Districts.	Acres in crop.	Horses.	Horned Cattle.	Sheep.	Goats.	Pigs.
Wellington .	860	672	6,786	35,507	1,111	2,008
Petre . . .	10	67	886	582	178	15
Nelson . . .	3,069	234	3,540	37,699	5,353	3,239
Akaroa . . .	329	16	679	4,396	310	627
Otago . . .	53	103	781	7,731	206	1,035
Total .	4,321	1,062	20,672	85,915	7,158	6,924

Note.—This does not include cultivation or live stock among the Maories. The Wellington returns include the flocks and herds in the Wairarapa District, and the Nelson those depastured in the Wairau and Kaikora Districts.

In New Ulster cultivation and stock, in 1849, was—

Settlements or Districts.	Number of Acres in Crop.										Stock.			
	Wheat.	Oats.	Barley.	Maize.	Potatoes.	Turnips.	Grass.	Garden.	Pasture.	Total in crop.	Horses.	Horned Cattle.	Sheep.	Goats.
Auckland . .	214	588	205	26	775	8	—	320	4,054	6,193	698	6,955	1,701	275
Russell . . .	120	—	20	300	150	—	60	—	—	650	52	500	1,000	250
Waimate . . .	200	—	4	200	150	—	500	—	—	1,054	150	1,200	1,200	50
Hokianga . .	300	—	—	150	300	—	—	—	—	750	150	370	20	170
Manganui . .	466	4	5	650	1,800	450	250	—	—	3,632	210	765	1,253	89
Waingarua, & Kaitia . .														
New Plymouth	914	68	116	4	175	99	529	55	783	2,748	53	904	1,443	66
Total .	2,214	660	350	1,530	3,350	557	1,879	375	4,837	15,027	1,313	10,694	6,617	900

Note.—The number of acres of land uncultivated is put down for Auckland at 25,062; Manganui, Waingarua, and Kaitia, 508,368; New Plymouth, 27,523. The land of the other districts is not known.

The total number of acres of land granted in New Ulster to 1849, was 269,923, of which 6,427 acres were sold.

In New Munster, the grants have been, to the New Zealand Company, in Wellington, 209,247 acres; Porirua, 68,896; and in Nelson, the grant to the Company, under Mr. Commissioner Spain's award of 1844, "probably conveys more than three

* When Bishop Selwyn visited Stewart Island in 1843-44, the whole English population in the neighbourhood of Paterson's River, Horse-shoe Bay, and Half-moon Bay (three beautiful harbours in the space of seven miles), assembled to meet him, comprising ten men, fourteen or fifteen native women, and twenty-five children. The men were all desirous

or four million acres: the quantity has, however, never been estimated, nor have the boundaries been surveyed. The scheme of the settlement only provided for the sale of 201,000 acres. The grant is understood to comprise all the lands in Blind and Massacre Bays, and all the lands sold by the Nga-ti-toa tribe to government, on the south side of the Strait, in 1847.—Blue Book for 1848; p. 55.

of being married, and the bishop, after special inquiry, assented, and afterwards baptised seventeen of the children. At Murray's River, a small stream to the westward of Half-moon Bay, four other Englishmen were married to the Maori women, by whom they had already "a tribe of children," all of whom were cleanly and tidily dressed.

CHAPTER III.

GEOLOGY—FOSSIL BONES OF GIGANTIC BIRDS—SOIL, MINERALOGY, CLIMATE, AND DISEASES.

IN this recently, and still but imperfectly explored country, the geologist can do little more than record isolated facts, and collect the materials by which, hereafter, the physical structure of these interesting islands, and the successive changes which have taken place in organic life, may be determined. The results of the investigations already made are most unexpected and important, and offer the highest encouragement to those who may emigrate to New Zealand to pursue the subject, and explore a field of research almost untrodden, and promising a rich harvest to the careful and intelligent observer.

The fundamental rocks of the Northern and Middle Island of New Zealand are composed, so far as has yet been ascertained, of metamorphic schists and clay slate, with dykes of greenstone and compact amygdaloidal basalt, intruded masses of obsidian, vesicular, and trachytic lavas, and other igneous products. Hornblende and porphyritic rocks, gneiss, and serpentine occur, but granite has been rarely observed. The Northern Island has, in its centre, a group of lofty volcanic mountains, already described as ranging from 7,000 to 9,000 feet in altitude, of which, however, one only (*Tongariro*) is now in igneous activity. In the Middle Island, a lofty range, covered with snow, and called the *Southern Alps*, passes from north-east to south-west, for about 500 miles; it is composed of schistose metamorphic rocks, flanked by volcanic grits, and covered at their base by alluvial deposits, which have evidently originated from the decay of trachytes and earthy lavas, and the detritus of the hard materials which entered into their composition.*

Jameson says, that the scenic character of New Zealand is such as might be supposed to have resulted from the simultaneous upheaving, by volcanic force, of argillaceous and basaltic rocks and mountains, which have been subsequently disintegrated and rounded off by the action of the ele-

ments. Rocks of the primitive and secondary classes are extensively found in some parts of New Zealand; and there is abundance of transition slate in the neighbourhood of Hokianga. Isolated masses of quartz occur in several places; but the predominant structure and aspect of the rocks and mountains mark them as belonging to the igneous classes denominated trap, basalt, and greywacke.†

The southern shore of the Waitemata, on which Auckland is situated, consists of cliffs of soft pepper-coloured sandstone, or sandstone conglomerate, with occasional seams of lignite. Several volcanic cones in the immediate neighbourhood furnish hard scoriæ for building and making roads. Between Waitemata and Manukao, a number of cones containing extinct volcanoes rise above the even table land. The coasts, in many places, exhibit recent sedimentary depositions placed horizontally; or terraces formed of loam and gravel, with fragments of wood, fern, &c., rise 50 to 100 feet above the ocean. The small rocky islands of trachyte, off the coast of the Northern Island, bear marks of the action of water to the height of 100 feet above the present sea level. In several places there are boulders of trap rocks, in terraces, 50 feet high.

The western shore of the estuary of the Thames differs widely in its aspect and geological structure from the shores of the peninsula of Shouraki. It presents to the waters of the frith a range of horizontal, stratified rocks of a clayey sandstone, which seems to have been softened by the influence of humidity, and is devoid of organic remains.‡

The country to the westward and northward of the Bay of Islands may be regarded as a volcanic table land. The hills around the Bay of Islands are formed of a yellow argillaceous stone, and a basaltic rock. The high land on the upper part of the Wairoa River (*Kaipara*) consists of a stiff, whitish clay, with, here and there, a basis of a hard

* See *Quarterly Journal of the Geological Society* for August, 1850; p. 340.

† *New Zealand*, by R. G. Jameson, Esq., London, 1842; p. 244.

‡ *Ibid*, p. 305.

argillaceous slaty rock : lower down, on the left bank, are steep hillocks of basalt ; on the right shore, and towards the sea coast, is a soft ferruginous sandstone ; inside, and round the northern head, the cliffs expose layers of lignite, four feet in thickness, and superimposed to the height of about twenty feet, by a white, slightly consolidated sand, which softens by an exposure to the water, and, on a near examination, is found to consist of decomposed pumice stone, of which large globular boulders are still compact. The lignite consists of half carbonized wood. In some places, small carnelions, magnetic iron sand, and boulders of brown iron ore, are met with.*

At Manukao Harbour, the shore at the head of the haven is strewn over with hard basaltic lava and cellular scorix, which appear to have flowed from a cone on the southern shore. The clifly, northern shore consists of stratified, greyish sandstone, or sandstone conglomerate. Proceeding towards the southward, pumice stone, mixed with sand, imbedded so as to form a pavement, is found near the Waikato River, down which pieces of black obsidian are conveyed from the volcanic Tongariro group. At Wangaroa, there are picturesque cliffs sixty feet high, composed of coarse-grained limestone, more or less crystalline, and containing several varieties of fossil shells. The head of the harbour consists of a bluish clay, without any organic remains : the southern shore is formed mostly of ferruginous sandstone. Basaltic rock, containing small grains of olivin, is seen at an arm of the harbour, which extends some distance inland. At Aotea, the hills which bound the harbour are composed of limestone.

The cone of Mount Egmont, which attains an altitude of 8,270 feet, consists of cinders, or slags of scoriaceous lava, of various colours—white, red, or brown ; in some places reduced to a gravel. At 1,500 feet from the summit, where the snow commences, not a patch of soil exists where plants could take root. The summit of the mountain is a field of snow, of about a square mile in extent. Here and there were found protruding blocks of scorix, of a reddish-brown colour, some slightly vitrified on the surface. The vast cone (see map) is separated from the platform out of which it abruptly rises by a deep indentation, which descends laterally towards the sides of the mountains. The exterior cone

appears to be a hard lava, of a bluish-grey colour, which resounds to the hammer like phonolite, or clink stone, and breaks into large tabular fragments. Dr. Dieffenbach, who first ascended Mount Egmont in 1839, remarks, that there seems to be a great scarcity of simple minerals in the principal rock of which this mountain is composed.

The west shore of Lake Taupo consists of black trachitic, or basaltic escarpments. Near the village of Te-rapa, gaseous effluvia seem to have converted the rock of the neighbouring hills, which is basalt, and occasionally amygdaloid, into a red or white clay, of a soft and alkaline nature, which the natives use instead of soap, and, according to Dr. Dieffenbach, sometimes eat.

The shore of the lake near Te-rapa, is of basalt, containing much augite. Some pieces are tabular, with a smooth surface. Smaller boulders are cemented together by the sediment of the springs, into a conglomerate, which has the appearance of an osseous breccia, from the imbedding of encrusted and polished white wood, and of rolled pieces of pumice-stone. The adjacent hot springs contain a great quantity of silicic acid held in solution, less by the great heat than by the alkaline elements of the water. Stalagmitic efflorescences are formed from the solution, and all substances thrown into the water are quickly petrified ; chalcedony is also deposited. In some of the springs are found sulphate of iron, and sulphuretted hydrogen gas.

The truncated cone of Tongariro, estimated at 6,200 feet in height, is described by Mr. Bidwell as composed entirely of heaps of loose cinders. This still active volcano is regarded as the centre of the modern igneous action of the Northern Island of New Zealand. Hot springs, fumeroles, and boiling mud pools are seen in every direction, and extend to the north-westward, to White Island, a smoking solfatara.

Various localities in the Northern Island bear manifest indications that frequent upheavements, and many convulsions must have alternately elevated and depressed the surface ; at one period, allowing time for a stately growth of timber, then sinking it into the depths of the ocean, where, after the lapse of ages, the gradual deposit of mud attained a thickness of 100 feet, when another convulsion upheaved the whole ; this terrific force frequently repeated, has shattered the whole country, and given the islands their singular form. The Rev. R.

* Dieffenbach, vol. i., pp. 269, 270.

Taylor is of opinion that the general framework of the New Zealand Islands is probably as ancient as that of other parts of the surface of the earth.*

The Sugar-loaf Islands, near New Plymouth, consist, with one exception, (which is of yellow and soft sandstone,) of steep and conical masses of a greyish trachyte, containing much felspar, with scarcely any vegetation on them. Towards Sugar-loaf Point, large boulders are found, consisting of volcanic rocks, of an old date, such as basalts, greenstones, trachyte, augitic rock, &c., cemented together into an extremely solid conglomerate, which appeared to Dr. Dieffenbach to extend like a stream of lava from Mount Egmont into the sea. In some places, the sandy downs, at a little distance from the shore, are covered with a hard crust of oxydated iron-clay, which forms fantastic shapes of tubes, saucers, &c., owing to the oxydation of the particles of iron in the sand, by water and air, and subsequent adhesion to each other. These and other appearances indicate that the volcanic powers of which Mount Egmont was the centre, have been formerly very active. On both sides of Sugar-loaf Point there are aqueous formations, consisting of cliffs of yellow clay, containing, in some places, the remains of trees, belonging to species still existing in the island, embedded in discoloured blackish earth.

Near the Urinui river, the cliffs on the sea shore are about 100 feet high; the lowest formation is a marly clay, in which is embedded protophosphate of iron, in small balls, of an earthy consistence; about twenty feet above the sea level, there is a formation of wood, very little altered or carbonized, and about ten feet in thickness; the superincumbent strata is a loam soil. Towards Mokau, the shore cliffs consist of a micaceous, soft, yellowish sandstone, which the sea and wind have moulded into many strange forms—here a fort, there a wall, a round tower, or a balcony crowned with shrubs. In some parts, large boulders of trap rock protrude out of the cliff, the soft deposition around having been washed away, thus giving the appearance of artificial excavations.

The coast-line of Tory Channel, towards its north entrance, shews everywhere argil-

laceous schist in stratifications from east to west, and dipping to the north: sometimes no stratifications are observable, and the rock is of a more granular nature, but still very soft, and with fissures in various directions, as if it had been acted upon by fire. No indications of any other kind of rock have been noticed in Cook Strait, except the occasional appearance of Lydian stone, massy basaltic rocks and greenstone. From the various transitions from one kind of rock to another, this structure would appear to have been caused by the infusion from below of the trappean rocks, and the consequent metamorphosis of the slate rocks. No organic remains have been found in the latter, and the hills in Queen Charlotte's Sound, therefore, most probably belong to the transition series.†

Information respecting the Middle Island is more scanty. Mr. Tuckett and Mr. William Davison, in their capacity of surveyors, have, however, collected much valuable data; and Mr. Walter Mantell, who traversed the eastern coast, from Banks' Peninsula to Otago, made notes of the geological phenomena observable in his route, and transmitted to England a large collection of the minerals and fossils of the country.‡ Banks' Peninsula is chiefly composed of a group of igneous mountains; a lofty range cropped with metamorphic rocks, separate Ports Albert and Cooper; these rocks dip to the eastward on the Port Albert side, but incline at a considerable angle to the westward on the opposite slope.

The "Ninety-mile Beach" is a continuous line of shingle, without bay or headland, extending southward from Banks' Peninsula. The level country inland, consists of a substratum of slightly coherent gravel, principally composed of pebbles of schist, jasper, white, yellow, pink, and green quartz, covered, in the opinion of Mr. Mantell, by a layer of rich loam, which varies in thickness from a few inches to ten feet.

At the undulating country of Timaru, the superficial deposits are similar to those on the great plains, but superimposed on a vesicular volcanic rock, which reaches a height of fifteen feet, then gradually dipping to the south, it disappears in the course of a few miles. A bed of lignite coal, ten feet thick, is said to crop out on the bank of a

* *The New Zealand Magazine*, published quarterly, No. II., for April, 1850; printed at Wellington, New Zealand.

† Dr. Dieffenbach's *New Zealand*, vol. i., p. 57.

‡ His father, Dr. Mantell, has recorded the results of his son's investigation in two interesting memoirs, published in the *Geological Journal*, for 1845 and 1850.

stream inland of Timaru. The Pukehuri range, which bounds the great plains, and is a spur from the Southern Alps, is about 1,000 feet high; it is composed of highly inclined strata of slate, covered by a ferruginous conglomerate of quartz pebbles. The Waiareka country exhibits strata of a yellow and fawn-coloured limestone, generally friable and porous; the beds decline gently in various directions, and are very cavernous.

At Kakaunui a section of the coast shows (1) clay, without organic remains; (2) diluvial gravel, consisting chiefly of quartz, trap, amygdaloids, &c.; (3) volcanic grit; (4) the sea beach. A mile south of Kakaunui, strata of a tertiary blue clay, containing numerous shells of species existing in the neighbouring ocean, first appears. Further south the clay contains layers of septaria, varying from one to five inches in diameter; some of a sub-globular form, and some spherical; others are found broken and glittering with yellow and brown crystals of the calcareous spar, with which all the interstices of the septaria are lined or filled; many have a zone or belt of clay. With the exception of the zone, the septaria found in New Zealand are evidently similar to those that occur in the London clay off the coast of Sussex, which are used for Roman cement: the colonists will therefore possess an abundant supply of that valuable material. On approaching the district of Otago, boulders of serpentine, of various shades of green, are plentifully scattered on the sand hills around Purakauanui and "Blue Skin" Bays. By far the greater part of the geological specimens collected on the coast and country between Banks' Peninsula and Otago belong to plutonic, volcanic, and metamorphic rocks. There are no specimens of granite. Of the igneous products the most abundant are obsidian, basalt, and many varieties of amygdaloids, jade or nephrite, gneiss, serpentine, greenstone, chlorite-slate, micaceous-schist, silicious and clay-slate, &c.; sulphate of barytes, compact zeolite, and garnets, many varieties of chalcedony, agate, quartz, and jasper, semi-opal, onyx, and some masses resembling the green or chlorite jasper of India. The unaltered sedimentary deposits are limited to the stratified limestones of Ototara, which resemble the chalk of Europe in the general nature of their fossils (containing terebratula, echini, sharks' teeth, &c.); of

DIV. VI.

Anaamatara; and the argillaceous strata of Kakaunui, &c. About 1,500 specimens of fossil bones, containing skulls, beaks, foot, and other bones, together with portions of egg-shells, have been sent to Dr. Mantell by his son from New Zealand; all, with the exception of a few bones of two species of seal, and one thigh-bone of a dog, belong to birds.* The shells appear to have been so large that a hat would have made an "egg-cup" for one of them. Some of these curious specimens were found in 1846-7, in a bed of *meanaccanite*, or titaniferous iron-sand, near the embouchure of a stream termed the Waingongoro, between Wanganui and Waimate, on the west coast of the Northern Island; others were obtained by Mr. W. Davison, in the Middle Island, at Waikouaiti, about twenty miles north of Otago. The fossil bones of birds collected by the Rev. W. Williams from the beds and banks of fresh-water streams, were chiefly from the shores of Poverty Bay, and those sent home by Mr. W. Swainson were from the vicinity of the Bay of Islands. The Rev. Messrs. Colenso and Taylor, Mr. Earl, and other gentlemen, have made collections of fossil bones.

The gigantic *Moa*, or *Dinornis Giganteus*, (some species of which must have been from ten to fourteen feet high,) is supposed by the natives to exist at the present day in the unfrequented and almost inaccessible wilds of the interior. Traditions are rife that the *Moa* were once very numerous, and served as food for the remote ancestors of the present Maori population. Some of the largest species are stated to have been seen alive by natives, who describe the head and tail as adorned by magnificent plumes of feathers, which were worn by their ancient chiefs as ornaments of distinction. But the facts at present known lead to the inference that although the extinction of the colossal species of *Moa* is comparatively recent, there is no probability that any individuals have existed during the last century; possibly some of the smaller types may have been exterminated within the last fifty years, and may even now dwell in the unexplored parts of the interior of the islands; but of the gigantic species there seems no hope of our obtaining any living specimen.

The *Dinornis Giganteus* possessed a skull and beak essentially different from any

* There are upwards of sixty genera of birds in New Zealand, and but one indigenous mammalian quadruped, a species of rat, known to naturalists.

other known recent or fossil form. The cranium approaches the shape of that of reptiles: it is characterized by the nearly vertical occipital plane, the elevated position and form of the foramen magnum, and the great development below the occipital condyle; strong ridges border the basi-occipital; the temporal fossæ are very deep, and strengthened by a prolongation of the mastoid process, which is united to the frontal, forming a lateral zygomatic arch. These osteological processes indicate that the muscles which moved the skull possessed great power. The tympanic bone has two distinct cusps for articulation, with the double condyle of the os quadratum.

The configuration of the upper mandible or jaw, has been compared by Professor Owen to a cooper's adze; the whole beak seems, in conjunction with the three-toed claw, to have been specially adapted for tearing open the ground, and grubbing for roots and other food, such as tubers of different descriptions. The femur or thigh bone of a young bird in Dr. Mantell's collection is 14 inches long, 9 inches in circumference round the shaft, and 16 inches round the condyles: the tibia, or leg bone, is 30 inches long, 6 inches in circumference at the shaft, and 14 at the condyles. No vestiges of the bones of the wings have been as yet detected, and the extinct species probably bore a considerable affinity to the living order of apteryx, or wingless birds found in different parts of New Zealand.

Another genus, named the *Palapteryx*, differs from the *Dinornis* in the form of the skull, and in several osteological peculiarities; it appears to have somewhat resembled the emu of Australia, and must have had a remarkable development of the nasal organs.

Among the smaller sized fossil bones lately found, are some belonging to a genus named *Aptornis*, about the size of a bustard, and very closely allied to the apteryx; also those of the *Notornis*, a large bird belonging to the *Rallidæ*, or rail family; which, like the gigantic *Moa*, was supposed to have been long extinct, no traces of its existence having been seen since the coming of Europeans. A living specimen of the notornis has however been very recently captured in Resolution Island, in Dusky Bay, on the southwest coast of the Middle Island, the skin

of which was preserved and sent to England.*

Nestor is the name given to a genus of nocturnal owl-like parrots, of which two species are known; one peculiar to New Zealand, and the other† to Phillip Island, a small rock adjacent to Norfolk Island; the last-named species is said to be now extinct. The femur of a dog is the only fossil relic of a mammal that has been discovered.

MINERALS.—The Great Barrier Island, and Kawau Island in the Gulf of Hauraki, contain grey copper ore, in a matrix of decomposed micaceous slate. Some of the specimens, on assay, gave nearly twenty-five per cent. of copper, the rest being sulphur, iron, and silica. Mr. Brown‡ speaks of two copper mines having been opened in the neighbourhood of Auckland with highly satisfactory results, the ore being of the best quality, and obtained at a very trifling expense; some samples, he says, show "upwards of fifty per cent. of pure copper." The peroxide of manganese is said to be abundant in an island within fifteen miles of Auckland. Tin, lead, silver, bismuth, and nickel have been discovered, as also a titaniferous iron, in great quantities in various places. Sulphur is found in large masses about the East Cape. Coal, especially in the form of lignite, is plentiful, particularly in the Middle Island. It was reported to have been seen on a hill at the head of Port Cooper, but Mr. Mantell states, that on examining it in September, 1848, he was not surprised to find, instead of coal, "a bed of decaying obsidian," as he had found only igneous rock on all the surrounding mountains. A remarkable "coal cliff" was observed by Mr. Tuckett on the north side of Molyneux Bay, and on the south shore there are thick layers of lignite under cliffs of a soft ferruginous sandstone. The estuary of the Kawia is an extensive calcareous formation, the limestone being similar to that at Wangaroa. Rock salt has been discovered in the neighbourhood of Mercury Bay, and alum and nitre near the medicinal springs at the Roturua Lakes.

The substance used by the Maories for their tomahawks, and called by them *poenamu* (green talc, jasper, serpentine, or jade) is found chiefly in the channel of a lake, named *Te Wai Poenamu*, or "the water of green talc," situated inland from Otago.

* This bird (*Notornis Mantelli*) is figured, and described by Mr. Gould, in the *Zoological Transactions* for 1851.

† For a description of these birds, see Gould's *Birds of Australia*.

‡ *New Zealand* in 1845, p. 202.

It lies in small layers on the banks of the lake, and, like flint, has a whitish incrustation on its outer edges. It is soft when first dug from its watery bed, but hardens on exposure to the air, and when not formed too thick, is semi-transparent, having the appearance of crystallite. This stone is much valued by the natives, who make breast, ear, and neck ornaments of it, as well as hatchets and instruments of destruction.

An infusorial white earth is found in the bed of the large lake (Waihora), on the south-east of Banks' Peninsula; it is also observable in other places, and was at first supposed to be carbonate of magnesia; on minute examination, it has been ascertained that the usual lacustrine deposits are formed by the innumerable minute frustules of *diatomaceæ*, &c. The sand mounds on the shores of New Plymouth, consist chiefly of the siliceous shields of similar microscopic vegetables.

Whole districts are said to be formed of a cretaceous marl or chalk, extending from Hick's Bay to the Mahia, due west of Nukutaura, or Table Cape. Mr. Polack says, "these coasts are entirely formed of this material, slightly covered with a stunted furze."*

SOIL.—The predominant soil is of an inferior description, comparatively little alluvial land being found in the neighbourhood of rivers, while rich loams are only occasionally met with in the volcanic districts. Undoubtedly, there are tracts of more or less extent, of excellent soil, from which a crop of wheat, and one of potatoes may be obtained within the year, but from all the explorations and practical tests that have yet been applied, it does not appear that the quantity of good soil in New Zealand, is nearly so large as has been represented; some authorities, indeed, assert that the cultivable surface does not exceed five to ten per cent. of the entire area of the islands.

Dr. Dieffenbach is of opinion that the plains, strictly speaking, are not the produce of the rivers; but are a table land, composed of stiff clay, which can scarcely be worked, and which was deposited, as we now find it, not by the rivers, which are too insignificant to produce such results, but at the original formation and heaving-up of the land. At the borders and outlets of the rivers there is only a small extent of

true alluvial soil, the rest derives all the fertility it possesses from a vegetation which has covered it from the beginning—has decayed annually through ages, and has thus formed a layer of vegetable mould, in most cases very thin. The process resorted to, of burning off the vegetation to prepare the land for cultivation, destroys the vegetative powers, except where the fertile earth is of considerable thickness; and the pernicious native custom of lighting fires, in order to clear a road when travelling, has resulted in the exhaustion of whole tracts, where the soil, by care, might have yielded abundant sustenance for man.

Frequently, a volcanic region is one of extraordinary fertility, but this depends on the nature of the ejected matter; if it be mud, or even ashes, the surface, in course of time, becomes covered with vegetation, and a soil capable of tillage is produced; but igneous action in New Zealand seems, generally, to have caused an eruption of lava, forming large and hard masses of scoriæ, similar to the refuse of an iron foundry, which neither years nor weather can render fit for agriculture. The country therefore immediately at the base of the numberless volcanic cones, is generally ill adapted for tillage. At an ancient crater near Lake Maupere, the Maories have, with much labour, collected the large angular pieces of scoriaceous and vesicular lava and amygdaloidal basalt, which cover the sides and base of the cone, into heaps, and have cultivated the black soil between them.

At New Plymouth the soil is a fine and easily subdued loam, abounding, in its virgin state, with decayed vegetable matter, and having for its substratum an excellently proportioned composition of clay and sand, neither over consistent nor excessively friable. But in some places this last is more or less charged with hydrate of iron, which is poisonous to vegetation, unless rendered innocuous by a summer fallow, or a short exposure to the chemical influence of the atmosphere. The absence of lime in the soil is also a great drawback, as after several croppings the land produces a stunted and sickly vegetation, having what farmers term "a scabbed aspect." The nearest place at which lime is procurable is at Mokau, forty miles to the northward.†

CLIMATE in New Zealand, as in other Hospital, New Plymouth, dated Dec. 1849. Parliamentary Papers for August, 1850, p. 112.

* *Residence in New Zealand*, vol. i., p. 343.

† See an able report by Dr. Wilson of the Colonial

places, is to be determined in its character by equatorial position, elevation above the ocean level, insularity, prevailing winds, quantity of moisture, nature of the soil, and extent of cultivation. A glance at the map of New Zealand will indicate how varied, from most of these causes, must be the climate of a country stretching through twelve degrees of latitude, with ranges of mountains perpetually covered with snow,

with a very irregular configuration of the land, and with the whole eastern coast for about 1,500 miles exposed to the full fury of the tempestuous winds and of the surcharged clouds which rush from the antarctic circle towards the warmer northern regions. The following meteorological record, kept by Dr. A. S. Thompson, surgeon of H.M. 58th regiment, affords a comprehensive view of the climate of Auckland:—

Meteorological Table for the year ended July, 1849, compiled from observations made at Auckland, thirty feet above the level of the sea.

Months.	Great-est heat in shade.	Great-est cold during month.	Mean temperature.	Average daily range of temperature.	Power of Solar Rays.		De-grees.	No. of days on which rain fell.	Barometer, corrected to 32° Fahrenheit.			Quantity of rain, in inches.
					Mean.	Great-est.			High-est.	Lowest.	Mean.	
Jan. [Summer]	88	49	67.0	17.0	99	122	7.0	8	30.11	29.74	29.92	0.65
Feb. [Autumn]	89	50	69.0	17.0	105	124	6.0	9	30.33	29.17	29.90	8.24
March "	80	47	63.6	16.4	89	114	5.2	11	30.07	29.60	29.87	2.99
April "	81	48	63.2	14.5	87	103	3.5	10	30.23	29.45	29.94	4.88
May [Winter]	74	45	56.9	13.0	82	95	3.5	19	30.37	29.20	29.78	3.29
June "	68	35	51.4	15.0	73	85	3.0	19	30.15	29.44	29.89	3.28
July "	68	33	51.0	14.0	75	90	2.1	28	30.13	29.34	29.94	7.96
August [Spring]	66	36	51.8	12.5	78	90	2.6	16	30.28	29.37	29.83	6.45
September "	67	37	51.5	13.1	85	100	3.8	23	30.20	29.13	29.65	4.45
October "	77	37	57.3	15.2	88	112	5.0	15	30.34	28.96	29.61	5.43
Nov. [Summer]	77	50	62.1	13.3	97	110	5.0	16	29.99	29.57	29.81	4.78
December "	79	49	66.0	17.0	101	114	7.5	5	30.08	29.55	29.87	1.44
Total and Mean	89	33	59.2	14.0	87	124	4.5	179	30.37	28.96	29.92	51.84

Note.—A self-registering thermometer was used for the extreme temperatures, the mean temperature was drawn from four observations daily. The barometer during the year indicated the least pressure on the 18th October, 1848, the day on which the second severe shock of an earthquake was felt at Wellington; the two barometers used, gave the same indication on that day.

"The prevailing winds are westerly; gales from the eastward, accompanied with rain, usually occur about the full and change of the moon, and last three days. The most settled weather is with southerly winds. The barometer rises highest at the approach of easterly winds, and sinks lowest with south-westerly gales. During easterly gales, when the wind shifts from east to north, a change to the westward may be expected; but when it shifts from east to south-east, the gale may be expected to increase.

"The foregoing observations," says Dr. Thompson, "support the opinion that the mean temperature of the southern hemisphere is lower than that of the northern, although not to the extent laid down by Baron Humboldt. Thus Gibraltar and Malta, placed in very similar latitudes to Auckland, have a mean annual temperature ten and eight degrees higher, while Rome and Montpelier, in latitudes 41° and 43°, have a mean annual temperature similar to that of Auckland."

As, however, the observations of Captains Scoresby and Weddell tend to show that the supposed difference in the temperature of the two hemispheres does not exist in the open sea, the observations made at Auckland (a truly oceanic climate in almost every respect) will furnish data for comparison with the temperature at the Western Islands and corresponding places in the northern hemisphere.

At Auckland, the number of days on which rain falls will probably be found to be greater than at other parts of the North Island. This result is produced by the narrow neck of land on which the town is situated. Dr. Thompson spent part of the months of August and September, 1849, in the interior of the North Island, and although he saw ice a quarter-of-an-inch thick, and hoar frost on several occasions during the night, yet few wet days compared with what occurred in Auckland during the same period, were experienced.

The following return (compiled from data

CLIMATE OF NORTH ISLAND COMPARED WITH ENGLAND. 825

furnished by the authorities named in the note,) shows some of the elements of the climate of three localities in the North Island, for the years ended March 1849 and July 1849, and the annual average temperature and amount of rain which falls in London :—

Places.	Latitude.	Mean temperature of the year.	Mean temperature.		Aqueous vapour.	Mean barometer.	Quantity of rain, in inches.	Number of days in which rain fell.
			Warmest month.	Coldest month.				
London ¹	51° 30' N.	49	62	36	5.5	29.93	20.05	153
Bay of Islands ²	35 15 S.	64	75	55	—	—	—	99
Auckland ³	36 51 S.	59	69	51	4.5	29.92	51.84	179
Wellington ⁴	41 22 S.	58	70	48	—	29.99	54.33	115

Notes.—¹ Taken from an average of ten years, published in the *Statistical Companion* for the year 1848. ² For the year ending March, 1849, furnished by Staff Assistant-surgeon Robertson. ³ For the year ending July, 1849, kept by Dr. Thompson. ⁴ For the year ending March, 1849, kept by Surgeon Prendergast, 66th Regt. ⁵ The average fall of rain in the United Kingdom is about thirty-four inches, but in the western or hilly counties it is forty-eight or fifty inches.

It is obvious from the above return that the North Island of New Zealand has a climate, the mean temperature of which is higher,—the range of the thermometer less,—and the moisture suspended in the air greater than the quantity in England. To this evenness of temperature and moisture of the atmosphere in New Zealand, Dr. Thompson thinks, may be attributed the favourable nature of the climate for the non-development of pulmonary consumption, and the small ratio of deaths which has been found to occur from this disease among the military population stationed in the North Island.

Frosts are rare in Auckland, and the summer heat is tempered by the east and west breezes. The mean temperature of the summer months may be taken at 67° Fahrenheit, of the winter at 52°, and of the year at 59°. This annual mean corresponds with that of Montpelier, in 43° 36' N. lat., but there the difference between the hottest and coldest month is said by Dr. Dieffenbach to be 68° Fahrenheit. The heat of the warmest month in Auckland (which, as before stated, is situated in 35° 51' S.) corresponds to that of Vienna in 48° 12' N.; but its coldest month is somewhat below the temperature of the coldest month at Lisbon in 38° 43' N. The usual rise and fall of tides at Auckland is ten feet, but easterly winds sometimes raise them to twelve or thirteen feet; the time of high water at full and change is about six hours and forty-five minutes.

The climate of the northern parts of New Zealand may be considered as warm and humid, that of the southern as cold and humid. The quantity of rain that falls is not so very much in excess of New South Wales, but the terrestrial absorption is less rapid in New Zealand. More rain is said to fall in the neighbourhood of Kauri

forests than elsewhere, which may be partly owing to the elevated ridges and steep declivities in which this tree delights; possibly also these lofty groves exercise an electric action, causing the rapid precipitation of rain. Dense forests on mountain slopes in India and in other countries are known to influence the quantity of moisture in the atmosphere, and doubtless do so in the present instance.

At Wellington (lat. 41°) the quantity of rain that fell from April, 1841, to February, 1842, was 34.49 inches: the annual quantity in London is about twenty-three inches. The most rainy months in Cook Strait are thus shown:—April, 1.86; May, 3.11; June, 4.12; July, 3.84; August, 4.56; September, 4.51; October, 2.31; November, 2.95; December, 5.47; January, 1.16. The number of rainy days during these months—133. The dews are particularly heavy during the winter months, when there is least rain; in the interior fogs rest upon the lakes and river-courses, and are not dispelled until the sun has risen some degrees above the horizon. The mean temperature of July—the coldest month at Wellington—is 48.7; the greatest cold during the day, 38; greatest warmth, 57. The mean temperature of January—the warmest month—is 66.4; highest, 76.5; lowest, 57. Mean annual temperature, 58° 2'. The wind blows from north or north-west 202 days, and from south or south-east 141 days. (Dieffenbach, vol. i., pp. 176, 177.)

Out of 365 days, the same writer states, there were only twelve which could be called calm; he adds, that it is difficult to say whether the north-west or the south-east are the strongest winds. The former prevail during the winter months, the latter when the sun has a southerly declination.

The western coast of New Zealand is less affected by the violent winds than the eastern; a heavy gale has been known to blow at Wellington, when there was fine weather and only light winds at Nelson. Sudden alternations of rain and sunshine follow each other in far more rapid succession than is experienced in England. The climate of the interior of both islands is,

however, less changeable than that of the coast; in consequence of the presence of a snow-crowned mountain group, and the greater distance from the turbulent ocean.

By a register kept by Mr. Justice Chapman, at Karori, two miles from Wellington, and 591 feet above the sea, the state of the weather during the six winter months is thus shown:—

State of Weather.	April.	May.	June.	July.	August.	September.	Total.
Fine and sunny . .	21	19	16	18	18	21	113
Cloudy, but fair . .	4	2	3	1	1	0	11
Showery	5	4	6	8	12	8	43
Rainy	0	6	5	4	0	1	16
Gales of wind . .	0	6	2	2	3	4	17
Night frosts . .	4	4	3	5	3	3	22

Note.—During the day the temperature varied from 45° to 56°.

The above table conveys a much more pleasing idea of the climate in the vicinity of Cook Strait, than that afforded by Dieffenbach, Power, and other authorities, who describe the Strait as an immense funnel, through which, for the greater part of the year, a tempest rages without intermission, the mountains on either side serving to attract the clouds, and causing the precipitation of a superabundant quantity of moisture. The gales of wind are said to accompany the changes of the moon throughout the year.

Proceeding from Cook Strait to the southward, along the eastern coast, the rain and wind increases in quantity and in violence; at the New Canterbury settlement, and at Otago, the winter season is one of considerable severity, the icy blasts and southern sleet causing the most disagreeable sensations to the human frame.

The climate of New Plymouth is stated to be benign and temperate, whether with reference to summer heat or winter cold: sudden vicissitudes are rare; and the seasons succeed each other in almost inappreciable gradation. South-western and western winds prevail; the south and south-east are described as being the coldest and most disagreeable; and the northern as the most humid. Thunder storms occasionally occur, and slight shocks of earthquakes have been repeatedly felt, but have done no damage. The centre of these phenomena is generally thought to be the Tongariro mountain, but Dr. Wilson, who resided seven years at Wanganui, and experienced many of these *tremblements de terre*, says that the underground vibration, and the succeeding

oscillations, appeared to come in a direct line from Mount Egmont. There are several marshes; but the frequent rains, and the moderate temperature, do not allow exsiccation to proceed far enough for the peculiar fermentation necessary to the production of miasmatic effluvia.

Shocks of earthquakes have been recently frequently felt at Wellington; in 1846 there were twenty-four, in 1847, sixteen. These shocks have occurred in every month throughout the year. In 1846, ten took place in December; but the most disastrous earthquake of which we have any record, commenced on the morning of the 16th of October, 1848, and continued at intervals throughout the day; by its violence walls were cracked, chimneys thrown down, and considerable damage done to property. On the ensuing days many shocks were experienced, followed by tremblings of the earth, until on the 19th, at 10 minutes past 5, A.M., a terrible concussion shattered most of the houses and public buildings, rocked to and fro in a fearful manner the wooden structures, destroyed three lives, endangered several others, and filled all the inhabitants with consternation and alarm. Many persons, afraid of passing the night in any of the buildings left standing, notwithstanding the wild and inclement weather, fled to the hills or crowded on board a few ships then in the harbour, anxious to quit so frightful a scene;* terror and dismay reigned everywhere, the energies of all seemed paralyzed, the specie in the settlement was sent on

* The *Subraon* sailed with sixty-six passengers for Sydney, but she was wrecked within sight of Wellington, and the people cast back again on the land.

board HMS. *Fly*, and but for the refuge which the new church at Te Aro afforded, there would have been no shelter for the sick and maimed. The shocks and tremblings of the earth continued, and the Lieutenant-governor, on Friday, the 20th of October, proclaimed a solemn fast, which was reverently observed by all classes, who acknowledged the hand of the Almighty, and looked to him only for safety and protection.* The tremblings, and a lesser degree of vertical motion, together with a vibration along the earth's surface, produced apparently by a distant heavy concussion, and preceded by a loud rumbling noise distinctly heard in advance of the shocks, continued for several days. The earthquake was slightly felt at New Plymouth, Wanganui, Nelson, Akaroa, Otago, and the East Cape. The Maories have no recollection of such a severe and long-continued convulsion of the earth. The damage done to property was estimated at about £15,000.

[I cannot here avoid referring the reader to the worse than idle ceremonial with which the site of the town of Wellington was taken possession of by Colonel Wakefield, just nine years previous to this visitation (see Div. v. p. 160); to the seizure of the land and destruction of the buildings, on this very spot, devoted to christian missionary purposes; and to the disgraceful fact, that for several years after the foundation of the settlement, no temple dedicated to the worship of God was raised at Wellington, no land set apart for the purpose, no minister of the gospel provided and maintained by the New Zealand Company, to administer to the spiritual wants of the settlers whom they sent out, although it was boasted that, not without reason, they belonged to the highest class of society that had ever emigrated to a British colony.]

DISEASES.—When Cook first visited New Zealand, he observed with surprise the healthy condition of the people; he saw no diseased or deformed person—no evidence of any cutaneous disorder. A Maori, who had received a musket-ball through the fleshy part of his arm, had the wound quickly healed, owing to his sound corporeal state. There were many whose loss of teeth and hair indicated great age, but there was no decrepitude; and although not equal

to the young in muscular strength, they were not behind them in cheerfulness and vivacity.

Hospitals have been established at Auckland, Wellington, New Plymouth, and Wanganui, in which the Maories have been received as well as the Europeans. The report of the colonial surgeon (Dr. William Davies), dated 1st January, 1849, relative to the hospital at Auckland, is very gratifying. The number of patients treated during the year 1848, is thus shown:—

Return of the number of Patients treated in the Colonial Hospital, Auckland, during the year 1848.

Patients.	Europeans and others.	Aberigina Natives.	Total.
Internal patients:—			
Males	78	142	220
Females	40	16	56
Discharged cured:—			
Males	59	132	191
Females	35	15	50
Died:—			
Males	10	7	17
Females	4	1	5
External patients:—			
Males	9	315	324
Females	3	61	64
Remaining in hospital:			
Males	9	3	12
Females	1	0	1

Note.—The total number of internal and external patients was 664.

Of the Europeans admitted, forty-seven were military pensioners, and their wives and children: of this class, five died—about ten per cent. The proportion of deaths among all the European patients was about nine and-a-half per cent.: out of 534 native patients, no more than eight deaths occurred, and these cases were expected to have a fatal issue when they were admitted.

At New Plymouth, Dr. Wilson, an excellent colonial surgeon, stationed at the hospital, says, that the mortality among the Maories, and more especially among the females, has, within the last few years, been excessive, from the prevalence chiefly of catarrhal disease. During the year 1849, among the Ngatiruanui tribe, the deaths were nearly as one to ten. It is very generally alleged, that “of the total number of births, the male sex greatly predominates.” This, as stated in a previous volume, (ii., p. 508, 510), is, in my opinion, a marked and frequent indication of a decreasing population. Another fact noticed

* See Parliamentary Papers on New Zealand, of 10th May, 1849, p. 5, where these words are used by Lieutenant-governor Eyre.

by Dr. Wilson, is—that whereas, among the white population, sterile and childless couples are extremely rare, and a healthy progeny is rapidly augmenting, among the Maories the reverse is the case; and few couples are to be met with who have more than one or two children, and these are commonly a puny and sickly offspring.

The partial introduction of European clothing (especially blankets), tobacco, and ardent spirits, has been accompanied with many maladies. Influenza, scarlatina, consumption, and scrofula, have committed great ravages among the natives, while, on the other hand, an autumnal fever, prevalent at Auckland, of a mild form with them, assumes a dangerous and highly infectious nature amongst Europeans. In the autumn of 1847, it gained admittance at St.

John's College, Tamaki—spread rapidly in all directions, and terminated, in most cases, with typhoid symptoms. During 1848, an epidemic scarlatina appeared, for the first time, at Auckland, and of 146 who were attacked, eighteen died—one out of every eight cases. In one family, four out of five children died. Only one native (a servant in an European family), had the disease. Small-pox has not yet visited New Zealand. To ward off, if possible, this awful scourge of aboriginal races, the cowpock has been extensively disseminated; the civil and military officers have vaccinated many of the Maories; and it is hoped that this precaution, if not wholly successful, will greatly mitigate the disastrous consequences which almost invariably attend the first appearance of this malady.

CHAPTER IV.

POPULATION; ENGLISH AND MAORI OR ABORIGINAL—ANNUAL INCREASE OF SETTLERS—BIRTHS AND DEATHS—MAORI CHARACTER—PROGRESS IN CIVILIZATION—STATE OF RELIGION, EDUCATION, AND CRIME—MISSIONARY ESTABLISHMENTS—FORM OF GOVERNMENT, &c.

At the beginning of the year 1839, there were nearly two thousand Europeans in New Zealand, of whom about one-half were dispersed over the country, engaged in whaling and sealing, or in cultivating the land; while the remainder, attracted by the number of vessels which then resorted to the Bay of Islands, took up their abode in the Northern Peninsula, and pursued a profitable trade in the export of flax, timber, and other products.

As soon as the New Zealand Company commenced operations, it became a part of their policy to send out to New Zealand as

many emigrants as possible, in order that a claim might be founded for the grant of large tracts of land, in return for the sums thus expended. To accomplish this object every means were employed, but no attempts were made to proportion the number of the labouring class to that of the capitalist or proprietary emigrants. Indeed, from the very first, the lauded theories of “systematic colonization,” and what was infinitely of more consequence, “Christian colonization,” were entirely neglected.

The emigrants sent out by the Company up to May, 1843, were as follows:—

Description of Passengers.	May, 1839, to May, 1840.			May, 1840, to May, 1841.			May, 1841, to May, 1842.			May, 1842, to May, 1843.		
	Males.	Females.	Total.	Males.	Females.	Total.	Males.	Females.	Total.	Males.	Females.	Total.
Cabin Passengers—1st Class .	110	48	158	216	101	317	84	—	84	218	107	325
“ 2nd “	32	26	58	56	29	85						
Storage “ Labourers .	516	393	909	1,442	1,197	2,639	1,468	1,442	2,910	671	640	1,311
Total	668	467	1,125	1,714	1,327	3,041	1,552	1,442	2,994	889	747	1,636

INCREASE OF EUROPEAN POPULATION IN NEW ZEALAND. 329

Of these 8,796 persons, 4,431 were sent to Wellington, 3,335 to Nelson, and 1,030 to New Plymouth. Nearly three-fourths of the whole were despatched from England before the 17th of November, 1841; viz. :—

Passengers.	Males.	Females.	Total.
Cabin, 1st class . .	404	159	563
" 2nd class . .	63	29	92
Steerage—labourers .	3,035	2,662	5,697
Total . . .	3,502	2,850	6,352

The established British population in New Zealand from the period of the assumption of British sovereignty in 1840, to 1844, is given as follows, on the authority of the colonial secretary, Dr. Sinclair. In 1842 the first census was attempted :—

Localities.	1840.	1841.	1842	1843.	1844.
Auckland . .	—	1,500	2,895	2,522	2,754
Wellington . .	1,200	2,100	3,701	3,808	4,048
Nelson . .	—	—	2,500	2,942	2,915
New Plymouth .	—	400	895	1,091	1,155
Bay of Islands .	600	500	380	669	534
Hokianga . .	150	200	263	236	179
Akaroa . .	100	150	198	221	166
Petre . .	—	150	—	—	197
Total . .	2,050	5,000	10,832	11,489	11,948

It appears from various documents that, although 8,904 persons were introduced by the Company into their settlements, previous to 1847, only 7,973 were there in that year; and if the increase by births be taken into consideration, it becomes evident that a large proportion of the original settlers must have re-emigrated. According to the census of August, 1848, the number of children born in the colony, of European parents (exclusive of the military and their families,) was, 1,131 males, 1,333 females = 2,464. Of the whole population, the number born in England was, 2,522 males, 1,909 females; Wales, 22 males, 25 females; Ireland, 170 males, 105 females; Scotland, 597 males, 442 females; in British colonies,

150 males, 65 females; in foreign countries, 174 males, 97 females. Taking the total population of the province of New Munster in 1848, exclusive of the military and their families, at 8,903; and, subtracting the children born in the province, and the immigrants from British colonies and foreign countries, 3,008, there must have been much fewer than 5,995 of the New Zealand Company's immigrants remaining in 1848, as this number includes whalers and others who had settled in the province previous to the existence of the Company.

The political divisions of New Zealand have been so frequently changed, and the population and other returns are given under such different heads that it is not practicable to present a clear exposition of them in a tabular form: thus, for instance, the Northern Island is named *New Ulster*, and the Middle Island *New Munster*, but Wellington, although situated in the Northern Island, is included in the political division termed the *Province of New Munster*, while New Plymouth (Taranaki) is comprehended with Auckland, under the designation of the *Province of New Ulster*. More generally, however, the colonized portions of New Zealand are distinguished as the Northern or Southern Settlements; the former appellation being given to Auckland and New Plymouth, the latter to Wellington, Nelson, Akaroa or New Canterbury, and Otago or New Edinburgh. The returns, besides being given under varying heads, are grounded on very imperfect data, owing to the isolated position of the settlements, between which communication is difficult and infrequent, while a considerable number of the colonists themselves are scattered in various directions over the face of the country.

The following statement shows the *European* population in the Southern Settlements from the year 1843 to 1848 inclusive. Mr. A. Domett, the colonial secretary, says, that "in many of its items it can only be considered as an approximation :—"

Southern Settlements or Districts.	1843.		1844.		1845.		1846.		1847.		1848.	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
Wellington . .	2,106	1,702	2,212	1,835	2,208	1,866	2,134	1,843	2,487	1,993	2,672	2,086
Wanganui, or Petre . . . }	132	77	128	69	115	75	129	86	109	57	104	66
Nelson . . .	1,588	1,354	1,560	1,355	1,546	1,364	1,524	1,329	1,504	1,363	1,657	1,433
Akaroa . . .	—	—	129	87	139	62	157	90	173	113	152	113
Otago . . .	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	350	370
Port Victoria .	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total . . .	3,826	3,133	4,029	3,296	4,008	3,367	3,944	3,348	4,273	3,526	4,935	3,968

Note.—The above table does not include strangers and aliens.

Number of Persons of each Sex and Age in the Province of New Munster, as ascertained by a General Census taken in August, 1848.

Districts, &c.	Males.					Females.					Totals.		
	Under 7 years.	7 and under 14.	14 and under 21.	21 and under 45.	45 and upwards.	Under 7 years.	7 and under 14.	14 and under 21.	21 and under 45.	45 and upwards.	Males.	Fe-males.	General Total
WELLINGTON DISTRICT:													
Town and suburbs . .	404	200	149	580	94	385	180	165	420	68	1,427	1,222	2,649
<i>Rural localities:</i>													
Karori and Karori Road	32	33	23	41	16	29	30	19	36	13	145	127	272
Wade's Town	9	15	6	8	5	19	2	6	10	2	46	39	85
Hutt, including Wai-nui-O-Mate	141	91	55	226	37	138	55	34	126	24	550	377	927
Wairarapa and Coast, from East Cape to Lowry Bay	13	10	30	63	11	15	11	4	22	3	127	55	182
Porirua Road, Bay, and Coast to Wanganui . .	66	47	36	187	27	67	37	21	74	11	363	210	573
Wanganui: Petre and suburbs . .	22	15	8	47	6	20	7	8	22	1	98	58	156
Total	687	411	307	1,152	199	673	322	257	710	113	2,756	2,088	4,844
NELSON DISTRICT:													
Town and suburbs . .	206	110	51	228	37	209	115	70	207	17	632	618	1,250
<i>Rural localities:</i>													
Wakapuaka	19	14	17	33	1	22	15	8	26	—	84	71	155
Waimea, East	83	60	64	101	14	93	46	20	85	11	322	255	577
" South	60	36	29	65	16	48	29	20	56	15	206	168	374
" West	31	15	16	46	6	26	15	12	36	4	114	93	207
Motueka, Moutere, Riwaka, Massacre Bay . .	51	18	19	59	5	59	26	6	46	3	152	140	292
Wairau, Cloudy Bay, Qn. Charlotte Sound . .	9	4	3	38	12	3	2	4	15	4	66	28	94
Total	459	257	199	570	91	460	248	140	471	54	1,576	1,373	2,949
AKAROA DISTRICT . . .	34	16	10	85	7	52	12	9	37	3	152	113	265
OTAGO DISTRICT . . .	59	24	23	141	29	59	37	27	76	10	276	209	485
General Total . . .	1,239	708	539	1,948	326	1,244	619	433	1,298	189	4,760	3,783	8,543
Military and families .	94	14	142	1,013	2	126	23	11	154	1	1,265	315	1,580

There were in August, 1848, in New Munster Province, professional men, including doctors, lawyers, clergy, military officers, and surveyors, 84; land proprietors, farmers, and merchants, 253; manufacturers, brewers, and millers, 15; shopkeepers, and retail dealers, 105=457. Clerks, and overseers, 106; mechanics, and craftsmen, 779; manual labourers, pastoral, and agricultural, 955; carters, 46; mariners, and fishermen, 135; domestic servants, 72 males, 192 females. Not classified—naval and military pensioners, 7; males, principally children, 2,198; females, 3,409; strangers, 13.

The buildings of stone or brick numbered 96; of wood, 1,008; of clay, wood, &c., 633; 31 houses were slated, 977 shingled, 549 thatched, and 180 weather boarded. The outbuildings numbered 1,465. The number of breweries were, at Wellington, 3; at Nelson, 3—brick-kilns, at Wellington, 2—candle manufactories, 1—cloth or stocking-loom, Nelson, 2—cooperages, Wellington, 5; Nelson, 1—Flax mills, 1—rope-walks, Wellington, 2; Nelson, 2; Manawatu, 4—flour mills, wind, Wellington, 2; water, 1: Nelson, 3 steam; Wellington, 1—lime-kilns, Wellington, 1; Nelson, 1.

State of the New Munster districts in 1849.

Districts.	Population.			Em- ployed in agri- culture.	Acres under crop.	Horses.	Horned Cattle.	Sheep.	Education.		
	Males.	Fe-males.	Total.						Male scholars.	Female scholars.	Total.
Wellington	2,365	2,112	4,747	628	2,237	536	5,942	34,015	108	69	177
Nelson	1,795	1,577	3,372	471	3,936	345	4,158	53,348	287	98	385
Wanganui	169	108	277	33	174	56	960	425	289	241	530
Akaroa	291	142	433	112	121	40	1,235	12,051	29	19	48
Otago	698	517	1,215	1,442	284	110	880	17,597	36	34	70
Port Victoria . . .	221	80	301	—	—	34	739	10,900	—	—	—
Total in 1849 . . .	5,809	4,536	10,345	2,686	6,596	1,121	13,914	128,336	749	461	1,210
" 1848	4,911	3,966	8,877	1,367	6,408	1,009	12,341	80,184	627	421	1,048

Notes.—This does not include the persons located between Porirua and Wanganui, amounting to 274 males, and 103 females, who possess 93 horses, 1,117 head of horned cattle, 6,571 sheep, and 846 goats.

Number of Persons Married and Single in the Province of New Munster, as ascertained by a General Census taken in August, 1848.

Districts, &c.	Males.		Females.	
	Married.	Single	Married.	Single
WELLINGTON DISTRICT:				
Town and suburbs . . .	444	983	452	770
<i>Rural localities:</i>				
Karori and Karori Road .	48	97	47	80
Wade's Town . . .	16	30	12	27
Hutt, including Wai-nui-O-Mate . . .	143	407	143	234
Wairarapa and Coast, from East Cape to Lowry Bay . . .	22	105	21	34
Porirua Road, Bay, and Coast to Wanganui . . .	92	271	83	127
Wanganui: Petre and suburbs . . .	29	69	25	33
Total . . .	794	1,962	783	1,305
NELSON DISTRICT:				
Town and suburbs . . .	212	420	217	401
<i>Rural localities:</i>				
Wakapuaka . . .	25	59	25	46
Waima, East . . .	92	230	92	163
" South . . .	62	144	60	108
" West . . .	39	75	39	54
Motueka, Moutere, Riwaka, Massacre Bay . . .	55	97	53	87
Wairau, Cloudy Bay, Queen Charlotte Sound . . .	18	48	17	11
Total . . .	503	1,073	503	870
AKAROA DISTRICT . . .	42	110	37	76
OTAGO DISTRICT . . .	84	192	78	131
General Total . . .	1,423	3,337	1,401	2,382
Military and families . .	111	1,154	113	209

Relative numbers of Europeans, Maories, Military, and their families, in the Province of New Munster, in the year 1849.

Settlements or Districts.	Whites. Europeans.		Coloured. Natives.		Military and their families.
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	
Wellington . . .	2,635	2,112	400	323	1,303
Wanganui . . .	169	108	—	—	334
Petre . . .	—	—	—	—	—
Nelson . . .	1,795	1,577	—	—	—
Akaroa . . .	291	142	20	—	23
Otago . . .	698	517	266	222	16
Port Victoria . . .	221	80	136	—	—
Total . . .	5,809	4,536	—	—	—

The Secretary for the New Munster province furnishes, amongst other information respecting the population of the province, the following data:—

"POPULATION.—General Increase.—In the years 1845 and 1846 the population of New Munster had decreased 5.68 per cent. on its amount in 1844; but in 1847 and 1848 it increased 20.62 per cent. on its amount at the end of 1846. In Wellington during the latter two years the increase was 17.06 per cent., in Nelson 9.00 per cent., on their respective populations in 1846.

"Increase by Births.—The number of registered births is no guide to the actual number that took

place in the province in 1848, as it is certain that very many occurred which were never registered. But even those that were, amounted to 3.55 per cent. on the population at the end of 1847. An approximation may, however, be made to the real rate of increase by births, by comparing the number of children in the province under two years of age with the numbers of the population at the end of the years 1845, 1846, and 1847. As the returns for those years were taken in December of each year, and the return of children in August 1848, the amounts of population at the periods mentioned may be considered the correct numbers of those of whom the children were the produce. The average population of these three years was 7,645 souls. The number of children under two years (deducting those belonging to Otago, the inhabitants of which settlement arrived in 1848), that is, the number born between August 1846 and August 1848, was 760, which gives an average of 380 for each year. The increase, consequently, on the population in 1846 and 1847 was at the rate of 4.95, or nearly five per cent. per annum, by births alone. The deaths in 1848 were only .81 per cent. on the population of that year (the number who died being added to its amount). This would give 4.14 for the actual rate of annual increase of the population, exclusive of immigration. In Great Britain the increase of population for ten years, from 1831 to 1841, (allowing for emigration) was 15.02 per cent., or 1.50 per annum. The per centage is, however, too low for New Munster, as the births of those who died under two years of age are omitted in the above calculation.

"The large proportion of deaths in Nelson, as compared with Wellington, in 1848, was occasioned by the number of infants dying that year of whooping cough. In the same year, throughout the province, the deaths were 1 in 123 of the whole population. In England, in 1842, 1 in 46.08; in the United States (no date given) 1 in 37.

"Original Extraction of the Population.—The centesimal proportions the inhabitants of different origin in the province bear to the whole population respectively are as follows:—

51.66 . . .	per cent. born in England.
12.16 . . .	" " Scotland.
.55 . . .	" " Wales.
3.21 . . .	" " Ireland.
2.39 . . .	" " British Colonies.
3.17 . . .	" " Foreign Countries.
26.51 . . .	" " New Zealand.

99.85

Thus it appears that there are, exclusive of the military, more than four times as many English as Scotch in the province, and nearly four times as many Scotch as Irish. The foreigners are principally Germans, and the French at Akaroa.

"Proportion of Sexes.—In August, 1848, there were about 1,000 more males than females in New Munster; an excess equal to about one-ninth of the whole population. This excess is greatest among adults between twenty-one and forty-five years of age. At Wellington the actual excess of males of this age is about four times as large as in Nelson, though the population is only half as large again. The proportion of females born is considerably greater than of males, judging from the number alive under two years old in 1848; but the proportions are reversed with respect to all the other sep-

ennial periods given. The number of females considerably exceeds that of males in England and Ireland.

“Immigration and Emigration.”—The only result apparently, that can be arrived at upon this subject is an approximation to the excess of re-emigration over the immigration that has taken place independently of that set on foot by the New Zealand Company in the first colonisation of the country. Deducting from the total population of August 1848, which amounted to 8,543, the number then existing of persons born in the colony, which by Return No. 2, is shown to have been 2,264, we have 6,279 immigrants still in the province. Taking the whole number introduced by the New Zealand Company as 8,904 souls, and allowing 1,200 for New Plymouth, we

have 7,704 for New Munster. If the number of immigrants at present in the colony be subtracted from this, the remainder is 1,423, which represents the excess of loss by death and re-emigration, over gain by immigration other than that caused by the New Zealand Company in founding the settlements of the province. As the deaths in question, by a calculation from the loose returns we have of them, amount to between 400 and 500, the excess of loss by re-emigration would be about 1,000. The actual number of them that belonged to the body sent out by the Company, the returns do not enable us to ascertain.”

The population of New Ulster, according to the *Blue Book* for 1849, was—

Districts.	European.			Maori.		
	Males.	Females.	Total.	Males.	Females.	Total.
AUCKLAND DISTRICT:—						
Town and suburbs	2,150	1,933	3,083	—	—	—
Onehunga and Epsom	655	536	1,191	—	—	—
Panmure, Otahuhu, and Tamaki	444	371	815	—	—	—
Howick and Papakura	348	318	666	—	—	—
Kawau and Motukete	204	137	341	—	—	—
Barrier Island, Mahurangi, and other saw- ing stations	690	310	1,000	—	—	—
BAY OF ISLANDS:—						
Russell	250	120	370	600	620	1,220
Waimate	37	25	62	1,000	500	1,500
Hokianga	103	84	187	1,400	500	1,900
Monganui, Waingarua, and Kaitaia	91	53	144	2,330	1,806	4,136
New Plymouth	640	549	1,189	790	550	1,340
Total	5,612	4,439	10,051	—	—	—

Note.—In the official return from which the above statistics are taken, the Maori population for the Auckland District is not given.

In a despatch from Governor Grey to Earl Grey, dated Auckland, March 22, 1849, it is stated that in the northern half of the Northern Island—

“There are, exclusive of the military and pensioners, not more than about 2,388 males of all ages, not more than 1,500 of whom can be regarded as adults; and the above number of 1,500 adult males includes all the civil officers of the government, the police, custom-house officers, persons employed in military works or in the supply of the troops, and aliens, who here are numerous.

“The number of males belonging to the regiments quartered here, and to the corps of pensioners, is 1,793, that is 293 in excess of the adult European male population of all other classes. The number of natives may perhaps be stated for all ages and sexes, at 80,000.

“In the southern half of the Northern Island, that is in the province of New Munster, the number of European males above twenty-one years of age, exclusive of the military, is 1,657, and in this number are included all the civil officers of the government, the police, custom-house officers, persons employed in military works or in the supply of the troops, and aliens. The number of males belonging to the troops quartered there is 1,155.

“I have no means of calculating accurately the native population within the same district but those

in immediate contact with the Europeans at Wellington, Taranaki, and Wanganui alone amount to about 7,000 souls, and I do not think that the whole of the native population in the district named can be taken at less than 25,000 souls.

“The result, therefore, for the northern island of New Zealand would stand as follows:—

Adult Males.		Natives.
Civil.	Military.	
1,500	1,703	80,000
1,657	1,155	25,000
3,157	2,948	105,000

And this does not include the naval force. Owing to the paucity of women and children amongst the natives, the number of males capable of bearing arms forms a very large proportion of the above stated native population.”

In a subsequent despatch, dated July, 1849, the Governor describes the New Zealand colony as consisting of nine principal European settlements, besides smaller dependencies of these, scattered over a distance of about 800 miles of latitude, separated from each other by wide intervals; only three of

them having inland communication with each other, even by persons on horseback. The total number of white colonists he states at 20,000 who were chiefly British subjects; but there were many Americans, French, and Germans. The majority are without arms, have never been trained to their use, and they are so scattered that they could not combine for their mutual assistance; and owing to the irregular manner in which they have occupied the country, it would be found impossible for the government to afford them efficient protection. The wide intervals between these European settlements are occupied by the Maories, or native races,* whose numbers are estimated at 120,000, a very large proportion of whom are males, and, to a great extent, armed with rifles, or double-barrelled guns, in whose use they are well skilled, and who have shown themselves, in repeated encounters with some of our best regiments of the line, equal in tactics and in bravery to any European troops. They are such excellent strategists that our soldiers have never yet succeeded in bringing them to a decisive encounter; availing themselves of the advantages afforded by their wilds and fastnesses, moving independent of baggage or supplies, and subsisting on fern-root, or on potatoes, carried by their wives, they can move and act where our troops could not live, and at any moment they could disarm every European in New Zealand.

Sir George Grey adds,—

"There appears to be no analogy between the irregular manner in which these islands were partially peopled by whalers and persons from all portions of the globe, and the pilgrim fathers who founded the early settlements in America. And I have been assured by many excellent and experienced officers, well acquainted with America and this country, that there is, in a military point of

* This estimate being higher than that given elsewhere, is adduced by Mr. Shortland in his recent work, to combat the general opinion that the Maori population is decreasing. He argues at considerable length, that the cessation of internecine strife, which occasioned much bloodshed, and reduced large numbers to slavery, had materially checked a diminution which was otherwise inevitable—that a greater feeling of security has caused them to quit their fortified and isolated paha, and dwell in scattered villages, which has given rise to the idea of depopulation—that no reliance can be placed on their own vague statements as to their number in past times, exaggeration being a marked feature in their character. That there is no proof, whatever, of the Maori having in migrating from a warm climate, brought with him the habits of the tropics, and so generated an unsound constitution, but that on the

view, no analogy at all between the natives of the two countries; the Maories, both in weapons and knowledge of the art of war, a skill in planning and perseverance in carrying out the operations of a lengthened campaign, being infinitely superior to the American Indians. In fact, there can be no doubt that they are, for warfare in this country, even better equipped than our own troops.

"These natives, from the positions which they occupy between all the settlements, can choose their own point of attack, and might even so mislead the most wary government as to their intended operations as to render it extremely difficult to tell at what point they intended to strike a blow. They can move their forces with rapidity and secrecy from one point of the country to another; whilst, from the total absence of roads, the impassable nature of the country, and the utter want of supplies, it is impossible to move a European force more than a few miles into the interior from any settlement.

"The natives, moreover, present no point at which they can be attacked, or against which operations can be carried on. Finding now that we can readily destroy their paha or fortifications, they no longer construct them, but live in scattered villages, round which they have their cultivations, and these they can abandon without difficulty or serious loss, being readily received and fed by any friendly tribe to whom they may repair. They thus present no vulnerable point. Amongst them are large numbers of lawless spirits, who are too ready, for the sake of excitement and the hope of plunder, to follow any predatory chief. To assist in anything which might be regarded as a national war, there can be little doubt that almost every village would pour forth its chiefs and its population.

"With these characteristics of courage and warlike vagrancy, the Maories present, however, other remarkable traits of character. Nearly the whole nation has now been converted to Christianity. They are fond of agriculture, take great pleasure in cattle and horses; like the sea, and form good sailors; are attached to Europeans, admire their customs and manners; are extremely ambitious of rising in civilization, and of becoming skilled in European arts; they are apt at learning; in many respects extremely conscientious and observant of their word; are ambitious of honours, and are probably the most covetous race in the world. They are also agreeable in manners, and attachments of a lasting character readily and frequently spring up between them and the Europeans."

contrary, Cook considered them a peculiarly healthy and vigorous race, that it seems doubtful if strumous complaints (consumption, scrofula, &c.) are so prevalent among them as in Britain, and that the introduction of Christianity has mitigated the rigorous labour to which women were subjected, has stopped cannibalism, infanticide, abortion, and other crimes, promoted monogamy, diminished feuds and ancient animosities, and given a new and peaceful direction to the thoughts and energies of a brave, active, and enterprising people.

"There is then, it is believed," he goes on to say, "no sufficient reason to anticipate the extinction of the Maori race, except by the possible means of its becoming blended with the European stock, an event the accomplishment of which must be very remote under any circumstances."—*Southern Districts of New Zealand*; chapter iii.

The subjoined statement of the native population is the only detailed estimate yet published, I therefore give it, although it is evidently grounded on very vague data. The spelling adopted by Mr. Halswell is so different from that used by other authorities, that I have altered it in several places, lest it should be unintelligible:—

From North Cape to River Wangape	5,000
From Monganui, West, to Mangarura, East	10,800
Kaipara to Wangerura	600
Hauraki, River Thames	4,200
Manukao and Waikato	18,000
Tauranga Kati Kati, Bay of Plenty	1,200
Koturoa, Bay of Plenty	9,000
Wakatane, "	2,400
Oputeki "	6,000
Wai-apu nui, East Cape	3,800
Waiapu, Tologa Bay, Oper. Bay, &c.	8,000
Poverty Bay, Mahia to Cape Mata Maui	12,000
Mata Maui, Wairarapa, &c.	900
Port Nicholson	541
North Side of Cook Straits	3,400
Wanganui	2,000
Tikoe to Cape Egmont, Raupuku	3,000
Taranaki Pauki, Eapupu to Mokau River	3,000
Taupo Lake	6,000
Urawara	3,000
Cloudy Bay	200
Queen Charlotte's Sound	1,800
Haurire, Tepapakreru, Waikawa	100
Rangitoto	250
Wakatu, Tehahi tahu, Motueka, Rewaka, } and round the Shores at Blind Bay	300
Tokarupu, Port Cooper, Kokoraratata, Port } Levy	158
Kapuke	12
Waura River	79
Waihora Lake	26
Ohuki	34
Tunouri	20
Waikouaiti	20
Moerake	215
Purakainui	30
Otago, all the Settlements on both sides } the Bay	340
Tokata	30
Ruapuke, Five Settlements	350
Stewart's Island!	20
Centre Island, about Four Miles from } Main Land	200
Codfish Island	60
To Arnett's River	150
From Arnett's River to Rocky Point	30
Total	107,265

* There has invariably been a difference manifested in New Zealand, as among ancient nations, between slaves in our sense of the word and captives. Both were employed in services more or less degrading to a "rangatira," but the born freeman, when captured was treated with more consideration, though his life was quite as much at the disposal of his master as that of a born slave. Among the slave class the fortune of war has sometimes included some of the highest chiefs and finest looking men and women in the country, and on the other hand individuals

The following statement shows the numbers and condition of the natives of Wellington, Waikanae, Otaki, Manawatu, Rangitiki, and Wairarapa, in 1849, compiled by the Native Secretary to government:—

Population:—Male adults, 2,053; female ditto, 1,596; male children, 566; female ditto, 496; grand total, 4,711. Religion:—Church of England, 2,260; Wesleyans, 534; Roman catholics, 161; grand total, 2,955. Moral condition:—Married according to Europeans, 121; ditto native custom, 968; can read and write, 1,148; can read only, 414; daily scholars, 283.—Churches or chapels, 39, weather boarded houses, 29; huts, 1,102; horses, 349; cattle, 262; sheep, 42; wheat, 240 acres; maize, 235 acres; potatoes, 648 acres; kumera, 78 acres; other garden produce, 67 acres; tame pigs, 2,690; goats, 127; vessels, 2; war canoes, 130; water mills, 3; carts, 8.

The natives within the above mentioned districts are in the receipt of rents to the amount of £802 8s. per annum. The quantity of flax prepared by them averages 120 tons per annum, which is sold at the rate of about £10 per ton.

Among the aborigines there appear to have been originally at least two races, marked by distinctive characteristics, one composing the class of chiefs, (rangatira, or gentlemen,) the other an inferior variety of race, which has gradually become more or less enslaved; for slavery, though in a very mild form, was, until the introduction of Christianity, general throughout New Zealand.* The superior class are of a light brown or olive hue, and lofty stature; their features handsome and intellectual, notwithstanding the custom of *tattooing*† them; and the natural dignity of their bearing so striking, as to have induced more than one traveller to compare a Maori chief, wrapped in the ample folds of his red blanket, to a Roman senator in his toga. In the other class, traces of a negro cast of features, and a darker shade of colour, are observable; and the curly, black hair, rather short, thick-set frame, and inferior expression of countenance, seem to indicate difference of race, much modified, however, by frequent intermarriage and changes of position. In New Zealand, females hold

notably inferior in personal appearance may be found among the ruling chiefs.

† The *tattooing* or *tattooing*, when well done, is said to have an effect by no means unpleasant to the eye, after a short time. The Maories say it makes the young men look like warriors, and the old appear young; this is so far true that it forms an unchanging mask. The young women, when first urged by the missionaries to leave off so barbarous a custom, replied, "we must have a few lines, particularly on the lips, just to keep away wrinkles."

property in their own right, and raise their husbands nearly to their own station, a fact which has been too little regarded in examining the claims of the early settlers.

The Maori women, when young, frequently possess considerable symmetry of form; their dark, bright, restless eyes are very fascinating; their teeth regular, and as white as ivory; and their soft voices give a peculiar sweetness and pathos to the musical idiom of their native tongue, which closely resembles that of the Sandwich Islands, and also that of Tahiti. Respecting the character of this singular and deeply interesting people much has been written of late years. Captain Cook's account, though necessarily cursory and imperfect, from his limited communication with them, is invaluable as our only record of their habits and manners, as a heathen nation, while yet unchanged by communication with Europeans. He says, that "the dispositions of both men and women seemed to be mild and gentle; they treat each other with the tenderest affection, but are implacable towards their enemies." Abundant testimony from various witnesses has confirmed the correctness of this remark; nor is it a slight evidence in their favour, that those who have known them best and longest, have esteemed them most. Bishop Selwyn, Archdeacons William and Henry Williams, and, in fact, the whole clerical and missionary body, have been included in one sweeping censure as prejudiced witnesses: yet their conclusions, grounded upon personal experience, are fully borne out by those of Governors Hobson, Fitz-Roy, Grey, and of the good and able Judge Martin. Captain Fitz-Roy speaks of the strict sense of honour which distinguishes their intercourse with their families and friends, of their unbounded hospitality, and of the purity of their hearth, (crimes against which were punished with death, after a kind of trial by jury,) as reminding him of the leading characteristics of the Araucanian Indian, as well as of the Arab of the desert, from whom the New Zealander, or rather the Polynesians in general, may be descended, and that they may be classed among the numerous children, or posterity, of Ishmael, whose hand, according to prophecy, should be against every man, and every man's hand against them!

In war, the Maori, throwing aside all gentler feeling, gives the rein to every bad passion of the unregenerate man; he be-

comes bloodthirsty, treacherous, and revengeful, though, even then, he never appears to exhibit the diabolical and systematic cruelty exercised among many savage nations. He kills, but rarely tortures. The *haka*, or war-dance, performed previous to hostile onsets, to which the trembling wives of the early missionaries so often listened in speechless horror, while their husbands strove, at the risk of their lives, to mediate between the opponents, is described as something terribly appalling; the ferocious shouts and serpent-like hissing seeming to express an energy of hate and evil truly demoniacal. Their demonstrations of grief for the dead, of anguish at parting, of joy at meeting, are scarcely less vivid; but probably they indicate, like other paroxysms, a brief duration of the feeling thus expressed. The New Zealanders are, however, beyond question, faithful and affectionate; they are devotedly attached to their own offspring, and both fond and proud of the European children. The native women married by the whalers, sealers, and some of the lower class of settlers, have made good wives; but the difficulty of acquiring the Maori language, and the far greater difficulty of their learning English, is an obstacle to the happiness of these unions.

The Maori character, like that of many other nations, both civilized and savage, presents some strange contrarieties. Honest and trustworthy—true to the letter and spirit of their plighted faith—many of them are given to lying, from the mere habit of freely indulging the vagaries of a romantic imagination. They enjoy gossip, and invent stories when they have no news to tell; they love the marvellous, and exaggerate greatly. Shrewd traders, and well aware of the value of money, they are naturally generous, and cannot be prevented from lavishing on some newly-arrived relation or friend the whole of their hard earnings. Their poetry, many short pieces of which have been translated by Dieffenbach, Joplin, Merrett, Davis, and others, would in itself form an extraordinary feature in the history of any uncivilized people; and it is to be regretted that more care has not been taken to become still better acquainted with it, ere it pass away with the generation through whom some portions of it might be perpetuated. Of the various customs and manners—of the carvings and habitations—of the dress and implements of war—of the tattooed and preserved heads—and, above

all, of the wild, fanciful, and gloomy, but not idolatrous superstitions of the New Zealanders, in their heathen state, so much information has been circulated in England of late years,* that it is scarcely necessary to allude to them, save as relics of a by-gone era.

New Zealand is now becoming a Christian nation, and we may reasonably anticipate great things of her children. It must not be overlooked, even in this hasty sketch, that she has already produced men and women who, if their characters were correctly delineated, and their history faithfully recorded, might take rank as great men. True it is, we can do little more than conjecture the motives of those daring adventurers who, migrating hither from some of the Polynesian islands, have been the founders of a race who, physically and morally, have few equals among aboriginal tribes, and whose daring determination in defending their territorial rights has not been more conspicuous than their keen appreciation of the benefits resulting from the arts of peace, and their almost general admittance, if not reception, of the truths and doctrines of the Christian faith.

The spirit that actuated Peter the Great, in laying aside his sceptre to labour with his hands in the dock-yards of England, was it not the same that induced Duaterra to break the chain of prejudice and custom, and labour in the lowest and most laborious agricultural employments, that he might instruct his countrymen in those useful pursuits, which he felt to be essential to their progress. Did ever far-seeing statesman meditate more anxiously the consequences that might result from his conduct in some trying emergency, than this same New Zealand chief, when, after agreeing to receive and protect the early ministers of religion and civilization, a whispered warning led him to reflect on the condition of the aborigines of Australia and Van Diemen's Island, and hesitate to introduce into his own beloved country, European settlers, under any guise or pretext.† (*Vide* p. 122.)

Te Pehi, or Tippahee, the great chief who visited England, won for himself and his people no small popularity. (p. 116.)

E'Onghi, and the blind wife who accom-

panied him in all his campaigns—does he bear no resemblance to other conquerors? saving, of course, the fearful stain of cannibalism, which has thrown a deep veil of horror and disgust over exploits, which those who delight in war might otherwise have deemed glorious,—so ambitious were his projects, so daring their execution. (p. 123.)

George, the inciter of the fearful Boyd massacre, was a bold, bad man, but his worst passions had been roused by the injuries and insults heaped upon him by Captain Thompson and his ill-fated crew; and, even in the midst of the frightful carnage, he shewed a touch of grateful feeling, by protecting the cabin-boy, who had shewn him kindness during the period of degradation which he so fearfully avenged. (p. 118.) Subsequently, Mr. Marsden, when engaged in establishing the earliest mission in New Zealand, proved his confidence in the inviolable hospitality of even the most ruthless of Maori chiefs, by sleeping by his side, surrounded by the fiercest warriors of the tribe.

To come to more recent times, Te Whero-Whero, and the brothers Patuone and Walker Nene, are men, whose natural ability, honesty, and steadfastness of purpose, successive governors of New Zealand have scarcely known how to praise sufficiently. Heke and Kawiti must be acknowledged by every one, who has studied the events of 1844-5, to have been skilful warriors, even military tacticians; certainly, they were far from being bloodthirsty savages. The wife of Heke, the daughter of E'Onghi, was a very remarkable woman, and the principal adviser of Heke throughout his warfare. Ranghiaiaata, appears to have been crafty and sanguinary, but both he and Te Rauperaha (by far the superior of the two), cannot be considered as otherwise than men of considerable ability, and conduct in war. Who can read, without emotion, the consistent conduct of Puaha, the Christian chief, whose deep forebodings of the consequences that would result from the perseverance of the Nelson party, in their illegal attempt to seize the persons of the Maori chiefs, while defending their own property, powerfully impressed the mind of Captain

* *Vide* Angus' *Savage Life and Scenes*, Dieffenbach's *New Zealand*, Polack, and others.

† At the close of his eventful life, Duaterra was only eight-and-twenty. It pleased God to summon him at the very moment when his brightest anticipa-

tions seemed about to be realized, and his zealous efforts crowned with success.—(*Vide* an interesting memoir drawn up by the Rev. S. Marsden, and published in the appendix to Nicholas' *Voyage to New Zealand*.)

Wakefield; and whose solemn entreaties, but for the hasty violence of Mr. Thompson, the police magistrate, might, up to the very moment when the firing commenced, have stayed the effusion of blood, and saved the valuable lives so recklessly sacrificed at the Wairau. (p. 202.) Lest, however, I should seem to have formed too favourable an opinion of the Maories, I subjoin the following remarks, penned by one who having become acquainted with them in war time, and, as an enemy—yet, generously acknowledges their claims to respect:—

“The Maori is not a whit inferior in intelligence—is perhaps even superior in natural acuteness—to the uneducated classes of Europeans. Many individuals among them are possessed of superior understanding, and considerable information; and even the old men can sufficiently appreciate the advantages of education to begin their schooling long after time has grizzled their locks. An instance of an European perfectly uneducated to the age of fifty, and who then begins to acquire a knowledge of reading and writing, is considered remarkable; it is by no means so among the Maories. They pay as much attention to the improved cultivation of their lands as to that of their minds; European spades and mattocks take the place of their own rude implements; grain is everywhere superseding the potato. Sheep and cattle are added to their stock; fair wages purchase fair labour, and they put money in the bank. These are men who have some stake in the country, who can understand clearly when they are oppressed or injured, and who can resent it fearlessly. . . . The story of the natives of New South Wales and of Van Diemen's Land is well known to them, and they dread similar consequences to themselves, though with a steady determination to meet them with stout resistance.”—Power; pp, 156, 157.

Among other measures adopted for the benefit of the natives, by her Majesty's government, may be mentioned, the prohibition of the sale of spirituous liquors to them, of arms, of gunpowder, or even the repair of arms; providing the means of educating a number of native children; the establishment of hospitals, where they are treated on the same footing as Europeans; a tolerably efficient medical attendance in the most populous native districts; the employment of a native constabulary force; the enactment of laws for the adjustment of all disputes between the aborigines and Europeans; the issue of a weekly newspaper in the Maori language, wherein all measures of the government are explained to them, and its columns open to them for complaint; the training of the natives in various kinds of skilled labour on public works, under the superintendence of the royal engineer department; the for-

mation of roads, and opening up of large tracts of country; the establishment of savings' banks; and government advances of small sums to different chiefs, to enable them to buy and build small sailing vessels for fishing and coasting traffic. This last admirable measure was introduced by Governor Fitz-Roy, although—cruelly fettered by the hopeless state of bankruptcy in which he found the colonial treasury, he had no pecuniary means of benefitting the natives, save from his private purse. The advances made have been punctually repaid, and the result of this wise and kindly policy is seen in the establishment of an extensive coasting trade, carried on chiefly by the natives.

Some important privileges remain to be conceded them; viz., that they should have a voice in the legislature, and be selected, if duly fitted by character and education, as salaried functionaries of the government, equally with British subjects of European descent. To exclude them from the elective franchise solely on the ground of their ignorance of a most difficult language, which Bishop Selwyn declares to be next to impossible for them to acquire, is an injustice which cannot be too soon rectified.

Their territorial rights have been fully recognised: in 1848, the few resident natives were treated with for the cession of certain extensive portions of the Middle Island, for which the sum of £2,000 was paid to them, and extensive reserves set apart for their sole use and benefit. The resident natives of the southern extremity of the Middle Island (about 280 individuals), have offered to sell to the government all that remains to them, including the whole country between Otago and Foveaux Strait, and Captain Stokes considers they would do so for £2,000 purchase-money.

In various places, the natives are leasing their reserves to European stockholders and agriculturists; from the Valley of the Wairarapa, they derive upwards of £1,000 per annum, and at Nelson and elsewhere, their rentals are improving, and will ultimately prove very lucrative. Of their own progress in mechanical, agricultural, and pastoral pursuits, many illustrations have been given in the preceding chapter. The more recent despatches of Governor Grey, and also the minutes of Lieutenant-governor Eyre respecting them, seem to indicate that, to energy and ability, they are gradually adding the habits of steady in-

dustry, which affords the best guarantee for their continuous progression as a civilized people.

The following testimony, borne by the governor in 1850, after an extensive tour, is highly creditable to the Maories, and proves that the missionaries, in their zeal for their spiritual welfare, have laboured also to improve their temporal condition :—

" I visited the districts of the Thames, of Rotorua, of Taupo, of Waipa, and of the whole west coast lying between Kawhia, and this place. Throughout the whole of these extensive and remote districts, I found the natives warmly attached to the British government, and anxious in every manner to testify their loyalty and attachment to the British crown.

" 2. I am also happy to be able to state that I found them in all places pursuing improved modes of agriculture, and making preparations for the erection of water mills, or for other improvements. It was necessary for me to visit many mission stations, and I, in all instances, found the missionaries actively superintending and promoting the various improvements, in which the natives were engaged, so that the residence of these gentlemen in the districts I have visited, is conferring an advantage which cannot be overvalued, upon the present inhabitants of these islands, and upon the future occupants of them."

RELIGION.—Too little regard has been shown by the government, and utter indifference has been manifested by the New Zealand Company, to the making due provision for the administration of the ordinances of Christianity. There are no livings, rectories, or glebes throughout New Zealand. The only expense borne by the state, in the province of New Ulster, is—at Auckland, the salary of one chaplain (£200); and the whole ecclesiastical cost of the New Munster Province, for five settlements, was, for the year 1848, only £133 6s. 8d. Even in May, 1849, Lieutenant-governor Eyre, addressing the Legislative Council at Wellington, expressed deep regret that the province of New Munster should so long have laboured under a deficiency of ministers of religion, and of the means of Christian education. Until recently there was only one clergyman to attend to the spiritual care of 4,500 persons, spread over an extent of nine miles—to officiate at four places of worship, distant one, five, and nine miles from each other—to visit the hospital and jail, and succour the poor and afflicted. For several successive sabbaths in 1848-9 there was not an officiating clergyman of the church of England in Wellington. To remedy this grievous defect the Lieut.-governor appointed a colonial chaplain, as the New Zealand Company ought to have done years before.

In 1848 the religious persuasions in New Munster were—

Denominations.	Wellington	Nelson.	Akaroa.	Otago.
Church of England .	2,668	1,480	92	168
Wesleyan	726	468	12	19
Other Dissenters ¹ .	1,088	769	87	275
Roman Catholics . .	262	187	69	19
Non Sectarian ² . .	71	166	5	4
Hebrew	28	—	—	—

¹ Include the Established and Free Churches of Scotland (of which no separate census had been taken in 1848), the Cameronian, Primitive Methodists, German Lutherans, and the English and Scotch Independents.

² Professing to belong to no religious sect.

The number of places of worship were, church of England, 9; church of Scotland, 1; Wesleyan, 7; other dissenters, 7; Roman Catholic, 3. The experiment of founding settlements exclusively of one religious persuasion has in the instance of Otago been manifestly a failure; this settlement was to consist solely of the free church of Scotland, and an endowment of £300 a year for a minister was created; yet in 1848 there were 276 persons of five different persuasions, including that of the free church of Scotland, and 206 of the church of England, church of Rome, and Wesleyan persuasion.

The places of worship in New Ulster, in 1849, were in Auckland District 8, with 6 clergymen; Bay of Islands 4, with 6 clergymen; Wesleyan 6, with 6 clergymen; Presbyterian 1, Roman Catholic 1.

The clergymen of the church of England are not paid by the government, but by the Church Missionary Society; the bishop receives a small sum from government, and the remainder of his stipend is also furnished by the same beneficent association.*

In the Maori villages there is generally a building of a larger size than the dwelling houses of the people, set apart for Divine worship, and although these are for the most part rude structures, compared with the costly edifices of stone or brick raised by civilized man, they are marked by the pleasing feature of being the best buildings in the place. It is calculated that of those natives who are in connection with the Church Mission there are about 46,000 regular attendants on the religious services, while the communicants are above 6,000.

* Report of Church Missionary Society; 1849 p. 204.

The subjoined statements of the present conditions of the New Zealand Missions have been furnished me by the courtesy of their respective secretaries:—

Church Missionary Society in New Zealand, 30th April, 1850.

Church Districts.	Date of Formation.	Number of Stations.	Eng. Clerical Missionaries.	European Lay Teachers.		Native Lay Teachers.	Native communicants, 1849.	Total.	Seminaries and Schools.	Scholars.
				Male.	Female.					
Northern .	1814	6	3	2	2	99	871	106	—	—
Middle .	1834	8	8	3	1	74	1,224	86	—	—
Eastern .	1839	6	4	1	—	132	2,893	137	80	3,500
Western .	1839	3	4	1	—	156	1,064	161	28	2,322
At home .	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
Totals .	—	23	20	7	3	461	6,052	491	—	—

The gradual increase of the native communicants of the eastern district is very remarkable: it is thus shown in the report of Archdeacon W. Williams for the year 1849:—In the year 1840, the number was 29; 1841, 133; 1842, 451; 1843, 675; 1844, 946; 1845, 1,484; 1846, 1,668; 1847, 1,960; 1848, 2,054; 1849, 2,893.

The Wesleyan Mission—now enumerates sixteen principal stations, the chief establishments of which are situated at Auckland, Manukau, Mangungu, Waima, Wairoa, Kawhia, Aotea, New Plymouth, Waingarua, Waipa, Waimate, Waitotara, Wanganui, Port Nicholson, Nelson, and Waikowaiti. Upon, or in connection with these stations, 104 chapels, and 129 other places of worship have been erected; and the number of missionaries is now twenty. Upwards of 3,000 native communicants, whose altered conduct furnishes proof that they have imbibed the spirit, as well as assumed the profession of Christianity, are, together with more than 500 of their white brethren, recognised as fully accredited church members. Many native teachers have been raised up, who are zealously engaged, under the direction of the missionaries, in teaching their ignorant fellow countrymen. Of these native agents, 325 act as local preachers or exhorters, 390 as sabbath school teachers, while seven assist in conducting day schools. An institution for training native teachers is in successful operation. 110 day schools have been instituted, in 105 of which, 3,413 natives, adults, and children, are receiving the advantages of religious and general education; and five day schools are conducted for the benefit of the children of the colonists, in which 236 children are receiving instruction: 207 sabbath schools, attended by upwards of 7,000 scholars of both sexes, afford religious instruction to both adults and children, the native race, and to the colonial youth on the Lord's day. A printing press has been several years at work, at the principal station on the Hokianga, in printing books in the native language, to meet the spirit of enquiry which has been excited among the people.

The British and Foreign Bible Society has printed in the Maori language—of the New Testament, 60,900 copies; Testaments and Psalms, 20,200. Portions of the Old Testament, 10,120 = 91,220; about 80,000 of these copies have been granted to the Church and Wesleyan Missionary Societies, for the use of the New Zealanders.

Numerous copies of the New Testament and of the Liturgy of the Church of England have been printed in the Maori language, and many more are urgently required.

The Roman Catholic mission to New Zealand was founded in 1838, when Monseigneur Pompallier, the bishop, arrived with a priest and catechist. In 1846 there were two Roman Catholic bishops, sixteen priests, and eight friars distributed over the islands. Of the number of converts I am unable to offer an estimate.

The conversion of the Maories to Christianity is the only modern instance of an entire race of heathens, sunk in the depths of sin and degradation, being converted, within the period of a single generation, to the worship of the one true God. Did space afford the narration of the blessed effects of missionary efforts through the abounding grace of the Spirit, many special instances would seem little short of miracles. Governor Grey states that the whole native population are now Christians; and in the cessation of polygamy and infanticide, in the abandonment of their heathen superstitions, in their daily study of the scriptures, in their assembling regularly every morning and evening for public worship in each village before and after labour, in their studious observance of the Sabbath as a holy day, and in their erection of numerous temples of worship, unmistakable evidence is afforded how well they merit this distinctive and ennobling appellation.

EDUCATION.—According to the census of 1848, there were in New Munster—*Private* schools, 13, with 251 males, and 142 female pupils. *Public* schools—Church of England day schools, 7; scholars, 235 males, 159 females; ditto, Sunday, 6 scholars, 182 males, 138 females. Scotch Presbyterian day school, 1; scholars, 22 males, 26 females; Sunday, 2; scholars, 47 males, 51 females.

340 STATISTICS OF EDUCATION AND CRIME IN NEW ZEALAND.

Wesleyan day schools, 4; scholars, 188 males, 124 females; Sunday, 4; scholars, 33 males, 34 females. Roman Catholic school, 1; scholars, 39 males, 5 females. Dissenters generally, day schools, 5; scholars, 83 males, 48 females; Sunday, 4. Non-sectarian day schools, 11; scholars, 115 males, 109 females; Sunday, 8; scholars, 195 males, 220 females.

This return does not include Maori or

regimental schools. It appears that of the European population, 1,286 males and 1,234 females could *not* read in 1848. Those who could read only, were in number 875 males, 862 females: those who could read and write were 2,602 males, 1,664 females. The total number receiving daily education was 1,709.

The state of the schools in New Munster, 1849, was—

Districts.	Schools.	Scholars.		Total.
		Males.	Females.	
Wellington	3 public day	108	69	177
"	12 private day	287	98	385
"	7 Sunday, for Europeans	90	46	136
"	2 " for Maories	35	30	65
Wanganui	1 public day	23	19	48
Nelson	13 "	289	241	530
"	14 Sunday, for Europeans	360	316	676
Otago	1 "	16	18	34
"	1 public day	36	34	70
Total receiving instruction in 54 schools		1,250	871	2,121

The state of education in New Ulster, during 1849, was—in Auckland District, *Church of England*, 7 schools, with 122 male, and 84 female scholars; Roman Catholic, 7 schools, with 340 male, and 286 female scholars; *Wesleyan*, 2 schools, with 270 children, and 1 native school. In the other districts of the province of New Ulster there are 11 schools, with 16 European and 965 Maori children; and 1 school at Aotea has 750 scholars, marked as attending instruction there.

Some of these schools are merely educational; others combine industrial pursuits, with elementary instruction. At many of the native schools the pupils are boarded, and raise much of their own food. The contributions from the public revenue of New Ulster, in 1849, towards industrial and common education, was—to the Church of England schools, £1,225; Wesleyan Mission, £873; Roman Catholic Mission, £405.

The Press.—Auckland, Wellington, Nelson, and Otago, have each one or more newspapers in the English language. The government, in 1842, established, at the suggestion of Mr. George Clarke, then protector of aborigines, a *Gazette* in the Maori language, with English letters, the Maories having no alphabetic or phonetic characters of their own. This useful periodical was set aside by Governor Grey, in 1846, but has been lately re-established. By its means the aborigines are kept constantly ac-

quainted with the measures of government with respect to them, and with the reasons for their adoption. Interesting information is also furnished, and the *Gazette* is read with avidity, and its news discussed by village politicians with freedom and public spirit.

CRIME.—The number of convictions before the Supreme Court in New Munster, for five years, ending in 1848, was—

Offences.	Wellington.	Nelson.
Against the person	17	2
" property	35	6
Miscellaneous	8	—
Total	60	8

The murders were, in number, 2—man-slaughters, 3; wounding, with intent to kill, 1; burglaries, 8; rape, 2. Of the 61 prisoners convicted, 20 consisted of persons who had arrived from New South Wales, Van Diemen's Island, or Parkhurst prison in England; 19 were soldiers; 10 were sailors, or unknown; 10 were original settlers; and 2 were Maories.

The total number of persons committed to prison in the Auckland District, in 1849—of whites, 112 males, 36 females; coloured, 9 males, 1 female = 158. At New Plymouth, 7 whites, and 1 coloured.

GOVERNMENT.—The mode in which the executive and legislative affairs of New Zealand were administered at the period of the

formation of the colony, has already been described, (p. 143,) as also the changes proposed in 1846, by an act of the Imperial Parliament—the repeal of that act, and the present form of administration, (pp. 231—235.) In 1852, a new constitution will be formed for New Zealand.

There is no local government at Nelson, New Plymouth, Otago, or Canterbury; and there are no municipalities there. The governor at Auckland appoints a magistrate and collector of customs for each settlement. Unpaid magistrates, sufficient to form a bench, are nominated from among the resident inhabitants; and the puisne judge at Wellington makes circuits when necessary. There is a chief justice and a Supreme Court of Judicature at Auckland.

MILITARY DEFENCES.—The number of troops stationed in New Zealand since the commencement of the administration of Governor Grey, has varied from 2,000 to 3,000. At present there are about 1,500 men, composed of royal artillery, engineers, and troops of the line, all under the authority of a major-general. There is also a local corps, termed the "Royal New Zealand Fencibles," composed of military pensioners who have been sent out with their wives and families as emigrants, and located in different districts.

The tabular statistics of the first, second, third, fourth, fifth, and sixth divisions of pensioners enrolled for service in New Zealand on the 1st of December, 1849, are as follows:—

No. of Division and Name of Village.	Date of Arrival in the Colony.	Miles distant from Auckland.	No. of Men who arrived in Colony.	Acre lots given to each Division.	Advance for Stock, &c.	Cottages complete and occupied.	Cottages in progress.	Horned Cattle owned by pensioners	No. of Women, Pensioners' Wives.
1 Onehunga	Aug. 5, 1847	6	67	63	—	64	—	36	54
2 Howick.	Oct. 8, "	13	76	76	£275	25	44	49	69
3 "	Oct. 10, "	13	66	66	192	50	12	47	60
4 "	Nov. 26, "	13	77	75	200	50	11	23	58
5 Panmure	Jan. 23, 1848	8½	75	75	192	70	6	—	57
6 Otahuhu	May 15, "	8¼	73	73	—	25	4	16	68

Note.—In addition to horned cattle, the first division possess three horses.—The twenty-five cottages returned as incomplete in the sixth division are incomplete, and given over.—The four cottages, in the same division, returned as in progress, comprise two sergeants' and two privates' cottages.

Subsequently to the date of this return a much greater quantity of Pre-emption Land has been applied for than had been previously.

A Maori militia has been commenced: in April, 1849, arrangements were entered into between Governor Grey and nine chiefs of Te Whero-whero's tribe, by which themselves, and seventy-two of their followers, were permitted to occupy government lands in the neighbourhood of one of the European pensioners' (New Zealand Fencibles) villages, about six miles from Auckland.*

* Each of eighty-two Maories are to occupy six acres of government land rent free, subject to the condition of their serving, armed at their own expense, under the command of an officer of the Pensioners, whenever they may be called out for drill or military service by the government. For the first twelve days of such drill or service, they are to receive no payment, but for any number of days not exceeding twelve in the year, "they are to receive 1s. 6d. per diem. It is contemplated at the end of seven years to make over to the well conducted their lands and houses as freeholds. They are brought under the supervision of a British military officer and of a very active and energetic clergyman; and 'their first care in selecting the land for their occupation, was to examine every part with the object of ascertaining and reserving the best site for a church and a place for the clergyman's residence;' the surveyor-general adds 'in the choice of these places they displayed more taste and judgment than could have been expected.'"—En-

Under a militia ordinance dated 25th March, 1845, there is in New Ulster an Auckland battalion, consisting of 20 officers and 976 rank and file: there is also a militia battalion at Wellington and at Nelson.

There are two militia battalions in New Munster, one for Wellington, the other for Nelson. The period for drilling is twenty days in each year.

closure in Despatch from Governor Grey to Earl Grey, dated 22nd June, 1849. In honour of their sovereign they unanimously named their location "*Queen's Town*." On signing the agreement the Maories stipulated that their native teacher, who, in the absence of the minister, read prayers, be exempted from military duties. Governor Grey intended to extend the number of these militia villages, so that in the event of renewed disturbances each division of the European New Zealand Fencibles would have the co-operation of a well drilled native militia, serving under the same officers, and whose activity and knowledge of the country would compensate for the unfitness of the Pensioners for rapid movements. By settling the Maories in fertile and favourable localities where they would find a ready market for their produce, an increasing value would, it was considered, be given to their property, and an intimacy spring up between them and their European neighbours, by which an attachment to British interests might be created.

CHAPTER V.

REVENUE—CUSTOM DUTIES AND OTHER ITEMS OF TAXATION—CIVIL AND MILITARY
EXPENDITURE—BANKS AND MONEYS—COMMERCE—EXPORTS—STAPLE PRODUCTS
—SHIPPING—WAGES OF LABOUR, AND PRICES OF PROVISIONS.

THE colony of New Zealand is unable, from its local revenue, to defray even its civil expenditure. In the New Zealand Company's settlements, throughout New Munster province, the revenue received in each successive year from 1840 to 1848, was:—£836, £4,425, £13,154, £12,592, £8,602, £6,341, £9,098, £15,515, £16,376. Meanwhile, the local expenditure increased from £1,550 to £69,861: this large sum being expended in the civil government of settlements containing less than 9,000 settlers. When to this we add the enormous charge for military expenses, it can scarcely be wondered that her Majesty's ministers should discourage the formation of colonies

on the so-called "self-supporting principle," when experience proves them to be so heavy and continuous a drain on the British exchequer; and yet ill adapted, with all the help that "puffing" and extensive publicity can give them, to attract the tide of emigration from countries where *cheap land* affords the best prospect of independence to the needy, but industrious and enterprising adventurer.

It is difficult to form an accurate statement of the revenue and expenditure of New Zealand as a British colony. The following table, framed from various documents, is therefore only approximative, the total outlay is about £250,000 a year:—

Year.	Revenue.			Parliamentary grant, or receipts in aid of revenue.	Appropriation from the commissariat chest for military and naval.	Total expenditure derived from local revenues, parliamentary grants, &c., and commissariat chest.
	From Customs, &c.	From land sales, &c. ¹	Total.			
1840 ^a	£926	—	£926	£43,347 ^a	£804	£72,419
1841	8,802	£28,540	37,342			
1842	20,282	11,723	32,005	17,494	1,426	50,925
1843	19,787 ^a	1,613	20,400	9,562 ^a	8,093	38,055
1844	13,756	405	14,161	2,532 ^a	9,782	26,475
1845	38,029	615	39,554	35,673	—	—
1846						
1847	42,430	835	43,365	37,752	153,038	234,155
1848	41,856	3,337	45,193	50,250	155,653	251,096
1849	44,940	3,600	48,540	33,000 ^a	151,455	232,995
1850	—	—	—	—	—	—

¹ The fees on land grants not included, as they belong to the general revenue department.—^a From the period of the assumption of British sovereignty in the early part of 1840.—^b This sum was advanced by the government of New South Wales from the taxes levied on the people of that colony, and has not yet, I believe, been repaid by New Zealand or by the British Treasury.—^c Of this £4,286 were arrears.—^d This includes £3,562, amount of bills drawn on the British Treasury, £5,000 drafts on Boyd and Robinson, of Sydney, and £1,000 a loan from the Bishop of New Zealand.—^e In addition to this £18,383 were issued as colonial debentures.—^f No blue book sent home for 1845-6.—^g Of this sum I am not certain, as moneys have been drawn from the commissariat chest in the colony, irrespective of the sums voted by parliament.

Custom duties form the principal source of revenue: they were suspended by Governor Fitz-Roy, 30th September, 1844, and re-established by Governor Grey in April and May, 1845. The sums collected since 1841 are thus imperfectly shown:—

Year.	Auckland.	Wellington.	Russell.	Nelson.	New Plymouth.	Akaroa.	Otago.	Total.
1841	£2,251	£2,829	£1,194	—	—	—	—	£6,274
1842	5,524	8,983	2,573	£1,335	£170	—	—	18,588
1843	4,047	6,534	1,904	3,069	467	£182	—	16,206
1844	3,069	4,604	1,051	1,972	481	246	—	11,426
1845	4,875	3,689	—	739	36	—	—	9,348
1846	—	6,368	—	1,070	—	—	—	—
1847	11,155	13,138	—	1,361	—	—	—	22,654
1848	17,970	11,020	—	1,571	—	—	824	31,385
1849	18,618	15,764	—	2,068	—	—	1,159	38,409
1850	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

The total civil and military revenue and expenditure in the years 1848-9, was:—

Districts.	1848.	1849.
Revenue:—		
New Ulster	£25,561	£25,687
New Munster	18,669	23,066
Total revenue	44,230	48,753
Civil Expenditure:—		
New Ulster	47,427	41,205
New Munster	40,300	39,054
Total civil expenditure	87,727	80,259*
Military Expenditure:—		
New Ulster	100,132	90,359
New Munster	55,521	61,096
Total military expenditure	155,653	151,455
Ditto civil	87,727	80,259
Grand total	243,480	231,714

The military charges are exclusive of the cost of conveying troops, of pensioners, and other charges incurred in England. The net charge to Great Britain, during 1849, in New Zealand, was about £173,000.

The expenditure defrayed from the commissariat chest by Great Britain, in 1849, in the colony, was:—New Ulster, £101,948; New Munster, 61,096=£163,044. This is exclusive of the Parliamentary grant of £11,589 12s. 3d, credited in the commissariat chest; it includes £2,424 for naval services. It appears that the New Zealand Fencibles cost, for 1849, £15,116; and for the erection of cottages in the same year, £12,185=£27,301.

The progress of military expenditure in New Zealand is thus seen, at two periods of three years each.

Year.	Expenditure.	Year.	Expenditure.
1841	£804	1847	£153,038
1842	1,426	1848	155,653
1843	8,093	1849	151,455
Total .	£10,323	Total . .	£460,146

Note.—These sums are exclusive of £28,992 furnished from the commissariat chest in aid of local revenue to the colonial government in 1847, and of £19,176 in 1848. They do not include the expenditure of the royal navy, which was very heavy; altogether the attempt of the New Zealand Company to dispossess the Maories of their land has in a mere pecuniary point of view cost the British exchequer at least a million sterling.

The sources of local taxation in New Zealand, in the years 1848-9, were:—

Duties on Imports.—On spirits, 5s. per gallon;

* The salary of the Governor is £2,500

cigars and snuff, 2s.; other manufactured tobacco, 1s.; on all other tobacco, 9d. per lb.; guns, weapons of every description, gunpowder, munitions of war, &c., £30 for every £100 of value; wine, £20, do; beer, £15, do. Goods, wares, and merchandise, not otherwise charged, the growth, produce, or manufacture of the United Kingdom, or of any British possession, £10, do.; goods, &c., from foreign states, £12:10s., do. The following articles admitted free of duty, live stock, bullion and coin, seeds, bulbs, and plants; printed books not being account books, common glass bottles imported full.* Similar duties are levied at Wellington and the other ports in New Zealand.

Among the other items of revenue are:—auctioneer's licences, £40 each, per annum; publican's do., general, £30; if within the limit of any borough, £40; night licences, additional, £10 per annum.† The "Raupo House Tax" is a levy of £20 per annum upon all owners of buildings constructed of raupo, nikau, straw, thatch, &c., within the boundaries of any town to which the provisions of the ordinance may be extended, if not removed within six months from the date of the proclamation. On all dogs found without a collar, 5s; with a collar and owner's name thereon, 2s. 6d. A slaughtering cattle licence, 2s. 6d.; and for each head of cattle slaughtered at a public slaughter house, 5s.; for every calf, sheep, and pig, 2s. 6d.

The depasturing licences are at the rate of £5 for a defined run; do. on crown lands, 10s. 6d. Assessment on cattle, each 8s.; on small do., 1s. each. For every licence to depasture cattle within the limits of a hundred, 10s. 6d. Licences to cut timber on crown lands, 5s. There are numerous public fees paid in the various offices.

The monetary state of New Zealand in 1849, is thus shewn:—

Districts.	Coin in circulation.	Paper currency in circulation.
Auckland	£50,000	£8,000
Russell	—	—
New Plymouth	700	400
Wellington	—	2,081

Note.—Where the — is inserted the amount is not known.

The paper currency is issued by a government bank, recently established, and by a branch of the *Union Bank of Australia*. The course of exchange is usually commissariat bills at par. Private bills from Auckland on England, 3 per cent. discount; from New Plymouth, 5 ditto; on Sydney, 1½ ditto.

The coins in circulation, and the weights and measures used are those of England.

There are savings' banks at Auckland and Wellington, for the encouragement of

* Blue Book of New Zealand for 1849, received at the Colonial Office, London, in March, 1851.

† Number of licensed public houses in 1848, at Wellington, 10; Nelson, 7; Otago, 3; Akaroa, 1.

provident habits, and of frugality among both European and Maori inhabitants.

Commerce.—The trade of New Zealand has disappointed the sanguine expectations entertained at the foundation of the colony. The export of flax has diminished for want of a cheap and expeditious mode of preparing it; the whale has well nigh deserted the coasts of these islands, in consequence of the exterminating practice of the shore whalers during the breeding season; the seal has altogether disappeared, and wool has not yet been raised in quantities sufficient to yield a large return.

Value of Exports of New Zealand produce.

Year.	Auckland.	Wellington.	Nelson.	Total.
1846	£40,187	£39,281	£2,672	£82,140
1847	12,670	19,128.	2,272	34,070
1848	15,096	19,550	1,772	36,416
1849	23,539	—	—	—
1850	—	—	—	—
1851	—	—	—	—

Note.—Wellington and Nelson, in 1849, no returns.

The staple items are, flax, wool, whale-oil and bone, timber, bark, kauri gum, ropes, hides; and from Auckland, in 1846, copper ore was exported to the extent of 1,202 tons, valued at £22,180. The wool exports from New Munster are increasing, and in 1851-'2, will probably exceed a quarter of a million pounds weight.

The value of the trade has been, for two years, thus:—

Districts.	1848.	1849.
Imports:—		
New Ulster	£124,434	£106,912
New Munster	109,410	147,767
Total	233,844	254,679
Exports:—		
New Ulster	21,329	54,668
New Munster	22,876	75,994
Total	44,215	133,662

The shipping outwards from ports in New Zealand, during 1849, was—

Ports.	Great Britain.		British Colonies.		United States.		Foreign States.		Total.	
	No.	Tons.	No.	Tons.	No.	Tons.	No.	Tons.	No.	Tons.
Auckland	2	908	48	10,162	21	3,393	9	2,138	80	29,622
Russell	—	—	1	465	4	698	13	3,827	18	4,990
Manganui	—	—	—	—	2	254	18	5,763	20	6,017
Hokianga	1	533	3	915	—	—	1	364	5	1,812
New Plymouth	—	—	2	202	—	—	—	—	2	202
Total	3	1,441	54	11,744	27	4,345	41	12,092	125	29,622
All the New Munster Ports .	2	1,055	50	9,688	2	648	17	5,760	71	17,151
Total of New Zealand .	5	2,496	104	21,432	29	4,993	58	17,852	196	46,773

Note.—The total number of men employed in this tonnage is, for New Ulster, 1,916; for New Munster, 924 = 2,841; or an average of one seaman to each eighteen tons of shipping.

The value of the principal articles of export from Auckland, produce of New Zealand, was, in 1844, £3,037; and in 1849, £23,539. The returns on this, and other matters, are defective.

The whaling establishments connected with the port of Wellington in 1843, comprised 4 ships, and 91 boats, giving employment to 768 men, and yielding produce to the value of £32,680. In 1848 there were only 2 vessels and 28 boats employed, and the produce was valued at £14,898.

Price of Labour.—Cheap labour was predicted as one of the most clear and satisfactory consequences of dear land in the Company's delusive programmes. The result has proved the fallacy of this as of its other propositions. During the years 1844-'46 and '48 the wages in Wellington District of domestic service ranged from £15 to £20 per annum, and of predial labour from £35 to £37; in both instances these figures did not include board and lodging; at

Wanganui domestic wages were £15 to £30. At Nelson predial labour ranged from £20 to £30; at Akaroa from £25 to £35.

Prices of Food, &c.—Wheat in Auckland District varied during 1849 from 3s. 9d. to 4s. 3d. per bushel; bread was 2d. per lb.; beef and mutton, 6d.; pork, 4d.; cheese, 1s.; butter, *fresh*, 2s. to 2s. 6d.; ditto, *salt*, 1s. 3d. to 1s. 6d.; tea, 1s. 6d. to 2s.; coffee, 1s.; sugar 4½d. to 5d.; tobacco, 1s. 10d. to 2s. 6d. duty paid; wine, 9s. to 10s., duty paid, per gall.; brandy, 15s. duty paid; beer, 7s.; horses, £18 to £20; horned cattle, £7 10s. to £10; sheep, 20s.; goats, 5s.; swine, 20s. each.

In Auckland District, in 1849, domestic labour averaged £30 per annum; agricultural, 4s.; and Trades, 7s. 6d. a-day.

At Wellington prices were nearly the same as at Auckland; some things were dearer; fowls and ducks 3s. to 5s. a-pair; geese, 5s. 6d. to 7s.; eggs, 1s. to 3s. a-dozen. The wages of domestic labour were, for males, £20 to £40; females, £15 to £25; agricultural, £35 to £60 a year; tradesmen, 6s. to 7s. a-day. At Nelson prices and wages were somewhat lower.

CHAPTER VI.

NATURAL PRODUCTIONS—VEGETATION—ANIMALS, BIRDS, REPTILES, AND INSECTS.

SEVERAL well-known scientific men have engaged in the examination and classification of the natural productions of New Zealand. Sir Joseph Banks and Dr. Solander; the two Forsters, father and son; Mr. Menzies, who accompanied Vancouver in 1791; Captain D'Urville, and his naturalist, M. Lesson, in 1822; and the brothers Cunningham, in 1826 and 1834, whose discoveries were subsequently published by Sir William Hooker. Dr. Dieffenbach, in 1840-'41, made diligent research, and has carefully recorded his own observations, together with those of his predecessors. Since his time, many intelligent travellers have visited these islands, but no professed naturalist; the following account is, therefore, chiefly derived from his interesting and valuable volumes, illustrated by remarks gathered from more recent writers.

VEGETATION.—New Zealand, with some of the adjacent islands (the Chatham, Auckland, and Macquarie's), forms a botanical centre. It is sufficiently distant from both America and Australia, to preserve its botanical peculiarities, and it offers a striking instance of the acknowledged fact, that the different regions of the globe are endowed with peculiar forms of animal and vegetable life.

The number of species at present known, is 632, of which number 314 are dicotyledonous or endogenous plants, and the rest, or 318, monocotyledonous and cellular plants. The consequence of this unusual proportion is very striking, and the traveller can scarcely fail to observe the scantiness of annual and flowering plants, of which, moreover, only a very few are possessed of vivid colours. In their place he will find a number of trees and ferns of various descriptions, which give at once a distinct character to the vegetation.

Among the CELLULAR, OR FLOWERLESS

* "On the dry hill lands between the mountains and the coast, which are not wooded, in some districts the prevailing growth is fern, in others grass. Where the former prevails, no crop can be obtained until the second year of cultivation, and both require manure to yield abundantly. In unwooded, low, alluvial lands, wherever the *Phormium tenax* or flax

plants, the tribe of the *algæ*, or sea-weeds, are numerous; upon some descriptions, pigs feed extensively. The large pods of several species of *laminariæ*, are used by the natives to contain oil and other fluids; some of them hold above a quart. There are many species of the *lichen* tribe; the volcanic nature, especially of the Northern Island, and the moisture of the climate being very favourable to their development. The fungi are also represented by several edible species. Champignons spring up wherever horses have been introduced. Another fungus, which grows to an enormous size, on the weather side of the tawaitree (*leiospermum racemosum*), is used by the natives as tinder. The tubar cibarium nearly resembles the European truffle; there are several varieties of it. In mosses and liver mosses, New Zealand is very rich; some are extremely beautiful; one species grows in the form of a diminutive fern tree; another is a cup moss, with brilliant scarlet sealing-wax-like tips and edges, and a third resembles bushes of white coral. Of all plants, however, the ferns, and fern-like plants are the most numerous, covering immense districts in the Northern, and large portions of the Middle Island; they replace the *gramineæ* of other countries.* Some of them grow to thirty feet and more in height, and the variety and elegance of their form, from the most minute species to the giants of their kind, are remarkable. The commonest description is the *pteris esculenta*, the root of which affords an article of food to the natives, that part being selected which is deepest in the earth; it is also eaten by cattle, sheep, and pigs. There are several tree-ferns, the loftiest of which, the *cyathea dealbata*, is forty feet in height. The undeveloped leaves of the *cyathea medullaris*, when cooked, are edible, as well as a portion

plant, the milk-thistle, the dock, or the bull-rush prevail, the cultivator can rely on a productive and immediate return on his labour. Where the flax plant grows in the low lands, they can be always drained, but where the bull-rush grows, much of the surface is too low to be drained." [From the diary of Mr. Tuckett.]

of the medulla; the flavour is rather insipid, but not disagreeable.

The number of *MONOCOTYLEDONOUS* or *EXOGENOUS* plants is very small in comparison with the cellular ones. Dieffenbach, who traversed the Northern Island extensively, declared that he had never met with (indigenous) grass in any other way than in simple specimens, excepting in the fertile district of Kaitaia; and on the barren volcanic table-land of the interior, where a coarse wiry grass, of a dirty yellowish colour, takes the place of the fern. Since then, however, extensive grassy tracts have been discovered, especially in the Middle Island, but the pasture, until manured, appears to grow generally in discoloured tufts.*

The useless, or almost useless *cyperaceæ*, or *sedge tribe*, are numerous, growing especially on the sandy downs on the seashore, or in swampy and stagnant places. The *toi-toi*, to which allusion has been so frequently made in the preceding pages, is a species of long rush-like sedge, used by the natives for forming the sides of their houses; it is fastened by bandages of flax to the wooden framework. The nearly related *restiaceæ* and *juncææ* have also several representatives, one of which, the *leptocarpus filiformis*, is a sure indication of shallow surface, and of a sub-soil, through which the water cannot percolate. The family of the *palmeæ* is represented by the *areca sapida*, a graceful tree, growing in the deepest recesses of the forest, and highly prized by the natives, who use its large pinnate leaves for roofing, while the tender shoot affords them food, and the heart is described by Angas, as resembling the cocoa-nut in flavour.

There are many species of the *asphodelææ*; the *dracæna australis* (ti or dragon-tree) forms jungle on the banks of the rivers; the *phormium tenax* (flax plant) is found everywhere, in swamps, on the driest hills, and on the sea side, where it is exposed to the spray of the salt water. One description has leaves twelve feet, and flower stalks twenty feet long; the flowers contain a sweet liquid in considerable quantities. The varieties of flax of the finest class must be planted; they require rich, moist, and flat, but not swampy land. All

* "The east and south coast of the Middle Island is for the most part unwooded, and grass is the prevailing vegetation; the "*phormium tenax*" prevails on strong rich land, and the bull-rush on tracts of very wet land. Where grass is found, on the lowest

the native clothing was formerly made of flax, prepared by scraping with the nail or with the sharp edge of a mussel-shell, and manufactured by entwining perpendicular threads with others extended horizontally, a simple but very tedious process. The *arthropodium cirrhatum*, the New Zealand lily, is one of its handsomest flowers; the large fleshy root is edible.

A climbing plant, belonging to the *smilacææ*, called *supplejack* by the Europeans, winds from tree to tree in the forests, often rendering the path scarcely passable. The natives use it to bind together the thatch-work of the houses, and the pigeon feeds especially on its red berries. There is one genus (three species) of the *iridææ*: the family of the *orchidææ* are more various, and have edible roots. Of the *aroideæ* the natives cultivate the *arum* or *caladium esculentum*, which they call taro, the tuberous root is the part eaten, and it forms a useful and nutritious article of food. The swamps of New Zealand are generally covered with the *typha angustifolia*, which under the name of *raupo* is a most useful material to the natives, who form the walls and roofs of their houses with bundles of it, tied together with a climbing fern, and eat the root, which is somewhat amylaceous.

Among the *climbing plants* which seek the support of larger trees, the principal one is the *freycinetia banksii*, the lower part of whose sweet and fleshy bractea, when fully ripe, resembles in flavour that of a rich and juicy pear, and is esteemed a great delicacy by the natives. The number of *PHÆNOGAMOUS* or *ENDOGENOUS* plants is stated by Dieffenbach at 314. There are two species of *piperaceæ*; one of these, the *piper excelsum*, is very common, and its leaves form a good and apparently healthy substitute for tea. The *conifereæ* and *taxidææ* comprise eleven or twelve species, and afford the most valuable descriptions of timber. The habitat of the majestic *dammara australis*, or *kauri*, is limited to the northern extremity of the North Island, and has a range of less than three degrees of latitude, and one degree of longitude; even in these narrow boundaries it is by no means a common tree, but is entirely confined to hilly situations. The smooth, grey, columnar stems, measure from thirty to plains and valleys, the land is generally very dry and sterile, and the grass, which grows in detached tufts, affords but very indifferent pasture. The grassy uplands adjacent to the coast afford better pasture." [Diary of Mr. Tuckett.]

forty feet in circumference, and maintain very nearly the same girth through a length of from sixty to even ninety feet. The crown of the tree, where it is irregularly branched, is small, and out of proportion to the trunk; and the foliage is likewise diminutive as compared with the branches. The wood is very light in proportion to its great strength and durability; it is therefore admirably adapted for spars and masts. The land on which it grows, even when cleared, is useless for occupation, from the rugged nature of the ground, and from the quality of the soil: it is one of the most remarkable phenomena in botany that such an immense tree should flourish where it could scarcely be supposed able to take root. The resin which it exudates is very hard, and forms large solid masses at the base of the tree. It is generally of a whitish colour, but through age, and, as it would seem, exposure to the sea-water, it assumes the golden yellow colour of amber, becomes transparent, and very closely resembles that substance. The kauri is the only coniferous pine in New Zealand; all the others bear berries, and ought to be classed amongst the very numerous family of the podocarpi or taxidæ, except the matai or mai, and the miro (dacyrdium matai, and podocarpus ferruginea), which must be separated into a peculiar genus, as the fleshy part of their seed-vessels do not surround the seed in the shape of a cup, as in the true taxidæ, but they bear drupes. The former* is a tree of moderate dimensions, affording a brittle close-grained wood, apparently capable of receiving a high polish; the latter grows from forty to sixty feet high, but does not attain a circumference of more than twelve feet; its wood is adapted for the spars of small vessels. The *phyllocladus trichomanoides* (tanekaha), or parsley-leaved pine, is a valuable tree, of straight tapering growth, sometimes attaining the height of sixty feet, but rarely exceeding three feet in diameter. Being less affected with wet than any other pine, it is much sought after for the decks of vessels, and all kinds of outside work; and its bark is used by the natives for dyeing a red colour. The *podocarpus totara*, with its dark green foliage, reddish bark, and gnarled trunk, is a noble tree; it varies in circumference

* "The mai (called black pine), the heaviest and best of the numerous varieties of the yew, the *kaihi-katea*, another yew tree (called white pine), and the *buccatea*, a species of laurel, are—particularly the first and last named—unfailing criterions of fertile

from six to eighteen feet, and frequently sends forth no branches within sixty feet of the ground, when they spring forth at an acute angle and form crowns at some distance from each other. It is much used for canoes, its durability being rather increased than diminished by lying in the water; it is besides comparatively easy to work. Where the totara is the predominant growth, the soil is mostly sandy or stony.

The *dacyrdium plumosum* (kawaka) is a graceful acacia-like tree, which rarely attains a large size: the *dacyrdium excelsum* (*kahikatea*) is a white pine, often exhibiting a clear stem of 80 feet, and with its branched head, attaining the height of 120 and 130 feet, and exceeding 5 feet in diameter. It is found in low, swampy ground, and has the quickest growth, and the least durability of its class. From its young shoots, which exude a bitter resinous juice, Captain Cook prepared a kind of spruce beer, which he found beneficial in the scorbutic disorders with which his seamen were affected. Its fruit is much prized by the natives, and the smallness of its size is compensated by its abundance. It also yields a resin, very bitter, but eatable. The fruit of the *dacyrdium cupressinum* (*rimu*) resembles that of the *kahikatea*. Its wood and resin partake the same qualities, but its appearance is more imposing, it being the most beautiful of the description of trees, incorrectly, but very generally called New Zealand pines, especially when young; its pendant foliage being then remarkably graceful. It comes to its greatest perfection in shaded woods, and in moist, rich soils. Its topmost branches are about eighty feet from the ground; the diameter of its trunk seldom exceeds four feet. Captain Vancouver, who found the rimu in abundance at Dusky Bay, cut down several of these trees to refit his vessel, and found the timber solid and close-grained, and very much resembling the Bermuda cedar. Passing the families of the *urticeæ*, *labiatæ*, *boraginæ* (gen. *anchusa* and *myosotis*), *convolvulaceæ*, *gentianæ*, *loganiæ*, *apocynæ*, *oleinæ*, *sapotæ*, and *myrsinæ*, we reach the *epacrideæ*, among which the *dracophyllum* is the most remarkable. According to Dieffenbach, some idea may be formed of it by imagining a pink that has become soil. These only grow in fat and compact alluvial land, and are not abundant, since true alluvial soil is of rare occurrence and very limited extent in New Zealand. The rimu and totara, on the contrary, when they predominate, indicate sterility." [Mr. Tuckett.]

so gigantic as to reach the size of a hazel-nut tree.

Of *ericeæ*, there is the genus *gaultheria* (3 species); the families of *campanulaceæ*, *styllideæ*, *goodenoviæ*, and *compositæ*, are represented: the two last by one genus; the first more extensively. Of *compositæ*, are the tribes *cichoraceæ*, *vernoniaceæ*, *asteroideæ*, and *senecionideæ*, which last has numerous genera. The sow-thistle springs up spontaneously in every spot which has been cultivated, and is much used as a vegetable by the natives. Of *rubiaceæ*, 8; of *conææ*, 1; and of *umbelliferaæ*, 5 genera are found. The *araliaceæ*, spread especially in South America, and are a remarkable family. In New Zealand four genera are found, of which the *aralia crassifolia* is the most striking: its long, narrow leaves spread out in a circle from the top of a very slender stem, and hang down in the shape of an umbrella.

Of *oxalideæ* there is 1 genus; *geraniaceæ*, *geranium*, 2 species; *pelargonium*, 1; of *hypericineæ*, 1; *meliaceæ*, 1; *sapindaceæ*, the *aledryon excelsum*, the berries of which are used for making oil; *bombaceæ*, 1; *tiliaceæ*, 1; *eleocarpeæ*, 2. The *eleocarpus linau* is a moderate-sized tree, whose wood is very white, but almost valueless, as it splits when exposed either to wet or warmth. It affords an excellent dye; either a light brown or puce colour, or a deep black. The fruit forms the favourite food of the large parrot, and the natives separate the farinaceous shell from the hard and oily kernel by friction in a wooden trough, and form it into cakes. Of the *sterculiaceæ*, *malvaceæ* (gen. *hibiscus*), *linææ*, *caryophyllææ*, *elatinææ*, *pittosporææ*, *droseraceæ*, *violariææ*, and *flacourtianææ*, there are one, or at the most, two genera. Of the *cruciferaæ* there are four, including the *nasturtium* and *cardamine*; of *ranunculaceæ*, the *ranunculus*, and the *clematis*, which adorns the forests with its starry flowers, and is wreathed by the Maori girls in the tresses of their soft, dark hair. The *corynocarpeæ* and *griselineæ* have each one genus.

Of the *saxifrageæ*, the chief genus is the *leiospermum*, of which, the species *racemosum* (tawhero) is a good sized tree, which forms extensive forests, and affords a strong wood adapted for the same purposes as mahogany. *Crassulaceæ*, 1 genus. Among the *ficoidææ* there exists one species of the genus *mesembryanthemum*, and the *tetragonia expansa*, or New Zealand spinach,

which, however, in the northern island, is very rare. *Passifloraceæ*, 1 genus; *cucurbitaceæ*, 1; *haloragææ*, 3; *onagrariceæ*, 2; the *epilobium*, and *fuschia*; of the latter there are two species, both very abundant.

The genera of the *myrtaceæ*, though not numerous, are, some of them, very widely distributed, while others form most beautiful and useful trees; the *leptospermum crecoides* (*kahikatea*), has sometimes a stem of one foot in diameter, and affords an extremely hard and durable wood; the *leptospermum scoparium* (*manuka*) supplies the place of the tea shrub; its blossoms exhale a fragrant perfume; it prevails over a vast surface of cold, poor land, retentive of moisture, having a stunted growth of from a foot to a yard in height; on warmer and drier land it has a more luxuriant growth, and resembles a thick coppice of naked poles, of extremely hard wood, attaining a height of thirty feet. The *metrosideros robusta* (*rata*) is called by Dieffenbach the king of New Zealand trees, being the hardiest and most lasting; the *m. pohutukaua* affords, perhaps, the most durable crooked timber that exists, and its crimson blossoms render it a very ornamental tree; the wood of the *m. buxifolia* is extremely hard and heavy, fit for cabinet work. There are several other species of *metrosideros*, one of which (*m. hypericifolia*) sometimes lines the cliffs, fixing its tendrils firmly to the rock, as the ivy does. The *myrtus bullata* (genus *eugeniæ*) is also common to Chilian forests. Of *rosaceæ*, is the *acoena sanguisorba*, a herb common to New Zealand and Van Diemen's Island, whose seeds attach themselves so firmly to the fleece of the sheep, that they can scarcely be separated in the washing.

The *leguminosæ* has 3 genera, peculiar to New Zealand. *Rhamnææ*, 5; *coriariææ*, 1; the *coriaria sarmentosa* (*tupakihi*), a very common shrub, bearing clusters of berries growing like bunches of grapes, from which a liquid (*tutu*) is extracted somewhat resembling elderberry wine; the seeds and leaves contain a very acrid poison, and often produce violent symptoms when eaten by cattle. *Rutaceæ*, 1. Of *euphorbiaceæ*, the *euphorbia glauca* grows amongst the shingle of the sea-shore, and on barren hills. *Santalaceæ*, 1; *thymelææ*, 1. Of the *proteaceæ*, the *tora* (*persoonia tora*) and *rewarewa* (*knightsia excelsa*), are the only known species. The latter yields a very beautiful wood, mottled with red upon a

ground of light brown; its dark purple flowers render it, while growing, a picturesque tree. It is the sole representative of the banksias, of which such a variety of species are known in New South Wales. Some species of the *laurineæ* are very common; the l. tarairi and calicaris form groves on the banks of rivers, especially in the vicinity of Waimate and Kaitaia; the l. tawa covers the upper regions of dry hills, especially on the Tararua Mountains, where it forms continuous forests, and bears a fruit somewhat resembling a wine sour plum, very sweet, with a slight flavour of turpentine. Of the *atherospermeæ*, the laurelia Nov. Zeland. forms a moderate sized tree. Of the *polygoneæ*, there are the genera, polygonum and rumex; a species of the latter, the crispus or common dock, has spread over extensive districts, through the disgraceful imposition practised by a knavish European, who sold the seeds to a native for those of the tobacco plant; *chenopodiææ*, 2; *amaranthaceæ*, 1; *peronychicæ*, 1; *plantagineææ*, plantago major, and varia; *primulaceææ*, the anagallis arvensis and samolus litoralis.

Of *scrophularineææ*, the genus veronica has as many as nine species. Some of them, peculiar to New Zealand, form shrubs, and bear very beautiful flowers. To the same

family also belong the gratiola sexdentata and euphrasia cuneata.

Of *cyrtandraceææ*, is the rhabdothamnus solandri. Of *solanæææ*, the berries of the *solanum laciniatum* are eaten by the natives, and its leaves used as cataplasms for ulcers. They also eat the leaves of another small species of the same genus. Of *myoporineææ*, the avicennia tomentosa is the mangrove of New Zealand, covering numerous shallow inlets. Of *verbenaceææ* (same order as the teak), the vitex littoralis is the "puriri" of the natives, and, from its hardness and durability, is the "oak" of the colonists. The wood splits freely, works well, and is not injured by exposure to damp; its only drawback for the timbers of ships or for the knees of boats, is the injury caused by the perforations of a large grub peculiar to the tree. The dark leaves, pink flowers, and cherry-like fruit of the puriri, have a pleasing appearance. It grows from fifteen to thirty feet without a branch, and varies from twelve to twenty feet in circumference.

The following tabular view of the timber trees of New Zealand, with their uses and relative stiffness, strength, and toughness, is given in the New Zealand Church Almanac for 1847:—

Name.	Uses.	Stiffness.	Strength.	Toughness.
1 Tawhero . .	All purposes to which Mahogany is applied	93	96	99
2 Matai . .	Cabinet Work and Musical Instruments	73	67	61
3 Koakoa . .	Furniture and Fancy Work, for which Cedar is used . .	81	72	60
4 Totara . .	All works exposed to water, or under the ground, and for pannel work of houses	49	61	57
5 Rata . .	All purposes to which Oak and Beach are applied . .	89	103	138
6 Puriri . .	Piles under water or ground; also ground plates, sleepers, posts, &c., where durability is required. Same qualities as English Oak	100	100	100
7 Akeake . .	Very hard and heavy, fit for cabinet work	—	—	—
8 Manuka . .	Turning, Carving, &c.	—	—	—
9 Mangiao . .	Agricultural Implements. Oars, and all the uses of Ash . .	89	119	160
10 Kauri . .	Scantling, plank, ship spars, &c.	90	99	102
11 Tanekaha . .	Spars of small vessels. Outside work	98	103	134
12 Miro . .	Uses similar to Tanekaha	—	—	—
13 Mapau . .	Chair-making and carpenters' tools	78	92	103
14 Rewarewa . .	Axe handles, and small cabinet-work	54	60	85
15 Pohutukaua . .	Timbers of ships, and all work in which curved timber is required	126	109	94
16 Wharangipiro . .	Cabinet-work, in which Satin wood is used	—	—	—
17 Rimu . .	All building purposes	90	81	95
18 Maire . .	Two varieties, white and dark; white good for sheaves, cogs, &c., the dark for cabinet work	—	—	—
19 Kowhai . .	Cabinet work instead of rosewood	—	—	—
20 Kohekohe . .	All uses to which cedar is applied	—	—	—
21 Rohutu . .	Chair and cabinet making	—	—	—
22 Kahikatea . .	Inside building work. Packing cases	54	68	85

Note.—Puriri, being equal to the English Oak in stiffness, strength, and toughness, has been made the standard of comparison

Many European fruits and vegetables have been introduced by the missionaries and settlers, and thrive well, varying, of course, with the climate, and more or less sheltered aspect of the localities in which they are planted. Apricot and peach trees have sprung up where the stones have been dropped by chance, and bear abundantly; melons and other fleshy fruits arrive at great perfection.

The grape grows well under the influence of the warm and equable climate of Nelson, and good wine will, probably, be eventually produced there. The Cape gooseberry flourishes almost like a weed, the hop plant has been introduced and cultivated, with considerable success, though, as yet, only on a small scale.

Of potatoes (supposed to have been first introduced by Captain Cook), several of the best kinds have been more recently brought both from England, and Van Diemen's Land, where they arrive at great perfection. Maize was introduced some time subsequent to Cook, but before New Zealand became a British colony; it is not known by whom. Tobacco is found to grow freely, especially in the northern part of the northern island. A variety of the coarser English grasses have been sown—but few of the finer sheep grasses have as yet reached New Zealand. Mr. W. Swainson, a Wellington settler who has expended much care and labour in their cultivation, writing in 1847, dwells strongly on the quantity of inferior seed which had been brought out by the colonists, and mentions as the grasses at that time most wanting, the *Phleum pratense* (Timothy grass) and *Cynosorus cristatus* (dog's-tooth grass).

FAUNA.—The flora of New Zealand is very limited in species, considering the extensive area and varied climate of these islands; and the fauna is yet more so. Captain Cook, in 1769, found no trace of any quadruped, except what he described as "a sort of fox-dog, and a few rats:" neither have more recent explorers. The only native tradition respecting the former existence of any animal, appears to indicate that a gigantic species of ape once dwelt in the wooded fastnesses of the Middle Island (see p. 314.) A small species of bat (*Vespertilio tuberculatus*) was figured by Forster, who accompanied Cook in his second voyage. The dog is not the same as the Australian dingo, but a much smaller variety, resembling the jackal, and of a dirty yellowish colour. It is now rarely

met with, as almost the whole race of the island has become a mongrel breed. A native dog is not a sufficiently powerful animal to do harm to domestic sheep; but it is different with the introduced and mongrel dogs, mostly bull-terriers, which are savage sheep or pig hunters, although with men they are great cowards. In the absence of better sport, they hunt young birds. The natives have a tradition, that their ancestors brought the dog with them when they first peopled New Zealand; but the Spanish word *perro*, occasionally applied to this animal, renders it probable that it was left here by some early Spanish navigator.

There are now two descriptions of rats, one called by the natives "kiore maori" (indigenous rat,) and the other—which is the English, not the Norway rat—"kiore pakeha" (strange rat.) On the former they fed largely in former times; but it has now become very scarce, owing to the exterminating warfare carried on against it by the European rat. The natives never eat the latter, as they declare the flesh to be most unpalatable.

The common domestic mouse has been introduced—it is not known in what manner; and also its sworn foe, the cat, which often runs wild, and soon assumes the streaky-grey colour of these animals in their natural state.

Pigs, introduced by Captain Cook, have thriven well, and multiplied prodigiously. Large numbers of wild hogs range the hills in perfect freedom, feeding upon the young fern root, and occasionally varying their diet by a banquet of fish. Emerging from the thickets at the ebb of tide, they crunch the oysters and immense cockles with which the sand-beaches are everywhere strewn, until the return of tide drives them again inland. They are generally black, and in flavour resemble mutton, rather than English pork. The natives hunt them, in their wild state, with dogs; but when keeping them as stock, rear them carefully: and the Maori females frequently pet young pigs, much in the same manner as European ladies fondle dogs and kittens, the "puorka" evincing, in return, considerable sagacity and attachment.

The horse, ass, sheep, ox, goat, and other European quadrupeds, have been introduced and acclimated without difficulty.

ICHTHYOLOGY.—The marine mammalia were formerly very abundant on the shores

of New Zealand; so much so, that the whale and seal fisheries were reckoned upon as affording a sure source of revenue, and the staple for immediate and profitable export. The ruthless slaughter of the breeding whale and her young, has materially injured this profitable traffic: the whales now migrate to more peaceful shores, and the seals have almost disappeared.

Among the *phocidæ* are, or have been found, the bottle-nose seal (*phoca leonina*;) the sea lion and lioness (*otaria jubata*;) and the sea bear (*arctocephalus ursinus*;) or fur seal of commerce, which is black, and from six to ten feet in length: it was formerly hunted in great numbers, especially on the western coast of the Middle Island, in Stewart's Island, and the Chatham Islands: now, only straggling individuals are met with.

Delphinidæ.—The dolphin (*delphinus* Zealandiæ,) and the grampus (*delphinus orca*;) is called by South Sea men the killer, from the destructive war it wages against the whale.* This description of fish are very numerous on the shores of New Zealand, especially in Cook Strait. Bishop Selwyn, in his *Journal* for 1848, records visiting a bay in Queen Charlotte's Sound, where "shoals of black fish and porpoises were enjoying their evening gambols, their dark bodies contrasting strangely with the red light reflected from the sun-set on the calm water, from which they sprang into the air, and fell back again, tracing all imaginable curves, with their awkward bodies, in their descent. It never happened to me to see so many fish out of water before. These monsters of the deep were not very pleasant neighbours; for their great amusement seemed to be to jump as near the boat as they could without touching it, and then make their bow, and dive under its bottom." (p. 69.)

Balenidæ.—The sperm whale (*physeter macrocephalus*;) is not uncommon in the latitudes of New Zealand, and often falls a prey to the ships which cruise in the open sea; but the cachelot does not approach shallow coasts and inlets, its habits being different from those of the black whale, from which it also differs in another important respect, its enormous lower jaw, in place of a comparatively harmless bone, being furnished with a set of teeth, which have often proved capable of crushing a boat into splinters. According to Polack,

* Polack, vol. ii., p. 407.

these whales frequently measure eighty feet in length, and contain, in the upper part of the head, as much as fifteen barrels, or 448 gallons of spermaceti. The substance called ambergris is found either in a single mass, or in many pieces, in the excremental glands of the sperm whale: the agreeable odour for which it is famed does not exist when it is first ejected; on the contrary, the smell is then of the most fœtid and offensive description. The outer skin of the whales differs much in colour, varying between white, black, ochreous, mottled, and dingy red. The humpback, or gibbosa, derives its name from the fat and cellular protuberance on its back; it is smaller, and yields less oil than the black, or right whale. The finback (*balæna physalis*;) has a greater length, and much less breadth than the preceding. It is distinguishable, at a great distance, by a fin projecting from the hinder part of the back, sometimes rising from three to six feet in height: its pursuit is peculiarly difficult and dangerous, as it is very swift and wary. The pike-headed *balæna* much resembles the finback; but it is smaller, seldom acquiring a greater length than forty feet, with a circumference of sixteen.†

The musculus, or large-lipped whale (*balænopterus musculus*;) has an immense upper lip, is common, and sometimes measures sixty feet in length. The black, or right whale (*balæna antipodum australis*, or *antartica*;) is the description generally captured. They are frequently found seventy feet in length, and belong (as do the finback and humpback) to the great division of the cetacea, known by the sieve-like, or screening apparatus (baleen) with which the mouth is provided, which furnishes the whalebone of commerce, and distinguishes them from the cachelot, or sperm whale. Another difference is, that the former have two spiracles, or breathing holes, in the centre of the forehead; the latter have also two within the head, but only one exterior aperture; consequently, when breathing, (which they can do only by raising their immense heads out of the water,) they "blow" through that single spiracle, ejecting the water, with a loud noise, to the height of many feet. Polack, writing in 1838, records another species, called the razor-back, from that part being remarkably serrated, with the mouth very pointed, like that of the porpoise.

The bays, creeks, and inlets of New

† Polack, vol. ii., p. 406.

Zealand abound with fish of various descriptions. Large shoals of several species visit the coasts at certain seasons, and are caught by the natives in immense seines, made of unprepared flax, in the same manner as those used in Europe; they are then dried in the sun. Some descriptions are captured with a canoe-shaped piece of wood, lined on one side with a thin plate of the pawa shell (*haliotus*), in imitation of a fish, with a hook formed of bone, a feather of the aptery being used for a fly. Flat fish and rays are transfixed with wooden spears in the shallow bays; fish of the genera *scomber*, *trigla*,* *serranus*, *sparus*, *balistes*, *labrus*, and *conger*, are caught either with the seine, or with hooks; a *myxene* with the hand, and four kinds of fresh-water eels† by baiting a skilfully constructed, funnel-shaped, basket of wicker-work. Large salt-water crawfish are caught by diving, in which art the women are very expert; fresh-water crawfish, which are common in the inland lakes and rivulets, are taken with bait.

A species of shark, which at Midsummer—that is, at Christmas—visits these shores in countless numbers, is held in high estimation; the flesh is dried and eaten, and the tooth worn as an ornament in the ears of both sexes.

The “hapuka,” the best and heaviest fish in New Zealand, is caught in pretty deep water, near reefs and rocks; it generally weighs from 10 to 70 lbs., but occasionally reaches above 100 lbs. It resembles the cod, but is of superior flavour; it is very nutritive, and the head and shoulders, when cooked, seem a mass of jelly. The “kawai” (*centropistes trutta*, or mulloides), resembles the salmon in its habits, entering in summer the bays, inlets, and fresh-water streams, in large shoals; in appearance it is like the mackerel, but is inferior in flavour. The “warcho” is something like the kawai, but better eating, being very palatable when cured and smoked.

* A singularly beautiful fish, frequently caught in Cook Strait, is nearly allied, if it be not identical with the species described by Cuvier, under the name of *trigla papilionacea*. It is of a bright orange-colour; its pectoral fins are large and membranous, and of an emerald green, bordered with white. Near the tail is a spot of velvet black dotted with white.—Dieffenbach, vol. i., p. 65.

† Mr. Brunner, during his exploration of the northern part of the Middle Island, found a particular tapu, or superstition, existing among the natives relative to the eel. He says, “You must wash your hands before going to catch them, and also on returning, and the bait must be prepared some

The “tamore,” or snapper; the “manga,” or barracouta, a fish about two or three feet in length, with a long sharp snout, and free from scales; the “mango,” or dog-fish, and various other descriptions, are caught by the natives, dried and stored in large quantities. The “moki” (*latris ciliaris*), is a good fish, something like the dorey. There are but few kinds of fresh-water fish; but eels of the finest description abound in the swamps, lagoons, rivers; and a small fish, very like the “white-bait” of the Thames, is plentiful in most of the rivers, and in the inland lakes. An excellent description of lamprey is caught in many streams during freshets. The conger eels are sometimes very large, measuring six feet in length, and as thick as a man’s arm.

Oysters (*ostrea cristata*), mussels of immense size, cockles, and other shell-fish abound.

ORNITHOLOGY.—The indigenous birds of New Zealand now in existence, are not remarkable either for variety of species, song, or plumage; neither are they of sufficient size or number to supply the deficiency so manifest, in the natural productions of these islands, of articles adapted for the sustenance of animal life. Several species appear to have become extinct; and the introduction of the dog, and more recently of the cat, have, doubtless, contributed to diminish their numbers, especially as some, such as the rails, possess very limited powers of flight, and one class, the apterix, cannot fly at all, being devoid of wings. The song-birds commence the melody described by Cook, (who heard them off the shore about a quarter of a mile distant,) as resembling “small bells, most exquisitely tuned,” about two hours after midnight, and cease at sunrise, being, like our nightingales, silent for the rest of the day; but they are not replaced by a host of warblers, like those whose joyous notes ring through the woods and dales of Britain.

distance from the house. There must be a distinct fire for cooking the eel, for which you must have a special tinder-box; your hands and mouth must be washed both before and after partaking of them; and should it be necessary to drink from the same stream from which the eels are caught, you must have two vessels of water, the one to drink from, the other to dip from the stream. Whether this relates to particular places or not I am not able to say; but I found it strictly adhered to at Okitika and Okaritu. At the former place I had to walk half a mile for water, with a stream running within a few yards of our station.” Other travellers also mention various superstitious observances on the part of the natives.

Some there are, however, of considerable interest and beauty, whose names and most striking peculiarities are noticed in the subjoined enumeration of the species at present known and described.

Falconidae—*falco harpe*, a large and powerful hawk, and *falco brunnea*, a sparrow hawk, exceedingly swift of wing, whose powerful talons few birds that it pursues can escape.

Strigidae—*athene Novæ Seelandiæ*, a small owl, called by the settlers, "more pork," from its habit of pertinaciously and distinctly reiterating this phrase for about half-an-hour before day-break. *Hirundinidae*—there are said to be several species of swallows in New Zealand.

Alcedinidae—*halcyon vagans*—a species of king-fisher, about the size of a jay, with rich and varied plumage.

Upupidae—the *neomorpha gouldii*—called "uia," by the natives, from its cry, is a very curious bird about the size of a magpie, with long, slender, and yellowish legs and feet. The plumage is of a glossy black, inclining to a green metallic lustre; its four tail feathers, long, broad, and tipped with white at the extremity, for about three-quarters of an inch, are highly valued as ornaments for the heads of chiefs on grand occasions. The white bill is slender, and semicircular in form; at its base are two wattles of a rich orange colour, a peculiarity which other New Zealand birds also possess. The flesh is delicate and palatable.

Meliphagidae.—This family includes the *prostemaderra* Nov. Zeland., the most amusing, and one of the most common birds found in these islands, called by the natives "tui," on account of its note, and by Europeans, the "mocking-bird," from its propensities, and the "parson-bird," from its appearance, two small clusters of long white feathers hanging down from the neck upon the breast, resembling clerical bands. It is about the size of a thrush, of a beautiful glistening black, with a few fine white hairy feathers about the head and breast. There is not a note of any bird of the woods, but what it exactly imitates; and when confined in a cage, it readily learns to repeat long sentences. It imitates dogs, cats, turkeys, geese, and, in fact, every sound within hearing, whether made by bird, biped, or quadruped. Power speaks of it as, even in its native, and, consequently, undomesticated state, "the jolliest and sauciest of the bird kind" he had ever met with, and

an excellent companion, chattering, whistling, and playing all sorts of antics. Its general food is flies and small insects, which it is very expert in catching, and the berries of various plants; but at certain seasons it may be seen extracting with its long slender tongue, the honey contained within the clustering crimson blossoms of the *pohutukana*, with the relish of an epicure. The *ptilotis cincta*, or "kotihe," (also a honey eater,) is a bird about the size of a goldfinch, has a slender dark beak, nearly an inch long; is as beautiful as the linnet in plumage, and more elegantly formed. The *anthornis melanura*, or "kokorimako," a small bird with dark brown plumage tinged with green, at long intervals enlivens the woods with its melodious notes.

Of the *certhiidae*, there are several species:—the *acanthisitta citrina*, *a. tenuirostris*, *a. punctata*, *a. longipes*, and *mohoua ochrocephala*, which last is a social bird of a yellowish colour, having much the habits of the finch.

Luscinidae.—The *sphenæacus punctatus*, or "matata," is a small dusky-coloured bird, with a short and heavy flight, which lives in swamps and among fern; the *acanthiza igata*; *certhiparus senilis*; *c. Nov. Zeland.*, and the *c. maculicaudus*, belong to the same family. *Turdidae*—*turnagra crassirostris*.

Musicapidae—*musicapa ventralabrum*, or fan-tailed fly-catcher, a bold, restless little bird, spreading its tail to the radius of full six inches, though its body is scarcely larger than a walnut; it is very useful in destroying the sand-flies and mosquitoes; *r. macrocephala*; *r. melanura*, a bird between six and seven inches long; *miro albifrons*, *m. longipes*; *m. forsterorum*, a bird about seven inches long, of deep shining black, with the breast and abdomen yellow; and *m. toi-toi*, a little bird no bigger than a tom-tit, which feeds on insects. *Corvidæ*—*callacas cinerea*, the New Zealand crow, resembles that of Europe; its plumage is of a very dark green. *Sturnidae*—*aplonis Zelandicus*; *a. obscuris*; *a. australis*, and the *crecadiion carunculatus*, which is very common, and about the size of a blackbird, called *tiera-waki* by the natives, from the sound of its loud and frequent cry. Its flesh is delicate.

Fringillidae.—The *alauda* Nov. Zeland., or ground-lark, is perhaps the most numerous species found in these islands; it is unfortunately no songster. Of the *psittacidae*, the *plater cercus*, Nov. Zeland., and the tri-

choglossus aurifrons, are two species of parquets, neither of them much larger than a canary-bird, with bright green plumage, and red or yellow about the head; who build their nests in holes of trees, associate in flocks, and are very mischievous to the corn-fields in fresh clearings; the nestor meridionalis, or "kaka," is larger; it appears closely allied to that isolated, and now, probably, exterminated species, the Port Phillip parrot, and has many peculiarities in its shape and habits. The bill is more elongated than that of other parrots; the plumage is varied and beautiful; the tongue small, terminating in several filaments. These parrots seem to have regular times of feeding; early in the morning they are found on the trees which yield their food; during the heat of the day they play about quietly in the topmost branches of high trees. Before the sun sets they assemble and fly with discordant screams over the forest. When it is dark they become silent; but rarely an hour of the night passes that one of their fluting calls is not heard, and with the dawn they are again in full activity. They nest in hollow trees, laying four or five white eggs. Their flesh is tender and well flavoured; and the natives are very expert in enticing them by means of decoy birds, or by imitating their cry. When one is caught or wounded, the rest hover about it with screams, and, one after another become the victims of their commiseration.*

Cuculidæ.—There are two species of cuckoo—*eudynamys taitensis*, and *chrysococcyx lucidus*; both these birds are migratory, appearing near the coasts in the month of December. The latter is known to lay its eggs in the nests of smaller birds, especially in that of the fantail fly-catcher.

Columbidæ.—A large wood-pigeon (*carpophaga*, Nov. Zeland.) with handsome and varied plumage, is very common; it is good eating, and being slow and heavy on the wing, is easily captured. Of the *tertraonidæ*, there is one very scarce species. To the *struthionidæ* belongs the rare and curious apteryx australis, or kiwi-kiwi, a nocturnal bird, which inhabits the deepest recesses of the forest, and generally lives in pairs, one pair occupying a certain district. At night-fall it leaves its hiding place in search of food, and strikes the ground with its strong, heavy foot, or turns it up with its long, slender beak, to put in motion the earth-worms, upon which it feeds. In ap-

pearance it is awkward and ungainly; one writer (Yate) describes it as about the size of a three-months'-old turkey, covered with coarse, long, and slender feathers, like those of the Australian emu; another (Power), says it is the ugliest bird one can well imagine; stilted up on long, thick clumsy legs, with scarcely the rudiments of wings, with an overgrown head and long beak; it goes sniffing about as if afflicted with a bad cold in the head; "when it scents out its prey, which it can do at several inches under-ground, it charges at it with an alacrity and vigour one would hardly expect from its clumsy, dead-alive look, and plunges bill, head, and neck into the earth, kicking and spurring with its legs, often half burying itself before it is successful." (p. 74.) It was formerly much used for food; the natives hunted it with dogs by torch-light, generally after a fierce struggle, in which the kiwi used its powerful legs with considerable effect. The gigantic *moa*, the fossilized bones of which have been alluded to (p. 321), must have belonged to this order.

Of the *charadriidæ* there are several species—*c. xanthocheilus*, a small bird with varied plumage; *c. obscurus*, a bird about the size of a thrush, of a spotted brown colour; and four or five other common, but not very interesting species.

Ardeidæ.—*Botaurus melanotus*, a bird somewhat resembling a crane, which dwells in swamps and marshes, and is very timid; and the *herodias matook*, or "matou cou" of the natives, a sort of bittern. Of the *scolopacidæ* (snipe), there is the *himantopus* Nov. Zeland., or "tutumata."

Of the *rallidæ* four species have been found: the *oryzodromus australis* contains the weka-weka, or wood-hen of the settlers, a bird with an exceedingly monotonous cry, which has become very scarce; the *rallus assimilis*, or "kataitai," is described by Yate as answering nearly to the godwit, feeding upon the sea-shore, and in sandy grounds; the *r. Dieffenbachi*, a bird about thirteen inches long, singularly streaked with many colours; and the beautiful *porphyrio melanotus*, the "pukeko" of the natives, a bird about the size of a pheasant, with plumage of a brilliant mazarine blue, a vermilion-coloured beak and top-knot. It is found in swamps; its legs are long, and its flight slow and heavy, like that of a bittern; the flesh is said to be hard and unpalatable.

Of the *anatidæ* there are several species;

* Dieffenbach, vol. i., p. 57.

the *casarca variegata* (paradise duck), is of large size, and affords good eating; the *anas superciliosa* is well flavoured, nearly resembling the wild-ducks of England; the *malacorynchus forsterorum*, or "wiho," which inhabits the mountain streams of the interior, is a black duck with a white bill, whose cry is a shrill whistle, and its flesh fat and palatable; the *spatula rhynchotis* and *fuligula* Nov. Zeland., are likewise found.

Of the *colymbidæ*, or divers—a tribe which may be regarded as intermediate between the duck tribe and the *alcidæ*, all of which are aquatic birds, admirably adapted by their structure for their mode of life—there is but one species, the *podiceps (poliocephelus) rufopectus*; of the *alcidæ* (*penquin*.) one or two.

Procellariidæ.—Of this order there are six genera, including several species of the *procellaria*, and a large and splendid variety of that marine vulture, the albatross (*diomedea exulans*.) Of the *procellaria*, the most numerous description is the mutton bird, or "titi" of the natives, a bird about twelve or thirteen inches long, much used by them as an article of food. They catch them during the winter months, and preserve them, after extracting the bones, by cooking them in a shallow platter made of the bark of the totara tree, then placing them in the water-proof and air-tight bags afforded them by the long pods, of a description of sea-weed, they pour over them their own fat. Mr. Brunner speaks of having tasted birds kept for two years in this manner, and found them very good; he adds, that they keep eels and seals in the same way, using whale-oil for their preservation. The habits of the bird are peculiar: the female lays but one egg, which, in proportion to her size, is very large; she builds no nest, but deposits and covers it over in a deep channel, under the roots of trees, or at the sides of a cliff, and never leaves the place until it is hatched.—(Diefenbach, vol. i., p. 148.) Of the *laridæ*, or gulls, there are four species: of the *pelicanidæ*, no less than eight. The most striking peculiarity of this family is the oar-like conformation of the foot, the hind toe being united to the rest by a continuous membrane, and the capability of the bird, notwithstanding, to perch on trees. Pelicans are numerous: they live, for the most part, on the ocean. The beautiful large-crested cormorants (*phalacrocorax*) are social

birds, and build their nests, many together, on high branches overlooking the rivers and coasts. The snow-white frigate-birds (*trachipeles aquilus*) are nearly allied to the cormorant, but differ from them in the excessive spread of wing, which renders them the most powerful flyers of this or perhaps any tribe: they dart upon their prey from a great height, causing a loud noise from the violence with which they strike the water, and feed especially on the flying-fish, seizing it themselves when near the surface, or from other birds, whom they compel to drop their prey. The gannets are very like the frigate-birds, but the wings are less extended, and the power of flight inferior: they also hover in the air, waiting for the timorous flying-fish, as it leaps up to escape the jaws of the dolphin, or some other funny enemy. The air-cells are very largely developed in the gannet, especially under the skin of the breast, which is almost completely separated by them from the muscles beneath; and they probably serve as an elastic cushion, to break the force with which the body of the bird would otherwise impinge on the water.

Turkeys, geese, ducks, and common fowl have been introduced into New Zealand, and became readily acclimated. Pea-fowl and guinea-fowl have also been taken from England, but it is not known with what success.

REPTILIA AND INSECTA.—Of either there are very few. No serpents or snakes of any description have been found; and the drawing of the latter, shown to Cook by a Maori, in 1775, was doubtless intended to represent a conger eel. A large guana appears formerly to have existed; but is now extinct. A small, harmless, and beautiful description of lizard is still frequently met with.

Among the *coleoptera* are several kinds of beetle. Among the *orthoptera*, two or three species of locust, which are not, however, found in great numbers, or very destructive; and one of the voracious mantis. Among the *neuroptera*, some beautiful kinds of dragon-fly, the largest of which (*petalura carovei*) measures from four to five inches in length; and two species of the short-lived ephemera, which, in their perfect state, take no food, and exist only a few hours. Ants (*hymenoptera*) exist, but in small numbers. Bees have been introduced most successfully. Among the homoptera are several species of the cicada, or grass-

hopper, some of which abound, and fill the woods and marshes with their chirping note. Two or three species, belonging to the *hemiptera* order, abound in the heated wooden huts of the natives. Among the *lepidoptera* are various destructive species of caterpillars, one of which is particularly pernicious to the potato plant. There are some moths and butterflies, but none very remarkable. The namu, or black sand-fly (*diptera*), is the most numerous and annoying of New Zealand insects: though smaller than a gnat, it has a painful sting. Another annoying insect is the common maggot, or blow-fly, which deposits its eggs on all provisions, and also on blankets, and any other woollen clothing left uncovered. Mosquitoes are found in the woods. According to the natives, they have been recently introduced; as also a peculiar tormentor of the human race, belonging to the aphaniptera, which they sometimes call "pakeha nohi-nohi," the little stranger. Of the class *arachnide*, small harmless centipedes are common, especially among dry wood of the sea shore. There are many species of spiders, one of which is called "katipo," and reported to possess the venomous qualities of the tarantula.

PRESENT STATE AND PROSPECTS.—New Zealand has scarcely completed the first decade of its existence as a British colony, and for the greater part of that period its European and aboriginal inhabitants have been in a state of actual or incipient hostility, induced chiefly by the proceedings of the powerful association, who, possessing ample funds, and great political as well as social influence, have squandered the immense sums confided to their care, in a system of colonization, alike unsatisfactory in its working to the government, the colonists, and the shareholders. If this were all, and the "old man of the mountain" were now fairly removed, it might be well, perhaps, to let their broken pledges, their selfish and pernicious policy, be forgotten; but when on the strength of a clause in a public enactment, obtained by a disgraceful series of manoeuvres, they claim to become extinct just in so far as is convenient, that is, in respect to their responsibilities, and with £100,000 of their own capital still uncalled for, to tax the land fund of New Zealand with a mortgage of £280,000, it behoves all interested in its welfare to take immediate

steps for the prevention of so cruel an injustice.

The territorial rights of the natives have been fully acknowledged, and consequently the first obstacle to the peaceful progress of the colony has been removed; their admission to a voice in the legislature, it is to be hoped will be considered in the constitution of 1852; but there still remains another stumbling-block, the excessive price of land. Without going into the contested question of what proportion of the area of these islands is adapted for cultivation, it is at least certain that very little of it can be worth sixty, forty, or even twenty shillings an acre; and that, granting its wastes and wilds to possess all the elements of fertility, very few immigrants can afford to purchase them at so exorbitant a price. The consequence must be to convert would-be agriculturists into graziers, and in unwisely endeavouring to compel concentration, to bring about its opposite, a squatting population. This is evidently the tendency at the present moment. Even in the Northern Island, where there are so few grassy pastures, it is observable, especially in the instance previously alluded to, of the Wairarapa Plains; in the Middle Island it is far more conspicuous, and, indeed, the latest and fullest descriptions of the country seem to indicate its being adapted in general, rather for pastoral than agricultural pursuits, and more especially for cattle and horses. It is yet to be proved whether the pasturage of New Zealand be not too rank, and the climate too humid for sheep, deficient in the very points (the high dry downs and short nutritious grasses) which have made Australia the sheep-farm of England. If, however, the sanguine expectations now entertained be realised, it is probable that the Europeans will form the pastoral interest, either by holding large tracts of land on leasehold tenure, or squatting wherever they can find food for their flocks; while the Maories will become, as in fact they are now already, the chief producers of grain and vegetables; and thus the two races mutually dependent on each other, may become closely allied. If this be happily the case, New Zealand, with its important position, extensive coast line, and numerous havens, must become a valuable colony, one that a Christian nation may rejoice in having been the instrument of establishing, and a lasting record of the benefits effected by missionary exertions.

•

•

BOOK IV.—ISLANDS OCCUPIED OR CLAIMED BY GREAT BRITAIN IN THE SOUTHERN OCEAN AND IN THE WESTERN PACIFIC.

CHAPTER I.

ANTARCTIC DISCOVERIES — VICTORIA LAND — THE FALKLAND, AUCKLAND, AND CHATHAM ISLANDS—POSITION, AREA, PHYSICAL FEATURES, PRODUCTS, &c.

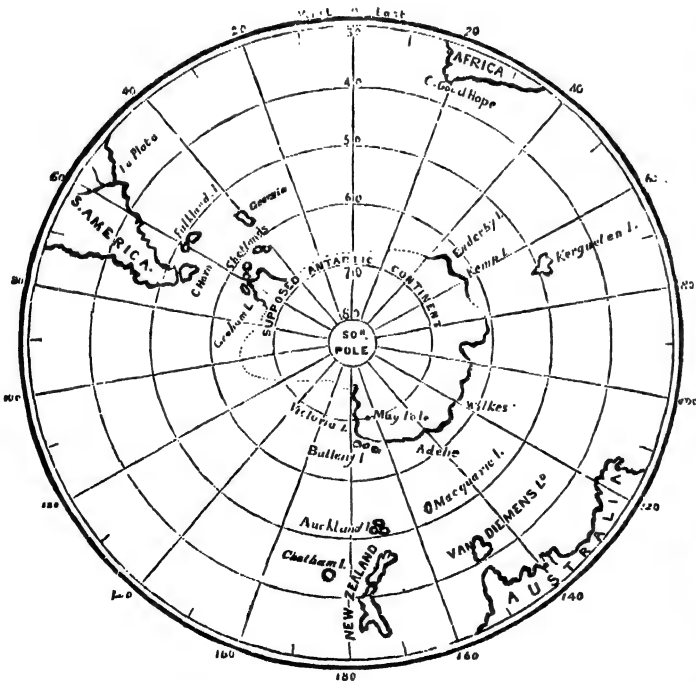
THE possessions of the crown of England, situated in the Great Southern Ocean, in and near the Antarctic Circle, are useful chiefly as fishing stations and positions, where whaling or sealing vessels may be refitted, and the crews refreshed, during the prosecution of their arduous and hazardous pursuits. Some, however, of the territories alluded to, consist of vast rocky regions, devoid of vegetation, and covered with snow, whose desolate, ice-bound shores, are visited only by the penguin and the seal, and the stillness of whose deep solitudes are unbroken save by furious tempests, and by eruptive towering volcanoes, which, ever and anon, send forth columns of vivid flame,

contrasting strangely with the dreary aspect of the surrounding frozen zone.

On looking at the annexed delineation, three great promontories will be observed stretching towards the South Pole—that of Africa, termed the Cape of Good Hope, was discovered in 1486; that of America, termed Cape Horn, in 1616;* and the now insulated portion of Austral-Asia, termed Van Diemen's Land, in 1642.

When Magellan sailed, in 1520, through the straits which bear his name, it was conjectured that a great south land stretched from thence around the Antarctic Circle; and some geographers surmised, that a chain of islands connected the southern ex-

trems of Africa and America. Subsequent explorations dispelled these ideas. In 1577, Drake, the first English seaman who circumnavigated the globe, passed from the Atlantic into the Pacific, by the Straits of Magellan. In 1616, Schouten and Le Maire, in two vessels, called the *Unity* and *Horn*, doubled the extreme south point of America, and proved the non-existence of the supposed *Terra-Austral*. A few years previous to this, however, another Dutchman (Gerard or Gerritz) was said to have been carried by a storm as far as 64° S. lat., where he sighted a mountainous country, looking like Norway, now known to be a group of islands—the South Shetlands.



* It has been supposed that Americus Vesputius, in 1502, penetrated as far south as the Falkland Islands, but there seems no sufficient ground for this opinion.

In 1592, John Davis (who sailed with Cavendish on his second voyage) discovered the Falkland Islands: their northern shores were coasted, two years afterwards, by Hawkins, who, unaware of their previous discovery, called the country *Hawkins' Maiden Land*. This name was superseded by Strong, an English navigator, who, in 1690, sailed through, and anchored in the Sound dividing the two main islands, to which he gave the name of *Falkland*, since applied to the whole archipelago. The islands called *Jason's*, or *Sebaldines*, at the north-western extremity of the group, obtained the latter designation from Sebald de Weert, who sighted them in 1600. They also received the general name of *Les Malouines*, in consequence of vessels from St. Malo visiting them between the years 1706 and 1714; and in compliment to one of the owners of these vessels, they were named *Anican Isles*. The Spaniards corrupted the word malouines into *mahinas*, and also into *ma-loon*, which term is sometimes used by English and Americans instead of island.*

On 23rd January, 1764, Commodore Byron (who had been sent from England by George III., on a mission to survey the Falklands, and to visit the South Seas) hoisted the union jack, fired a royal salute, and took possession of the islands in the name of his sovereign.

In 1769, and in subsequent years, Captain Cook proved the insularity of New Zealand, which Tasman had seen in 1642 (see p. 109); discovered an island, to which he gave the name of Georgia (see wood-cut;) traversed the Southern Pacific for 11,000 miles, without seeing land; made various important discoveries and surveys in the South Seas; and succeeded in advancing towards the South Pole, as far as $71^{\circ} 10' \text{ S. lat.}$, in the meridian of $106^{\circ} 54' \text{ W. long.}$, a position much beyond any that had been previously attained, when he was stopped by ice, which he supposed to extend around the Antarctic Circle.

In 1772, Kerquelen, a lieutenant in the French navy, under Captain Marion, who was killed at New Zealand (see p. 113,) discovered the island about midway between the Cape of Good Hope and Van Diemen's Island, which bears his name.

In 1791, Captain Vancouver, R.N., in H.M.S. *Discovery*, and the *Chatham*, Lieutenant Broughton, visited New Zealand. During this voyage Broughton discovered

a group of islands to the eastward of New Zealand, to which he gave the name of *Chatham*. In 1818, the *South Shetland Islands*, in $\text{lat. } 62^{\circ}$, were discovered by Captain Smyth, the commander of an English merchant vessel. In 1820, Captain Weddell discovered the *South Orkneys*; in 1823, the same enterprising seaman, in the course of a sealing expedition, with a brig of 160 tons, and a cutter of only 65, penetrated on the 20th of February to $74^{\circ} 15' \text{ S. lat.}$; 214 miles beyond the farthest point sighted by Cook. The sea was then open, and Weddell believed that the south pole might have been crossed or attained; but prudence, and the lateness of the season, compelled his return to the northward.

In January, 1832, Captain Biscoc, commanding a brig and cutter of Messrs. Enderby, engaged on a sealing voyage, discovered in $67^{\circ} 1' \text{ S. lat.}$, $71^{\circ} 48' \text{ W. long.}$, the westernmost of a chain of islands lying off the territory now known as *Graham's Land*. A group of five islands, one of them with a peak 12,000 feet above the sea, was discovered by a sealing commander named Balleny, in 1838. The lofty line of coast which is supposed to form part of the Antarctic continent, was visited by Admiral D'Urville, on the 21st of January, 1840, and called after his wife, *La Terre Adelie*. One week after, Commodore Wilkes, of the American navy, came in sight of the same territory, and entered a bay in $66^{\circ} 45' \text{ S. lat.}$ In January, 1841, Captain (now Sir James) Ross, in his perilous and nobly-conducted expedition, saw an extensive and remarkable region, in $71^{\circ} 15' \text{ S. lat.}$, consisting of two magnificent ranges of lofty mountains, whose summits, covered with perpetual snow, rose from seven to ten thousand feet above the sea. One peak, named Mount Erebus, in $77^{\circ} 32' \text{ S. lat.}$, $167^{\circ} \text{ E. long.}$, 12,400 feet above the sea, emitted smoke and flame in great profusion. The mainland had a southerly trending, with a range of lofty mountains in a south-south-east direction, in $78^{\circ} \text{ S. lat.}$; but the landing of the brave voyagers was prevented by lofty ice-cliffs stretching for 450 miles; soundings of 318 fathoms, of soft blue clay, were found within half-a-mile of the ice. The country was totally devoid of vegetation, and consisted of rocks, snow, and active volcanoes; it was taken possession of for, and named in honour of, Queen Victoria, and the flag of England planted on two of the larger adjacent islands.

* See *Voyages of H.M.S. Adventure and Beagle*, by Captain Robert Fitz-Roy; vol. ii., p. 232.



LUCIUS CAREY, VISCOUNT FALKLAND

OB. 1643

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF VAN DYKE, IN THE COLLECTION OF
THE RIGHT HON^{BLE} LORD ARUNDELL OF WARDOUR.

I have given this imperfect sketch of the progress of discovery in the Antarctic Ocean, because the whaling and sealing voyages prosecuted in these regions, led to frequent communications with them; indeed, so considerable has been the traffic, that from the South Shetlands group alone, in 1821-22, no

less than 940 tons of oil, and 320,000 seal-skins, were obtained; and in the course of a few years, more than a million seal-skins, and 20,000 tons of oil, have been brought into the London market from the islands and land near the south pole. Unfortunately the trade has of late materially diminished.

THE FALKLAND ISLANDS.

THIS singular archipelago, comprising nearly 200 islands and islets, covers an area of about 120 by 60 geographical miles, between the parallels of 51° and 53° S. lat., and the meridians of 58° and 61° W. long., and is distant about 7,000 miles from London. It lies 400 miles east of Patagonia, 800 north-east of Staten Island, 500 north-east of Cape Horn, and about 250 from the main land of South America, at the mouth of the Gallegos, and 1,000 from the Rio de la Plata. One hundred and seventy-two years after its discovery by Davis, Commodore Byron, as previously stated, took formal possession of the Falklands for the crown of England; and in the same year (1764), a M. de Bougainville proceeded thither with some Acadians and others, to found a settlement under the authority of the French government, but at his own expense. Spain then laid claim to the islands, declaring that they formed a part of her American possessions, and induced France to abandon the further prosecution of the scheme, on condition that the projector (Bougainville) and the colonists, should be indemnified for their losses; this was done, and on the 1st of April, 1767, the standard of Spain was hoisted, and royal salutes fired by the vessels present. Some of the settlers remained, others returned to Europe on board the Spanish ships.

Meanwhile the English government were commencing the establishment of a colony at Port Egmont, under a Captain Macbride, who, in consequence of Commodore Byron's favourable representations, was sent out in H.M.S. *Jason*, and reached the Falklands in January, 1766; but for three or four years, the English and the Spaniards were ignorant that they were both located on the same archipelago, and engaged in prosecuting similar objects.

As soon as the Spanish authorities in

America and in Europe became aware of the colonizing operations of England at the Falklands, the usual arrogant spirit was manifested; and although the sovereigns of Great Britain and Spain were then at peace, two Spanish frigates arrived at Port Egmont in February, 1770; and on the 4th and 7th of June, five other frigates, with 1,400 troops on board, with artillery, &c., reached the harbour where the British flag was flying.

The English received orders from the Spanish commander immediately to quit the place. Their force, consisting only of the *Favourite* sloop of sixteen guns, and the crew of the *Swift*, which had been wrecked, offered only a nominal resistance, and capitulated on the 10th of June to the superior armament; articles were signed by the respective commanders, under which the English were permitted to depart, taking with them such stores as they could carry, and receipts for the rest, for which the Spaniards became responsible. The information of these proceedings caused much excitement in England; preparations for war were instantly made; an address was moved and carried in the House of Lords for the restoration of the islands to the British Crown, and a long and able protest against leaving the sovereignty an open question, was drawn up and signed by Lord Chatham, the dukes of Richmond and Devonshire, and fifteen other peers.

The Spanish government became alarmed; its ministry, through Prince de Maserano, then ambassador in London, in a declaration, dated the 22nd of June, 1771,* disavowed the violence complained of, offered satisfaction for the same, and agreed to restore the islands. The troops of his most Catholic Majesty returned to Buenos Ayres, and the British again took possession; but the settlement, on the 20th

* Translated copies of the official correspondence between the English and Spanish government, are given in the *Statistics of the British Colonies* pub-

lished by Allen and Co. in 1839, for which I received the permission of her majesty's government. See appendix, *South America*, pp. 46, 47.

of March, 1774, was abandoned, not being then required. An inscription engraved on a piece of lead, and placed in a conspicuous position, notified the Falkland Islands, with the fort, storehouses, wharf, harbours, bays, and creeks, &c., to be "the sole right and property of his most sacred Majesty George III.," and the colours of Great Britain were accordingly left flying as a mark of possession.

For forty-six years nothing occurred worthy of note relative to these islands: they were visited by whaling ships, whose crews endeavoured to catch some of the wild cattle and horses, which had multiplied exceedingly, from a few head left there by the Spaniards. In 1820, Captain Weddell, when lying at Port Egmont, received notice from the captain of a South American Patriot National frigate, that "the supreme government of the provinces of South America had taken possession of these islands, in the name of the country to which they naturally appertain." In 1826, the Buenos Ayrean government granted, in perpetuity, to a German named Louis Vernet, the whole of the Eastern Island, and Staten Island, with their cattle and produce, on condition of his discharging certain arrears of pay which had accrued to some military officers in the Patriot service.

Vernet and his colleagues were to be exempted from taxation for twenty years, to possess an exclusive right to the fisheries throughout the whole archipelago, and on the coast of the adjacent continent, to the southward of the Rio Negro, on condition of a colony being established within three years. He induced others to co-operate with him, employed capital, carried on a trade in hides, oil, and salt fish, and proceeded vigorously to convert waste and dreary solitudes, into a useful and peopled settlement, which, he rightly foresaw, vessels of all nations would visit on their outward and homeward voyages round the "Horn." Desirous of enforcing his supposed rights, Vernet sought aid from the Argentine republic at Buenos Ayres: that government was unable to furnish him with a ship of war; but they nominally invested him with authority, as governor of the Malvinas (Falkland Isles) and Terra del Fuego, to neither of which, however, they had themselves even an ostensible title.

* For fuller accounts of these events, *vide Statistics of the British Colonies*; 1839: p. 45.

† Captain R. Fitz-Roy, R.N., who surveyed the

In 1829, Mr. Parish, the representative of the sovereign of England at Buenos Ayres, delivered a protest against this unwarranted occupation of the Falklands; and two years after, the British commander-in-chief on the South American station was directed to send a vessel of war, to cause any military force belonging to the Buenos Ayrean government to be conveyed from the islands. Before this, however, while the British government were still unaware of the occupation of the territory in question, M. Vernet, in virtue of his supposed authority as governor, had warned American sealing vessels not to pursue their avocations at the Falklands; and, in 1831, he seized some, and sent them to Monte Video to be confiscated.* Thereupon Captain Silas Duncan, of the United States corvette *Lexington*, then in the River Plate, proceeded on his own responsibility to the Falklands, attacked the settlement, made several of the inhabitants prisoners, destroyed much property, and carried Mr. Brisbane, the agent of M. Vernet, and others, prisoners, to Monte Video, in February, 1832. The cabinet at Washington approved Captain Duncan's proceedings, and sent a *chargé d'affaires* to demand compensation and full reparation for the injury done to their vessels. An angry correspondence ensued between the two republics, which was terminated by the British re-occupation of the islands, on the 2nd of January, 1833, when the standard of England was hoisted, and the small Buenos Ayrean garrison quietly withdrew. The rights of England being acknowledged, H.M.S. *Clio* and *Tyne* then left the Falklands, and the colours (to be hoisted on Sundays) were entrusted to the charge of an Irishman who had been M. Vernet's storekeeper. In 1834, a lieutenant in the royal navy, with a cutter and her crew, from one of our ships of war on the South American squadron, were stationed at Port Louis, and in 1842 a lieutenant-governor and a small establishment was appointed by her Majesty's government to form a colony, whose present condition will be shown in the following pages.†

AREA AND PHYSICAL ASPECT.—Although this southern archipelago consists of between two and three hundred islands, there are but two of considerable size, viz., *East*

Falklands, has recorded, in vol. ii. of his valuable work, many interesting facts respecting the history and natural productions of these islands.

Falkland, about eighty-five miles long, by forty broad, with an area of about 3,000 square miles, or nearly 2,000,000 acres, and *West Falkland*, about eighty miles long, by twenty-five to thirty broad, (exclusive of three extended arms,) with an area of about 2,000 square miles = about 1,300,000 acres. *Weddell Island*, to the westward of West Falkland, is about twelve miles long, by twelve broad. The rest of the group are small, and generally lie pretty close around the main territory, except the *Jason Isles*, which are to the north-west, and an islet, named *Beauchêne*, to the southward.

Probably no other region of a similar extent contains so many fine harbours. East and West Falkland are separated by Falkland Sound, which is about seventy miles in length, by five to fifteen in breadth. On both sides, especially on the eastern, are numerous harbours. It would be tedious to enumerate them: a few, however, of the more prominent may be mentioned.

Berkeley Sound, at the north-east extremity of East Falkland, is about twelve miles in length: at its head, on a rising ground, and in an exposed situation, Bougainville formed the settlement of Port Louis. The British officer in charge was some time located here, and the position was named Anson: the chief authority is now established at Port Stanley. *Port Salvador*, on the north, is a very extensive inlet, and there is a large cattle-taming station there. *Port San Carlos*, on the north-west coast, is a good haven, with two large locks running deep into the land. The Bay of Harbours, as its name denotes, contains several safe havens.

West Falkland is very much broken, especially along its western coast. *Keppel* and *Pebble Sounds*, on the north, with *Port Purvis* and *Port Eymont*, are capacious havens; but the latter is very difficult of approach. *Byron Sound* and *King George's Bay* are to the north and south of a long and elevated promontory, near the centre of the western coast. *Queen Charlotte's Bay*, with *Philomel Road* on the north, and *Port Richards* on the south, are good and extensive anchorages. On the southern coast there are *South Harbour*, *Ports Stephens*, *Albemarle*, and *Edgar*.

Weddell Island has *Chatham* on its northern, and *Quaker Harbour* on its western shore. *Beaver* and *New Island* have also secure anchorages. *Ship Harbour*, in the latter, is the best in West Falkland: good peat, for fuel, is very abundant there; and

on *Ship Island*, close at hand, it is inexhaustible. Plenty of good water is procurable close to the anchorage, which is in seven fathom water, on a stiff clay bottom.

The appearance of the Falklands from seaward is singular. Instead of a low, level, barren country, like Patagonia, or a high, woody region, like *Tierra del Fuego*, there are ridges of rocky hills, 2,000 feet high, traversing extensive moor tracts, devoid of trees, or sloping towards low and broken ground, with rocky, surf-beat shores. Around the archipelago, especially towards the south-east and north-west extremes, there are numerous islets and rocks, which, with strong tides and violent winds, make navigation dangerous. The view from the heights is very dismal: moor land and black bog extend as far as the eye can discern, intersected by innumerable streams, and dotted over with ponds of clear water, varying in size from half-a-mile to a few hundred feet across.* Much, however, of what seems barren moor is solid clay, covered with a thin layer of vegetable mould, on which grow shrubby bushes, and a variety of grasses.

East Falkland Island is nearly divided into two equal parts—*Choiseul Sound*, on the east side, being separated from *Brenton Sound* on the western by an isthmus, not more than a mile-and-a-half wide. Across the northern portion of East Island there is a range of very rugged-topped mountains, termed the *Wickham Heights*, whose elevation is from 800 to 2,000 feet above the sea. They form a chain from east to west; and as the quartz rock crops out nearly vertical, and with great irregularity, there are only a few passes where cattle can cross the range. On the south side of the mountains there is a continued undulating plain, whose greatest height is not sixty feet above the sea level, the undulations being from north-west to south-east, towards Berkeley Sound. The valleys or vales are numerous, each communicating with one or other of the shore-creeks or inlets. There are also several lakes and lakelets. There are but few rivers in these islands: the *San Carlos*, in the East Falkland, is the largest known; it is very winding, and only about thirty miles in length; navigable for boats a distance of about eight miles, for which distance the width averages 100 yards.

* *Voyages of the Adventure and Beagle*, by Captain Fitz-Roy, R.N.; vol. ii., pp. 227—240, &c.

On the north portion of the Western Island there are several elevated but isolated ranges: the *Hornby Hills*, running parallel to Falkland Sound, in about $51^{\circ} 30'$ S. lat., have a height of from 1,700 to 2,270 feet. *Mount Maria*, near *Port Howard*, is 2,185 feet above the sea. *Mount Edgeworth*, nearly midway between *Port Howard* and *Byron Sound*, is 1,920 feet. *Mount Adam*, distant ten miles to the south-west, is 2,315 feet. The *Byron Heights*, stretching to the westward along the peninsula, vary from 1,000 to 1,700 feet in altitude. There is supposed to be a fine and well-watered valley between the Hornby and Byron Heights. Large ponds are said to exist; but very little has been ascertained respecting the interior of the country.

The *Chartres River* appears formed by the junction of two streams flowing from *Mount Moody* (1,845 feet high) near the east coast; it then flows nearly west for about ten miles, and falls into a narrow arm of the sea, termed *Christmas Harbour*, which is nearly fifteen miles in length. This would seem to be one of the most eligible spots for the formation of a settlement.

Stanley, the capital of the colony, is situated in East Falkland, at the east end of the Wickham Heights, at the head of a fine harbour termed *Port William*, of which *Stanley Haven* is a land-locked inlet.

Mount William rises to a height of 800 feet close to the town, which is as yet quite in its infancy. The whole northern part of the island is called *Stanley County*; the southern portion *Lafonia County*. This latter division is said to contain twenty-four good harbours, besides innumerable creeks and coves. There are also about forty large promontories, capable of being isolated for the breeding of cattle, &c.

GEOLOGY.—Dr. Darwin, who accompanied Captain Fitz-Roy, examined, as far as his time permitted, the structure of these islands, which, he says, is in most respects simple, the lower country consisting of clay-slate and sandstone, associated together; and the hills of white granular quartz rock, with strata frequently arched with perfect symmetry, and presenting the appearance of the seats of an amphitheatre in ruins. The quartz must have been in a pasty state when it underwent such remarkable flexure without being shattered into fragments. As a passage between the quartz and the sandstone can be traced, it seems probable that the former owes its origin to the land-

stone having been heated to such an excess, that it became viscid, and upon cooling crystallized; while in the soft state it must have been pushed up through the overlying beds.

The celebrated "*streams of stones*" are found on the north side of the dividing ridge of the eastern island; possibly similar phenomena may hereafter be discovered in other parts of the archipelago: they consist of myriads of cubical fragments of quartz rock, of varying sizes, their angles generally but little broken; some are so large that a man may find shelter beneath one of them. In several places they are spread out in the valleys as if in a flowing current of a quarter to half-a-mile wide; in others they lie in a sloping direction on the hill sides, at an angle of ten degrees with the horizon, and have a breadth of thirty feet to a quarter of a mile. Beneath these stony beds the flow of water may be heard many feet below the surface. The peaty soil is narrowing at the borders, and even forming islets of the stones wherever a few fragments happen to lie close together. On the crests of the neighbouring low rounded hills, whence these singular "*streams*" seem to have descended, huge masses of quartz, exceeding a small building in dimensions, are found, as if arrested in their course, and the curved strata are piled over each other like the ruins of a vast cathedral.

Dr. Darwin declares, that although he had seen, in the Cordillera of the Andes, the evident marks where stupendous mountains had been broken into pieces like so much thin crust, and the strata thrown on their vertical edges, no scene had ever impressed upon him, like these "*streams of stones*," the idea of a convulsion, without a counterpart in historical records. On the highest peak of a range (700 feet above the sea,) in the eastern Falkland Island, lies a great arched fragment of quartz, many tons in weight, on its convex or upper surface, as if fairly pitched into the air, and then turned over. He infers that the period of violence was subsequent to the land having been raised above the ocean level. It seems probable that the cubes of quartz have been hurled into the valleys down the nearest slopes, or that masses of rock were broken up in their original position, and that by a vibratory movement of overwhelming force, the fragments have been levelled into continuous sheets. The best idea which can be given of this sin-

gular natural feature, is by imagining that streams of *white* lava had flowed from many parts of the mountains into the lower country, and been there, when consolidated, rent by some terrible convulsion into innumerable fragments.*

The Falkland fossils, like those of England, are associated with remains that indicate a climate of tropical character. Those found in the sandstone and clay-slate, consist chiefly of shells allied to terebratula, of encrinurites, of a branching coral divided into alternate compartments, and of an obscure impression of the lobes of a trilobite.

Most of the mountain summits are much shattered, extremely rugged, and, consequently, difficult to climb. At Mount Skyring the stones, when struck together, give out a sulphurous smell, and are strongly magnetic. Some such causes may produce the faint glimmering lights which are seen at long intervals on the hill-tops, appearing like the flash of a pistol at a great distance.

The *mineralogy* is, as yet, unexplored; there are said to be marks of copper ore with pyrites; and the geological structure is strongly indicative of the presence of metals. Coal has been discovered, but no attempt has hitherto been made to employ it. Ochres of different colours are common.

An analysis of the Falkland Islands coal compared with that from Dean Forest, in England, was made by Sir H. T. de la Bêche, for the Admiralty: the distinguished geologist supposes the specimens to have come from Sussex Harbour, East Falkland, and says they "show good bituminous coal fit for a variety of purposes. The following is the comparative analysis, with the appended remarks of the analyser:—

Analysis.	Falkland Islands.	Dean Forest.
Carbon	77.97	71.14
Hydrogen	5.42	4.90
Nitrogen	0.95	1.41
Silica	2.00	0.85
Alumina	1.84	0.65
Sulphate of lime	0.24	—
Iron pyrites	—	7.12
Seaqui-sulphate of iron	—	1.60
Water	3.25	4.68
Oxygen and loss	8.33	7.67

* Although the specimens thus prove the occurrence of good coal in the Falkland Islands, it should be observed that further information is necessary in

* Dr. Darwin, vol. iii., pp. 254, '5, '6.

order to judge of the capability of its being profitably worked; information showing the thickness of the coal beds, and the dip or angle they make with the horizon, coal frequently occurring in beds too thin to be of any economic value.

"Beds of coal three or four feet in thickness, have been stated to have been found in the Falkland Islands; but this requires confirmation.

"Among the remaining specimens, which are chiefly those of ordinary rocks, are some of the peat said to abundantly occur in these islands. These specimens show that, as in some of the great peat bogs in Ireland, the lower parts of the peat accumulations assume a very bituminous character. From White Rock Harbour, West Falkland, there is a specimen so highly bituminous, that it has nearly the aspect of pitch; it burns with a brilliant flame, and might be very advantageously employed for gas light purposes; it would also, if properly treated, afford coal-tar, and would also be valuable on this account, if it should be found to occur in sufficient abundance."

SOIL.—Accounts are varied, and so little is really known, that they must be received with caution. Some writers say that there is mostly from six to eight inches of black vegetable mould, on a stratum of strong clay: others consider that the surface is chiefly a bog earth, and that, owing to the nature of the soil and climate, cereal crops cannot well be raised. It is very probable that oats and barley would thrive, and judging from the fatness of the wild cattle and horses, pasturage must be abundant and excellent. Wherever potatoes and garden produce have been cultivated, the soil has yielded a great increase.

The bogs are composed of a very compact black peat, highly bituminous, which, when dry, burns with great intensity; they may be traversed everywhere by a man without difficulty, and in most places by a horse. Even the worst are covered with a coarse, wiry grass, and nowhere did the late governor (Mr. Moody) find them uncovered, as in Ireland, or in Scotland. Wherever horses and cattle frequent, the brown moorish look of the surface gives place to a greener and more luxuriant appearance, and where the ground has been fired, a tender sweet grass springs up, mixed with a white clover.

CLIMATE.—Although in latitude in the southern hemisphere corresponding to that of London, and the Midland Counties in the northern, viz., 51° to 53°, the temperature is more equable than that of England; the mercury rarely falls below 26° Fah. in the coldest winter, or rises above 75° in the hottest summer; the general range is from 30° to 50° in winter, and 50° to 75° in summer.

Snow seldom lies on the ground more than half-an-inch thick; heavy long-continued rain never occurs; showers are frequent; thunder and lightning of rare occurrence; fogs are seen in autumn and spring, but they usually dissipate by noon; the winter is about a month longer than the summer. The long warm days of the vernal solstice, with occasional showers, produce a rapid vegetation. Upon the authority of a naval officer, who has been many years resident on the islands, there are two hours' sunshine at the Falklands for one in England throughout the year.*

The winds blow chiefly from the north-west in summer, and south-west in winter, but seldom long from the eastward in either season. A north wind almost always brings rain, especially in summer, and east and south-east airs are constantly accompanied by mist and rain. The finest weather in winter is when the breeze draws from the west or north-west, and in summer, when it stands at north-west or north-east. Snow-squalls generally come from the south-south-west or south-south-east. The winds are rarely at rest during any part of the year; storms are most frequent at changes of the seasons, and come usually from south-south-west to west-south-west, but they seldom last more than twenty-four hours. During summer, a sea-breeze, similar to that which occurs in the tropical regions, sets in from the westward, often increasing to a gale during the day, and dying away gradually towards night-fall. During the summer a calm of four-and-twenty hours' continuance is an extraordinary event, as it generally blows hard from 9 A.M. to 4 P.M.; the evenings and nights are, however, usually mild and still.

Unquestionably the place is exceedingly salubrious; no peculiar disease has been contracted by those who have resided there several years, and persons afflicted with pulmonary complaints are stated to have experienced a great mitigation of their sufferings.

The climate of the Western is milder than that of the Eastern Island.

VEGETABLE PRODUCTIONS.—In East Falkland, which alone has been to any extent explored, no trees are found, and the largest bush (belonging to the family of the *compositæ*) is scarcely so high as the English

gorze. Wood for building is, however, obtainable from the adjoining Straits of Magellan. For fuel, besides peat and turf, which are abundant in many places, and may be procured dry out of the penguins' holes, three kinds of bushes are found, called *fachinal*, *matajo*, and *gruillera*. The first of these grows straight, from two to five feet high, and the stem, in proportion to the height, is from half-an-inch to one inch and-a-half in diameter; small woods of this are found in all the valleys, and form good cover; it bears no fruit. The second is more abundant in the southern than in the northern part of the island; its trunk is nearly the thickness of a man's arm, very crooked, never higher than three feet, and bears no fruit. The *gruillera*, the smallest of the three, is about the size of the common heath, it grows close to the ground, and is abundant all over the island; being easily ignited, and having the valuable property of burning while fresh and green, it is chiefly used as fuel by the people when away from the settlement, and to light the peat fires in the houses. It bears a small dark red berry, of the size of a large pea, and of an insipid taste.

A small low plant (*myrtus nummuralia*), produces a berry of the size of a large pea, of a whitish rose colour, and a fine flavour: a decoction of the leaves is commonly used as a substitute for tea.

Wild celery (*apium graveolans*) and the little cress (*cardamine glacialis*) are wholesome and agreeable. The so-called scurvy grass a description of sorrel, which loses its leaves in winter, is an excellent anti-scorbutic; its leaves, when boiled, make a sort of "gooseberry fool;" and it may also be used instead of lemons for sour sauces and lemonade. A native spinach (a species of *atriplex*) is a good pot-herb.

The most curious of the vegetable productions (the *hydrocelia gummifera*) is a plant, or rather excrescence (for it grows from the earth without stalk, branch, or leaves,) called the resinous gum plant. It is frequently six feet in diameter, and eighteen inches high, and so strong as to bear the weight of a man. Its surface ejects drops of a tough resinous matter of a yellow colour, and about the size of peas, having a strong odour like turpentine, which is called balsam by the settlers, and used as such. Among the lichens are some which yield fine colours with pure ammonia.

The *tussac* is a gigantic sedgy grass of

* Captain Sullivan, who has been engaged in completing the survey of the Falklands, commenced by Captain Fitz-Roy.

the genus *carex*: the blades run seven feet long, and about an inch wide, as many as 250 stems springing from a single "stool." It is sweet and tender, forming, perhaps, a more nourishing food for horned cattle than any found growing spontaneously in other parts of the globe. The sea shore, and all the small islets, are fringed with this grass, and its highly nutritious roots have been found available, in cases of need, for human food. Governor Moody in a despatch dated January 17th, 1844, urgently advocated the introduction of this grass into Britain, especially into the Orkney and Shetland Islands, as the experiments he had tried showed that it would grow on almost any soil, and that, although the place of its natural growth was from 300 to 400 yards from the shore, yet it would thrive without being exposed to the sea spray. He adds, the tussac grass rises high above the snow, is fresh and green all the winter, and from its height completely shelters the horses and cattle lying among it.

There are several other valuable grasses: the most abundant (*arundo alopecurus*) covers every peat-bog with a dense and rich clothing of green in summer, and a good pale-yellow hay in the winter season; no bog, however rank, seems too bad for this grass to luxuriate on; and its naturally dried hay is greedily devoured by the troops of wild horses which range along the flanks of Wickham heights. It is not yet satisfactorily proved whether sheep will thrive on this vegetable, whether in the shape of grass or hay. The cattle have so wide a range, that the long grass is never thoroughly fed down, but grows in tufts, fresh shoots continually springing from the same shoot, leaving the old and withered stalks standing.

How far the fruit, grain, and vegetables of Europe will succeed at the Falklands is still to be ascertained. Captain Fitz-Roy is of opinion, that fruit which requires much sun certainly will not ripen. Wheat, tried in M. Vernet's small, manured, and high turf-fenced garden, produced a full ear and large grain: potatoes, though put into holes, and left to take their chance, yielded three pounds weight from one root: they were large, but necessarily watery, from not having been planted in drills or ridges, nor trenched. Turnips are well flavoured, and of large size: Captain Fitz-Roy saw one that weighed *eight-and-a-half pounds*. Carrots, cabbage, and lettuce may be brought to

great perfection, particularly on sheltered banks sloping towards the north-east. Flax succeeds well. Hemp has not been tried. Currant-bushes, brought from Tierra del Fuego, did not, at first, yield properly-ripened fruit; but it must be remembered, that in the country whence the bushes were obtained, they grew wild, and the produce even there was scarcely eatable. Bougainville and Wallis say, that thousands of young trees were taken up by the roots in the Straits of Magellan, and carried to the Falklands, where they were planted; but no trace of them is now visible. By planting thickly, and sheltering the young shrubs from the fury of south-west storms, by lofty mounds of turf, hardy trees might undoubtedly be raised.

ZOOLOGY.—No quadrupeds were found on these islands at the time of their discovery, except a kind of wolf-like fox, peculiar to them, which kennels under ground. In size, the larger ones are about twice as bulky as an English fox, and they stand nearly twice as high upon their legs: their heads are coarser, and their fangs longer and sharper; their fur is thicker, and of a woolly nature; they are very rapacious, and feed upon birds, rabbits, mice, eggs, seals, &c.; and to their habits of attacking king-penguins, if not seal, while alive, may probably be traced the unhesitating boldness with which they approach man. When Byron visited the Falklands, in 1764, four of them "ran up to their bellies in the water to attack the boat," upon which the sailors jumped out of it to avoid them, mistaking their curiosity for fierceness; and the officers of the *Beagle*, while employed in surveying these coasts, "were often annoyed, as well as amused, by the intrusion of these fearless animals." There are no reptiles, and few insects. Hair and fur seals, and sea lions, of the most valuable description, are abundant in the vicinity of the Jason Beauchêne, and the smaller islands adjacent to East and West Falkland. The black, or right whale, still visits these coasts, especially the south and west shores of West Falkland, though much diminished by the annual attacks of the numerous whale-ships, both large and small, which have made these islands their head-quarters for the last five-and-twenty years.

The animals introduced have thriven well. Large herds of wild cattle range the uninhabited wastes, the produce of a few tame ones brought by the French settlers

in 1764. They have rapidly increased; and the present stock consists of a nearly equal number of bulls and cows. These are magnificent looking beasts, resembling those which are figured in ancient sculptures, where the size of the head and neck is so remarkable. They wander about by themselves, or with two or three companions, and the solitary ones are very furious, never hesitating to attack a man, unless mounted, and delighting in the encounter.

The method of hunting and capturing wild cattle, which is adopted on the dry and level Pampas of South America, being found unfitted to the soft and uneven "camp" of the Falklands, the use of the lasso is almost discontinued. The most efficient mode, and that now generally adopted, is to drive sinuellas (or trained decoy oxen) near to the wild herds, some of which are then separated, by dint of hard riding, seconded by the exertions of the sinuellas, who, when once joined by a few wild animals, lead the way to the nearest hunting corral or walled fold, closely followed by the horsemen. Once within the enclosure, their savage spirit is soon broken down under a course of starvation and constant discipline, and in a very short time they become sufficiently tractable to be driven in herds of fifteen or twenty by a single horseman, and are then considered tamed. In the old plan of catching them, the gaucha or cattle hunter flung his lasso (a long cord with a noose at the extremity) round the horns of the beast, and threw him to the ground, then rapidly dismounting (his horse, trained to the work, keeping the lasso meanwhile at full stretch) tied the legs with thongs of raw hide; sometimes the assistance of a second gaucha was required to throw another cord round the hind-leg. The poor animal was then left on the ground, and the pursuit continued until as many others were captured as the party could manage in a day. On the following morning, exhausted by the chase, by violent struggling with their bonds, and by hunger and thirst, the wretched beasts were released by their captors, who, riding rapidly round them, brought them together, and urging them with voice and spear, hunted them furiously in the direction of the corral. Still without water, and further harassed by the pace, it will be easily understood that the dominion of man was soon established over them. However, the great destruction of cattle and horses resulting from this barbarous system, has caused it to be almost

abandoned in the Falkland Islands. As it is, the service is sufficiently severe; the men lie out for three weeks together, with the earth for a bed, a saddle for a pillow, and covered only by their pouches, after a day's hard riding, equivalent in exertion to half-a-dozen hard runs with a fox in England; the horses reeking with sweat, their withers wrung by struggles with powerful bulls, flanks dropping blood from the effects of the sharp rowels of the gaucha's spur, and jaws almost broken by the severe and heavy bit, are turned adrift at night to seek their food and water as best they may. The consequences are that the men suffer a good deal from rheumatism, and the horses seldom last more than three or four seasons.

The size and fatness of the wild cattle indicate that the breed is good, as well as the pasturage rich. Some are so fat and heavy that they cannot be driven across marshy grounds, which are passed by other cattle, as well as by men on horseback. Of twenty wild bulls which were killed during one excursion of the settlers, while Captain Fitz-Roy was at East Falkland, the average weight of each hide was above seventy, and a few weighed eighty pounds. Meat takes salt remarkably well in this climate, and salt abounds on the coast of Patagonia. The flesh of the wild cattle is good eating; Dr. Darwin says that the meat roasted on the embers with the skin on it, the hide downwards to serve as a saucer for the gravy, is as superior to ordinarily dressed meat as venison is to mutton. After picking the flesh from the ribs of a bullock, the meat is roasted by making a fire with the bones of the animal.

There are troops of wild horses which, like the horned cattle, owe their origin to some introduced by Bougainville in 1744. These are even more dangerous of approach than the cattle, as they fight in a body, using in the onslaught their fore-feet, and biting with their teeth. They have never left the northern part of the island; it is difficult to conjecture why, as it does not appear more tempting than any other portion. They have increased greatly in numbers, but degenerated in size, being a small breed, which necessitates the importation of fresh horses from South America. When found of suitable strength and shape, the island horses are however preferred to the imported ones, from being accustomed to the description of country. An English stallion has been taken out by Captain Sullivan, the

only one in the colony. A quantity of pigs and rabbits were turned loose upon East Falkland, by the French, and afterwards by the Spanish colonists, and by considerate persons engaged in the whale or sea-fishery; both goats and pigs have been left upon the smaller islands near West Falkland. These have multiplied exceedingly; and although they have been killed indiscriminately by the crews of vessels, as well as by the settlers, there are still large numbers, especially upon *Carcass Island*, and *Saunders Island*. The black and the grey description of rabbits, by breeding together, have produced a piebald offspring. Rats and mice are found, having probably been introduced by some of the earlier navigators; altered climate, food, and habits, sufficiently account for their peculiarities of colour and size, their sharp noses and long tails.

BIRDS.—Of sea-fowl there are many kinds; of land-birds, few, a natural consequence of the absence of trees. Swans, wild ducks, snipe, teal, and a sort of quail, are found in abundance; and so tame were some of the birds when the first settlers landed there, that they would suffer themselves to be caught by the hand, and often perch upon the head. There is a bird called the grebe, of beautiful plumage, with a peculiarly gentle note, whose flesh is much esteemed, which suffers itself to be approached so as to be knocked down with a stick; there are also falcons, snipes, owls, curlews, herons, thrushes, &c. Two kinds of wild geese are distinguishable, the lowland or kelp-geese, and the upland geese; the latter are much superior in flavour, the former having a fishy taste, living chiefly on mussels, shrimps, and kelp. Both are very tame, and the upland geese are easily domesticated. They are the finest eating in autumn, being then plump, in consequence of the abundance of the tea-shrub berries, of which they are very fond; the rest of the year they live on the short grass. They have a white neck and breast, with the rest of the body speckled of a fine brown marbled colour. The lowland gander is quite white, and the goose, dark, with a speckled breast. Of ducks there are several kinds. The loggerheaded are the largest, and almost the same size as the geese; their flesh is tough and fishy; they cannot fly, and when cut off from the water are easily caught. The next size is also of inferior quality, tough and fishy, but the smaller kinds, which are not larger than young

pigeons, are very good, and are found in large flocks along the rivulets and fresh-water ponds. In addition to these, a variety of sea birds frequent the shores, of which the most valuable to sailors and settlers, from the quantity of eggs they deposit, are the gulls and penguins. These birds have their fixed rookeries, to which they resort in numerous flocks every spring; the gulls generally in green places near the shore, or on the small islands in the bay; the penguins chiefly along the steep rocky shores of the sea. (See illustration on map.) The eggs of both are eatable, after long confinement on board ship; the penguin's being, however, the better, and less strong than those of the gull. They were formerly so numerous, that on one occasion eight men gathered 60,000 in four or five days, and could easily have doubled that number had they stopped a few days longer. Both gulls and penguins will lay six or eight each, if removed, otherwise they only lay two and hatch them. The gulls come first to their hatching places, the penguins a little later.

FISH.—A valuable source of daily supply, and by salting, of export, exists in the inexhaustible quantities of fish that swarm in every harbour during the summer. The description which most abounds is a kind of bass, from two to three feet long, and six inches in depth; there are also several sorts of excellent small fish in immense shoals, which enter the bays at the beginning of spring to spawn, and retire in the winter season. A species of grey mullet, weighing from one to fifteen pounds, may be caught in large quantities in every creek; also a fish resembling a smelt; with both these, salt and fresh, shipping are supplied. Rock cod is plentiful in the neighbourhood of Swan or Weddell Island; but the prodigious quantity of sea-weed with which the shore is loaded, renders coast fishing almost impracticable. In the numerous fresh-water ponds, a small but good fish may be caught by angling. Large clams and mussels are obtained in abundance; there are, however, few other shell-fish, except some whose appearance is owing to a remarkable phenomenon connected with the tides: just before high water the sea rises and falls three times; and this motion is always more violent during the equinoxes and full moons, at which time several corallines, the finest mother-of-pearl, and the most delicate sponges are thrown up with it; and amongst other shells, a curious

bivalve, called *la poulette*, found no where else save in a fossil state.

POPULATION.—No aborigines were found inhabiting these islands. In 1849, the population consisted of *whites*, 184 males, 124 females=308: *coloured*, 2 males, 1 female=3. The aliens and resident strangers, not included in the foregoing, numbered 104, of whom more than 90 are Spaniards and South Americans, introduced by M. Lafone. During the year the births were 12; the deaths, 4; the marriages, 1.

The inhabitants are variously employed in capturing and taming cattle, in gardening, in trade, and on public works. The division of the Eastern Island into two counties has been already stated; in the northern is the parish of Stanley.

GOVERNMENT.—There is an Executive Council, composed of the governor, colonial-surgeon, and a post captain in the Royal Navy: the Legislative Council consists of the governor and five gentlemen, three of whom hold no official position.

The government establishment comprises the following officers, whose respective salaries are as follows:—governor, £800; stipendiary magistrate, £400; colonial chaplain, £400; surveyor-general, £300; his first clerk, £200; second clerk, £150; colonial surgeon, £300. Total, £2,550.

RELIGION.—The chaplain, in addition to his salary of £400, has a house and garden-ground around, but no church or chapel; the school-room, where about forty persons usually attend, is set apart on Sundays for public worship.

EDUCATION.—There is a schoolmaster, with £32 a-year from government, and about £20 a-year from the parents of his scholars, who were in 1849, 14 males, 14 females=28.

CRIME.—Only 8 prisoners were committed to the temporary gaol during 1849, 4 English and 4 Spaniards.

FINANCES.—The only taxes levied in 1849, consisted of *spirit* licences, at the rate of £20 per annum, payable half yearly; and *dog* licences at 5s. each, which produced in 1849—spirit, £30; dog, £11=£41. The land sales in 1849 yielded £125, and the land revenue £18. The legal and registration fees are numerous and petty; they yielded £90. The total revenue is under £300 a-year. In 1849, the sale of government property yielded £713; reimbursements on account of expenses incurred by government, £196; and the special receipts,

including a forfeiture of £360 for breach of contract with colonial government, amounted to £543; sums received on account of parliamentary grant, £344. The receipts for the year from all sources, were £1,453. The expenditure for the salaries of governor, magistrate, chaplain, surgeon, surveyor, first and second clerks, and schoolmaster, for 1849, was £2,358; provisional and temporary establishments, £1,652; allowances for rations, £40; disbursements on account of miscellaneous civil services (including £742 on works and buildings), were £960; special payments, including remittances to land and emigration commissioners, &c., £331; payments on account of detachment of military enrolled pensioners, £120. The total charges for 1849, amounted to £5,463. In 1850, there was a general increase of revenue; the fixed items increased from £184 in 1849, to £442 in 1850. The circulating medium of the colony is principally English coin, whose amount is estimated at £2,500.

COMMERCE AND SHIPPING.—Imports in 1849, £9,760, of which £7,100 came from England; and of this, £3,200 in value, were imported for the public service. The imports consisted chiefly of clothing, articles of domestic use, spirits, wine, beer, &c.; and from America, breadstuffs, timber, tobacco, sugar, coffee, &c. The exports were valued at £2,660, consisting of hides, hair, fur seal-skins, seal-oil, whalebone, &c. Number of hides exported, about 1,300; wool, 850lbs.; hair seal-skins, 1,046; fur, ditto, 37; whalebone, 370lbs.; seal oil, 140 gallons.

The following summary of the shipping which has called at Port Stanley, East Falkland, between May, 1847, and June, 1851, shows a progressive increase, particularly in the present year. There is every reason to anticipate a continuous and yet more rapid augmentation, from the advantages offered by this and other harbours of the Falkland, as ports of refuge, offering, on easy terms, the means of refit and refreshment, so frequently required in doubling Cape Horn:—

Date.	Ships.	Tonnage.
1847, May to December .	15	3,697
1848, January to December	28	11,738
1849 " "	25	7,669
1850 " "	36	13,881
1851, January to June " .	31	10,699
Total	135	47,684

Of which there were :—

Country.	Ships.	Tonnage.
British	65	28,681
North American	51	13,933
Norwegian	2	756
Danish	3	660
Oriental	8	827
Hamburg	2	527
Chilian	1	400
French	2	1,500
Russian	1	400
Total	135	47,684
Deduct men-of-war	11	8,199
Merchantmen	124	39,485

Object of calling.—40 ships, for service of the islands; 74, for water and provisions; 26, for repairs; 19, American whalers, for repairs and provisions; 3, with goods for sale; 2, for deserters; 4, for medical aid; 2, wrecked; 2, for repairs—condemned; 1, run aground, and abandoned on fire.

Men-of-war included amongst the foregoing.—In the year 1847, none; 1848, 5 English and one French, 4,510 tons—2, for repairs and refreshments; 1, surveying for patent slip at Stanley; 1, with despatches for Governor; 1, with new Governor (Rennie); 1, French, for deserter: 1849, 3 English, 2,130 tons—1, with specie for government; 1, for refreshments; 1, for repairs: 1850, 1 English, 503 tons—for repairs, beef, and water: 1851, 1 English, 1,056 tons—with specie, and took refreshments. Total, 11 ships, 8,199 tons.

PRODUCE.—The amount is yet very limited; in 1849, there were only 5 acres in cultivation, and these in garden produce, viz.: potatoes, cabbages, turnips, peas, &c. About 5,300 acres are fenced in and planted with *tussac* grass. The live stock is large: wild horses, about 3,000; wild cattle, 80,000 to 100,000; two troops of breeding mares, and numerous swine; imported and tame horses, between 600 and 700; tame horned cattle, 3,000; sheep, 500; goats, 30. Only 12 milch cows are kept on the island, more not being required. The price of beef is 2*d.* per lb.; Stanley-fed bacon, as good as English, 1*s.* 2*d.*; fresh butter, 2*s.*; milk, 6*d.* per quart; tallow candles, (colonial manufacture) 10*d.* per lb.; cheese, 1*s.* 6*d.*

Wages—of unskilled labour, 2*s.* 6*d.* to 4*s.* 6*d.*; mechanics, 5*s.* to 8*s.* per day; domestic servants, male, £30 to £40; female, £10 to £20 per annum.

PRESENT POSITION.—By a contract between Her Majesty's government and Mr. Lafone, the latter (a wealthy Monte Video merchant), on payment of £30,000—of which £10,000 has been paid—is entitled to hold, in fee simple, the whole of the south peninsula in East Falkland Island,

DIV. VI.

estimated to contain 600,000 acres, with all the adjacent islands, including Beauchêne, besides 25 acres of suburban land, and half-an-acre of town land at Stanley. He has, also, till 1856, the absolute right to exclusive dominion over all wild cattle, horses, &c., on all the Falkland Islands, with full power to dispose of them as he pleases; and after that time, all stock, &c., found on Lafonia, are to be his, absolutely; but his dominion ceases as to the rest of the islands. He has also some other privileges under his grant from the Crown.

Government have sanctioned the transfer of Mr. Lafone's contract to a company which has been lately formed under the title of "The Falkland Islands Company," and to which a charter of incorporation is about to be granted. The primary object of this association is to turn to profitable account the immense herds of wild cattle, which have been estimated, by competent judges, at 80,000 head; though Captains Sullivan and Mackinnon make the number still larger. Government are about to contract with the Company for the transport of a mail eight times a-year, between Stanley and Monte Video, for which service they are to receive £800. Hitherto there has been no regular means of communication with the colony. The establishments created by Mr. Lafone are now to be transferred to the Company; the principal are situated in Darwin's Harbour, on the Isthmus, at Port San Salvador, and at Port Louis; amongst other works, he has constructed a wall and ditch, 2,225 yards in length, across the isthmus, thereby preventing about 30,000 head of cattle, which he has in Lafonia, from straying into the northern portion of the island. To give an idea of the extent of this establishment, which is entirely occupied in the capture and taming of wild cattle and horses, it may be mentioned, that the studs at the various stations comprize upwards of 400 horses.

The crection of a beacon, or lighthouse, on Cape Pembroke, is much needed, to enable vessels to make Stanley Harbour in thick weather and in the night-time. Government have had it in contemplation, for some years, to send out a patent slip, for which there is great occasion, as appears by reference to the summary of shipping previously given. An excellent chart of these islands is published by the Admiralty: they

have been very carefully surveyed by Captains Fitz-Roy, Sullivan, and Robinson; and masters of ships, provided with this chart, may call, with the simple addition of the lighthouse, at any season, in perfect safety, at Port Stanley, where fresh provisions and water, of excellent quality, are plentiful and cheap.

These islands seem to offer advantages for a convict dépôt.* They certainly afford facilities for separation and classification of the prisoners, who might be disposed so as not to interfere with the existing population. There is no bush to shelter runaways; or, should they escape—which appears to be the principal objection—the nearest

land, Patagonia, is inhabited by savages, amongst whom they would meet with certain destruction. The conformation of the islands affords a ready means of communication by semaphoric, in ten minutes' time, from New Island to Cape Pembroke, the extreme west and east points of the group. The cost of transport would be less than half that to Van Diemen's Land; and staple provisions might be had, quite as cheap as at any other colony; beef and mutton at much lower rates; whilst ample employment might be afforded, in various ways, serviceable to the colony, and adapted to make it, what nature seems to have designed it for, a useful naval station.

THE AUCKLAND ISLANDS.

THIS group, consisting of one moderate sized island, and several smaller islets and rocks, is situated in 51° S. lat., 166° E. long. It lies 180 miles to the south of New Zealand, with which it is supposed to be connected by means of a submerged mountain-chain, whose summits form the rocky islets, called by Cook the *Snares*, a few miles off the extremity of Stewart's Island, and may be traced as far to the southward of the Aucklands as the *Macquaries*. A similar connexion is thought to exist between New Zealand and the Chatham Islands, 300 miles to the eastward, on account of the declaration of the whalers that soundings are found the whole of the intermediate distance. It is also affirmed that a bank extends from the "Three Kings," off the northern extremity of New Zealand, to Norfolk Island; these statements tend to confirm the opinion of Dr. Dieffenbach and others, that the various scattered groups of which we are now speaking, are the mountain regions of an extensive continent, whose lowlands have long been covered by the stormy waters of the Southern, or miscalled Pacific, Ocean.

The Auckland Islands were discovered in 1806, by a Captain Briscoe, while engaged in the prosecution of a whaling voyage, on behalf of the late Mr. Enderby; in the subsequent year he landed, took possession of them for the crown of England, and left thereon some pigs, which have multiplied exceedingly. In 1847, on the application of Messrs. Enderby, a London mercantile

* They have been recommended for this purpose by the Colonial, Land, and Emigration Commis-

sioners, then largely engaged in the South-Sea whale and seal fisheries, a lease was granted to them of the Aucklands by the Crown, for the term of thirty years, at a peppercorn rent for the first two years, and for every subsequent year of the time specified at the rate of £1,000, and such further sums of money as one of Her Majesty's secretaries of state might deem necessary for the civil government and protection of settlers upon the islands. By the terms of the lease, the Crown may at any time resume possession, granting compensation only to the actual value of improvements made; and may also select land for the construction of houses and gardens for the residence of official persons, or for barracks, forts, arsenals, dock-yards, military defences, roads, bridges, &c. It is likewise stipulated that the ships and merchants of all nations shall have the free use of the ports and harbours of the said islands, according to the usual laws and customs of trade: the Crown may remit any portion of the yearly rent of £1,000, not required for the purposes of government or protection; the failure of payment of rent after an arrear of six calendar months to be considered a breach of the covenant, and be deemed sufficient cause for the forfeiture of the lease.

There is a proviso for the extension of the lease over a second period of thirty years, on nearly similar terms to the first, and generally the grant was made on favourable conditions for those who engaged in the adventure, it being the object of the Government to encourage settlement. See Parliamentary Paper, No. 3. August 27th, 1841. Enclosure, No. 7.

of Her Majesty's ministers to encourage the prosecution of whale, seal, and other fisheries in the Southern Pacific.

The Messrs. Enderby have sub-let their lease or grant to a public association, called the "*Southern Whale Fishing Company*," under the governorship of Captain the Earl of Hardwick, R.N., and a direction of experienced city merchants and other gentlemen. The Company has a capital of £100,000, of which, in conformity with the provisions of a royal charter granted in 1848, one-fourth was required to be paid up before the Company commenced business.

Several vessels have been built for the Company, and despatched to the South Seas and Pacific for the prosecution of the fisheries; and Mr. Charles Enderby has been sent out for a period of ten years as the Company's commissioner and lieutenant-governor of the islands. The remuneration of this gentleman was to be a per-centage upon the annual net profits of the undertaking, with a guarantee from the court of directors that he should not receive less than £500 per annum, with an allowance £250 a-year for table money, to enable him to entertain the commanders and officers of vessels touching at the islands. Other persons, some with their wives and families, have been located at the Auckland; and stores of various kinds, with cattle, seeds, &c., have been imported.

Dwelling-houses, stores, jetty, &c., have been constructed; a survey of the principal island has been made, and every care seems to have been taken by the corporation to supply the physical wants of the people under their charge, save and except in the first of all requisites, a provision for their spiritual necessities. No clergyman has been sent out by the London directory, and though it is to be hoped some of our excellent missionary societies will remedy this lamentable defect, it is yet most unjust that the onus should be thrown on them, which in common justice ought to be borne by those who hope to reap advantage by the undertaking; nor is it possible to acquit the government of their responsibility of either performing or ensuring the performance of so necessary a duty.

AREA AND PHYSICAL FEATURES. — The principal island, named Auckland, is estimated to comprise a superficies of about

100,000 acres; its length is thirty miles, and its extreme breadth about fifteen; the remainder of the group does not contain in all more than 20,000 acres. The general appearance of the country somewhat resembles the region round Cape Horn; it is mostly wild and steep to seaward, the basaltic cliffs rising from fifty to ninety feet in perpendicular height. Its southern and eastern shores are indented by deep gulfs, one of which almost separates the island into two parts. Of these the southern is the more picturesque, and is supposed to be also more fertile. The smaller islands, which are divided by narrow channels, closely resemble the large one in their general character. The land rises abruptly, especially on the east coast, and the highest peaks attain an elevation of about 900 feet. So far as is yet known there appears to be a succession of hills and narrow valleys, clothed in many parts with trees of a very hard and crooked nature; in others with a dense growth of underwood; and, where the rays of the sun can penetrate, with a strong heavy luxuriant grass. The western side of the island is a bluff "iron-bound" coast, with deep water within 100 fathoms of the cliffs; the eastern is partly lined with fine pebbly or sandy beaches, intersected by streams and inlets, and has six or seven harbours, the principal of which, now termed *Port Ross*,* in 50° 32' S. lat., 166° 12' E. long., was formerly known as *Rendezvous Harbour*. The entrance, sheltered to the northward by *Enderby* and *Rose Island*, is about a mile wide, has to the southward a rock called *Ocean Island*. The portion at the head of Port Ross or Rendezvous, called *Laurie Harbour*, is perfectly land-locked, with a steep beach on the shore, affording facilities for clearing and loading vessels. That known as *Sarah's Bosom* is less secure.

Mr. Enderby, who reached Port Ross as lieutenant-governor and commissioner for the Southern Whaling Company, 2nd December, 1849, and took possession of the islands on its behalf, was piloted in by a New Zealander: he describes the sides of the harbour as steep, the contiguous hills varying from six to nine hundred feet in height, covered from the base to the summit with trees, whose branches overhung the water on either side. Near the head of the haven is a small island about five acres in extent, covered with grass, and beyond it a

* So called after the distinguished navigator, Sir James Clark Ross, who, in his arduous and perilous

expedition to the Antarctic Seas, surveyed these islands.

wide and rapid stream, the entrance to which is almost hidden by trees and brushwood. The site of the projected town, to be named Hardwick, includes three small bays. It is situated on a peninsulated piece of land extending about a mile inland, having a gradual rise in that distance of about 100 feet, and a rivulet of fresh water running through it, and is sheltered from the prevailing winds by high land rising in the back ground. The only extent of grassland in the vicinity of the settlement is a tract of about 100 acres, situated at the north of the main island; nearly the same quantity of natural pasturage is comprised in Enderby Island, and a smaller amount exists on Rose Island; with these exceptions there is no one spot containing ten acres together.

Carnby Harbour, the great southern haven of Auckland Island, lies four miles to the eastward of the South Cape, within the strait dividing Auckland from Adam Island; it is tortuous, capacious, and in some places too deep for anchorage; there are, however, several good coves on either side where ships may lie. The entrance is perfectly free from danger, and about five miles wide; it is formed by two bluff points; from thence to the head of the haven, fifteen miles distant, (of which nine miles are direct inland,) a wide expanse opens with twenty-five to four fathoms clay soundings near the shore.

Chapel Bay, also on the east side of Auckland Island, received its name from a hill on one side, with a projecting rock on its summit, resembling a chapel: it is half-a-mile wide, and three miles in length; the sides rise to a height of eight or nine hundred feet, covered with trees. At the head of the bay is a rapid stream, flowing through a fine piece of level ground, extending inland for a mile, part being thickly wooded, and the remainder covered with grass and low shrubs. Beyond this is a waterfall, of seventy or eighty feet in altitude, which falls into a circular basin of clear fresh water, about half-a-mile in diameter. There is not a weed on the surface, nor any swampy ground around; and it is probably, therefore, of considerable depth. The banks are shelving, and composed of loose pieces of basaltic rock. Near the entrance of Chapel Bay is a remarkable and beautiful grotto; and, close to it, a cavern, 200 feet deep.

The interior of Auckland has been but little explored, the dense vegetation ren-

dering travelling almost impracticable, except where fire has been used to clear the way. The prevailing features, both of this and the smaller islets, would seem to be, a low forest skirting the shores, surmounted by a broad belt of underwood, above which a species of long, coarse grass, fern, or low bushes, extend to the summit of the hills. *Ewing*, and some of the other islets, are entirely covered with wood.

GEOLOGY.—The character of the country is described as basaltic, with the stone running into columns. Whin, or green-stone, has been found, of a fine workable grain. At the settlement, the igneous formation is intersected by a clay-coloured wacke, formed by the detritus of the adjacent rocks.

MINERALOGY.—No report has yet been made on this head.

SOIL.—In most places peaty, varying in depth from a few inches to ten feet. Some of it, sent to England for analysis, has been considered peculiarly valuable for floriculture, and worth, for that purpose, several pounds a ton. Cattle evidently thrive well on the natural grasses. How far the cultivation of grain will succeed, is yet to be proved.

CLIMATE.—Considering the high southern latitude, the temperature is mild; but there are frequent high winds, attended occasionally with heavy rains. The snow, in winter, is sometimes exceedingly heavy, but it seldom continues on the ground above a few days at a time. In summer, the thermometer rarely rises higher than 78° Fahr. The climate is salubrious, and is well spoken of, even by the scantily-clothed New Zealanders, who have had eight years' experience.

VEGETATION.—The surface of the main island is thickly covered with trees, shrubs, fern, grass, and moss. Of the trees there are several species; but the two most numerous are the *metrosideros lucida*, called "rata" by the New Zealanders, belonging to the *myrtaceæ*, and the *panax simplex*, belonging to the *ficoideæ* family. The principal shrub is a fine species of veronica, which occasionally forms a beautiful feature in the landscape. According to Mr. Enderby, the growth of the trees is peculiar. He describes them as rarely reaching an elevation exceeding forty feet, and yet as frequently measuring sixty feet in length; the cause of this seeming contradiction being, that "almost every tree is bent down about twenty or thirty feet from the roots,

and again shot upwards." This circumstance renders the forest almost impassable, as the passage is obstructed in all directions by these trees, over and under which the traveller has alternately to make his way: the tops are everywhere covered with foliage, as thick and even as a well-trimmed hedge.

An ornamental tree, yet undescribed by botanists, is found growing on the small isle situated to the south-east of the entrance to Port Ross, called *Ewing Island*.* The stem varies from eighteen inches to two feet in diameter; the wood is very hard, and has much the appearance of maple; the blossom resembles that of the chesnut in form, but is of a dull leaden colour; the leaves are nearly as large as those of the fig-tree, their back and the young stems are covered with a white film-like cotton; the branches spread out from close to the ground, to a distance of twenty-five feet.* Many of the smaller vegetable productions of these islands offer subjects of very interesting inquiry to the botanists, for though limited in extent, the recent investigation by Dr. Hooker, of the plants collected by Sir J. C. Ross, shews that of eighty flowering species found, no less than fifty-six were until then undescribed. One half of the whole are peculiar to the Aucklands, so far as is at present known, and are no less remarkable for their beauty than novelty. Space does not permit any details on this head, with the exception of the *arabisa polaris*, one of the most singular and useful plants found on this group: it grows in large orbicular masses in rocks and banks near the sea, or amongst the dense and gloomy vegetation of the woods; its copious bright green foliage and large umbels of waxy flowers have a striking appearance. The whole plant has a heavy and rather disagreeable smell, but its roots are greedily eaten by pigs, goats, and rabbits, who frequently live entirely amongst it, and by trampling down the soft stems and leaves make warm places to litter in.

ZOOLOGY.—There do not appear to be any native animals whatever. Some pigs which were left in Auckland, and about fifty brought by the Maori immigrants, have increased considerably, and on Ewing Island there are

also several droves. Cattle, sheep, and horses have been recently introduced, and there is said to be abundant feed all the year round for several hundred head on Enderby Island alone. Fur and hair seals frequent these shores; the male of the latter species, called the *sea lion*, is as high as a bear, and progresses nearly as fast as a man can run; he is usually attacked with thick clubs, loaded at one end,† and not unfrequently contests for life with his destroyer. The black or right whale is mentioned by Mr. Enderby as coming into the bays to calve, during the winter, in considerable numbers, and the hump-backed whale as being a constant visitor;† he also speaks of having obtained excellent flounders, and an inferior description of crab, and describes the mussels as being like seams of coal, of all sizes, and equal in flavour to the finest oysters. Of birds, insects, or reptiles, we have yet no detailed accounts, but there appear to be three sorts of ducks, snipes, sand-larks, and several small birds, including the "tui" of New Zealand (see p. 353), and a green paroquet, with red on the head and wings. Albatrosses of great size and beauty have been captured. The ground in several places is perforated, probably by the mutton bird; hawks are numerous.

POPULATION.—When Mr. Enderby, the lieutenant-governor, and commissioner of the South Whale Fishing Company, arrived at Auckland in 1849, he found the islands inhabited by about seventy New Zealanders (men, women, and children), who lived under the jurisdiction of two chiefs named Matteoro and Nannaterri. They had been dwelling there about eight years, having been conveyed thither from Chatham Island in a colonial vessel. They paid 150 pigs for their passage, and brought fifty more with them, which they landed on Auckland, Enderby, Ewing, Rose, and Ocean Islands. They had many small plots of land under cultivation, which they surrendered with their pigs, &c., to the representative of the Company, in whom the islands were vested by the Crown, in consideration of receiving a small sum of money, and of being permitted to collect their growing crops. They were unwilling to quit the island, and the commissioner, so

* Abstract of reports of the commissioner of the Southern Whale Fishery Company to the directors. London, 1850; p. 16.

† The latest report, dated June, 1851, which I had not seen at the time of writing the above remarks, states that "the Bay whaling season (of 1850-51) at

the Islands, had not realised the expectations entertained by the commissioner (Mr. Enderby)," and that but few black whales had been seen. The following was the population in January, 1851:—White population, exclusive of seamen—men, 49; women, 19; children, 26; total, 94. Births, 8; marriages, 3; death, 1.

far from desiring their removal, considered their presence decidedly advantageous to the Company; he found them "strictly honest and willing, and also able boatmen, whilst some of them have been engaged in the whale fishery." Several were employed at a low rate of daily wages, others by cultivating the land, supplied the settlement with potatoes, cabbages, and Swedish turnips. The two chiefs were appointed constables, in which capacity Nannaterri is entrusted with the charge of refractory seamen. Matteoro resides with forty of his people near the settlement, and is described in one of the commissioner's despatches as being "constantly employed working and looking after those under his command."

On one occasion complaint being made to him of a sheep destroyed by his dogs, he executed summary justice by causing seven of them to be hung up immediately. By a recent report (February, 1851) of the directors of the Southern Whale Fishery, we learn that the population, including the commissioner, a surgeon, and a few persons in the immediate employ of the Company, amounts to about seventy persons; that a permanent jetty and wharf, a warehouse, governor's residence, and some double cottages had been built, the brickwork for a cooperage finished, and a jail erected on Shoc Island. A savings' bank had been established, and deposits to the amount of £100 already lodged in it. No provision appears to have been made either for the religious or secular instruction of the settlers—a radical defect in any scheme of colonization, and one that cannot be too soon remedied.

PRESENT STATE AND PROSPECTS.—Whether the settlement of the Auckland Islands will fulfil the purpose for which it has been designed, that is, to form a nucleus for promoting, or rather reviving, the South Sea Whale Fisheries, and in so doing succeed as a commercial speculation, is yet to be proved. Having seen both the sperm and black whale between the Seychelle Islands and the northern end of Madagascar, in the China Sea between the coast of Siam and Borneo, and in other tropical climes, I am disposed to think it too uncertain in its migrations in search of food and quiet spots to breed in, long to frequent any locality where it is extensively hunted, unless indeed great precautions are taken, and the exterminating system of shore-whaling pursued in New Zealand at once abolished. The Aucklands, however, from recent accounts appear to be at

present frequented both by whales and seals; and their contiguity to the islands near the South Pole is a decided advantage in this respect. A limited population may therefore be enabled to earn a comfortable livelihood with the more ease, if the islands, as is believed, afford an arable area amply sufficient for their support. The secretary of the South Whale Fishing Company, and one of its directors (Mr. Dundas) are now engaged in prosecuting further inquiries and exploring the country; and as far as the national interests are concerned, it appears unquestionably desirable that the Company should avail themselves of the thirty years' lease of occupation granted by the Crown.

CAMPBELL ISLAND, a little to the south-east of the Auckland Islands, in $52^{\circ} 40'$ S. lat., $169^{\circ} 5'$ E. long., was discovered in 1810 by the master of the ship *Perseverance*. It is uninhabited, and only occasionally visited by whalers and sealers, who describe it as about thirty miles in circumference; the coast bold and rocky, the interior elevated, some peaks attaining a very considerable height, the loftiest being of a conical shape, and rising in a straight line from the surrounding mountains; the amount of vegetation appears to be considerable, but the trees are all of stunted growth.

MACQUARIE ISLAND, in $54^{\circ} 35'$ S. lat., $158^{\circ} 56'$ E. long., the most southerly of the Australasian groups, is likewise uninhabited. It was discovered in 1811 by a sealing master, who procured a cargo of 80,000 seal-skins. It is between fifteen and twenty miles long, about six miles in breadth, and is reported to possess two open anchorages. Notwithstanding the high latitude, the island is covered with vegetation; the land is uneven, indented by bights and ravines. A little distance to the northward lie two rocky islets, and there are two or three others equally sterile to the south.

ANTIPODES ISLAND, a small unexplored tract, situated in $49^{\circ} 50'$ S. lat., $179^{\circ} 40'$ E. long., to the east of New Zealand, was discovered by Captain Pendleton, of the sealing vessel *Union*, in 1800, and received its name from its position with regard to London.

The **BOUNTY GROUP**, in $47^{\circ} 44'$ S. lat., $176^{\circ} 47'$ E. long., comprises thirteen islets, covering an extent from north to south of three miles and-a-half. The discovery was made by the celebrated Captain Bligh, R.N. in 1788, when on his passage to Tahiti.

CHATHAM ISLANDS.

THIS small group extends about 120 miles from south-east to north-east, between 43° 38' and 44° 40' S. lat., and 177° and 179° W. long., and lies about 300 miles to the eastward of Cook's Straits. It was discovered on the 23rd of November, 1791, by Lieut. Broughton, R.N., when proceeding with Vancouver to survey the north-west coast of America. Broughton anchored in the bay on the north side of the chief island, landed and took nominal possession of the archipelago, by right of discovery, in the name of his sovereign George III. His proceedings displeased the aborigines, (a race very similar to the people of New Zealand,) and a contest ensued in which two Englishmen were wounded, and one native was killed. Broughton and his companions then returned to their boat, leaving behind, in a canoc, the trifling presents they had brought with them as a token of their peaceful intentions.

The sovereign right of England, according to the custom of civilized nations (the *equity* of which it is not here necessary to discuss) was thus established as against any other European power, much more as against its own subjects, who by the first principles of the British constitution, cannot acquire territorial jurisdiction and sovereign power in any waste or newly discovered region, unless expressly authorised by their sovereign. Notwithstanding this well-known rule, the New Zealand Company, which had been incorporated solely for the purpose of buying and selling land in New Zealand, conveying emigrants thither, and forming a settlement there, endeavoured to set aside the rights of the Crown in the Chatham Islands, almost as unceremoniously as they had done in the case of the Maories at Port Nicholson.

On the 28th of October, 1841, the directors announced to Lord Stanley that they had "acquired the Chatham Islands by purchase from the natives, and that they considered this group, to all intents and purposes, a foreign state, ruled by native chiefs, who have the undoubted right to cede their sovereignty to any foreign power they may think proper." The directors, therefore, deeming it not advisable that the Chatham Islands should any longer remain in the "*exclusive possession of their present barbarous inhabitants,*"

proposed to make a profit of them by selling the sovereignty and property in the soil of the whole of the islands to "certain parties officially connected with Hamburgh and other free cities of Germany." The concurrence or sanction of Her Majesty's ministers was not asked; they were merely informed, as an act of courtesy, that the "treaty" for the "transfer" of the territory to be placed under the "national flag of the Hanse Towns" was in progress.*

Lord Stanley took in this instance, as in all others, the straightforward and uncompromising course, best adapted to defeat these and similar aggressions, by referring the matter to the crown lawyers, who described it as wholly unauthorised by the charter of the Company, declared their proposed "treaty" "an interference with the royal prerogative, and therefore unlawful; the possible inconvenience and dangers of such a course being quite obvious." His lordship, in communicating this opinion to the Company, added—"the crown lawyers have further reported their opinion, that the consequence of an abuse of the trust created by a charter, or of the powers thereby granted, may be the forfeiture of the charter altogether." Upon this the directors changed their tone, declared that no transfer had taken place, that it was merely a private transaction, and that they would abstain from any objectionable or illegal proceedings. In order to prevent a similar attempt, the islands were included as a dependency under the protection of Her Majesty's government at New Zealand, and comprised within the diocese of Bishop Selwyn, who has visited them several times.

AREA AND ASPECT.—The largest of the archipelago, *Chatham Island*, is about thirty-six miles long from east to west, and has an area estimated at 600,000 acres. The others, viz., the *Two Sisters*, *Pyramid*, and *Cornwallis*, are of much smaller dimensions. In Chatham Island, the land gradually rises from the sea coast towards the interior. Its general character may be seen in a few minutes' walk from the beach. A large salt-water lake, called "Whanga," occupies about one-sixth of the island, and is not less than twenty miles in length: it has an opening to seaward, on the east coast,

* Parliamentary Papers on New Zealand, 12th August, 1842; pp. 31-35.

but the water is too shallow to admit vessels. The other principal lake is named *Huro*, but it is greatly inferior in extent. Small copses of low bushes lie in the vales, between swampy hills, which pour their drainage into the lakes, and form the leading features of the landscape. The flat levels are everywhere intersected by marshy creeks, which serve as canals for the conveyance of produce.

The view from a hill near Rakautahi, over the Whanga lake, with two bold hills at its western extremity, is pleasing, without being striking or grand. If the whole island were cultivated, its gentle hills and slopes, and the variety of tarns and pools, would give it a soft and domestic character.* Much of the land is swampy, but when drained, yields the finest potatoes and garden vegetables of every kind.

The coast line has been but very imperfectly examined. Some rocks, called the *Sisters*, or *Itutahi*, lie off the northern coast; and Bishop Selwyn mentions having met with numerous signs of shipwreck. His own little vessel, the *Undine*, anchored in an open roadstead, on the eastern coast, called *Waitangi*, and was preserved from being driven on shore by the surf and by the furious eddies of wind encircling the land, only by a floating breakwater of sea-weed. Much better and more sheltered anchorage is, however, to be found at the opposite extremity of the wide bay, bordered by a flat, sandy beach, which divides the red bluffs of *Waitangi*, on the south, from the harbour of *Whangaroa*, or *Waikanae*, on the north.

The geology and mineralogy of the island have not been described.

Specimens of peat, taken from a layer not in actual formation, but covered by a loamy earth, several feet in thickness, and which were evidently formerly pure peat, had a conchoidal fracture and lustrous appearance, greatly resembling coal, whilst in other parts of the same specimen, the gradual transition from true peat was evident. Dr. Dieffenbach says, that the peat which occupies large tracts in the countries without the tropics, lies generally in horizontal and equal layers, often contains trees imbedded in an upright position, and when artificially compressed, resembles coal far more than any lignite substance he had ever seen. In opposition, therefore, to the

generally-received theory concerning the origin of coal, he does not think it possible, by any agency, whether by the pressure of a superincumbent formation, or by igneous causes from below, or by both agencies combined, to convert a mixture of trees and earth, or mineral substance, into the regular stratifications of the homogenous article called coal.

SOIL AND CLIMATE.—The earth appears to consist chiefly of a rich vegetable mould, formed by the decay of vegetation, with a mixture of drifted sand. In its natural state it is generally swampy, but when drained and cultivated is very productive. The climate is stormy but salubrious: diseases are few, and not peculiar to the islands.

NATURAL PRODUCTIONS.—The vegetation is abundant, but the trees are of small size, and for some distance upwards the stems are devoid of branches. In many parts flax and fern predominate, and no timber is found. Wheat grows well, and is cultivated by the natives for exportation to New Zealand; their gardens also yield the finest potatoes and vegetables of every kind. There are no wild animals; the horse, ox, and pig have been introduced, and thriven well; their sleek skins shewing that hunger is to them unknown. Indeed, the signs of superabundant plenty are everywhere visible.

POPULATION.—The natives called *Parai-whara* have evidently migrated from some other of the Polynesian islands. Nothing was known respecting them or their territory, in New Zealand, until about the year 1838, when the first account of them was brought by a European ship, upon hearing which, a large body of Maories then living at Port Nicholson, being themselves in fear of Te Rauperaha, seized the English brig *Rodney*, and induced the captain to convey them to Chatham Island, where they soon overpowered the aborigines, killing some, and reducing the remnant to a state of slavery, as was usual in Maori warfare. When Dr. Dieffenbach, with Mr. Hanson, visited the island in 1841, he ascertained that the people consisted of two tribes, named the *Nati-motunga* and the *Nati-tomma*, who were at war with each other, when the latter made the former prisoners, by seizing them in their pah. The whole number of inhabitants in the islands does not, it is supposed, now exceed one thousand.

In 1848, Bishop Selwyn saw several

* Bishop Selwyn's Visitation Tour, in 1848; pp. 99-100.

members of the aboriginal race, whose number he ascertained to be 268, including men, women, and children. They are not very different in appearance from the New Zealanders (except in the absence of the tattooing), and their language, at the time of the invasion, was perfectly intelligible to the Ngatiawa tribe, who usurped their territory. The bishop describes them as "a cheerful, willing people, and like many persons in a subordinate station, more obliging than their masters."* When conquered they were in a very primitive condition, their chief food being eels caught in the numerous lakes, and other fish on the coasts: so ignorant were they of esculent roots, that when shewn potatoes, they impaled them like eels on skewers, and sat watching them before the fire, expecting to see oil ooze out in the cooking. Their canoes were ingeniously made of small sticks carefully tied together with flaxen cordage, there being no trees of sufficient size to hollow out for the purpose.

Soon after the reception of Christianity by the Maorics at Waikanac and Otaki, on the west coast of the Northern Island of New Zealand, the Rev. O. Hadfield sent native teachers over to the Chatham Islands, and the profession of Christianity spread rapidly. A German missionary establishment was subsequently formed at the eastern side of the island, on a wooded eminence, near a village named *Te Wakuru*. Bishop Selwyn,

in 1848, was "cordially welcomed by the five gentlemen and three ladies who form the little missionary body." He found them living in the simple and unpretending manner, best adapted to their holy and apostolic calling; they seemed to be as one family, and to have all things in common. The station shewed many signs of the useful industry which forms an essential part of the system of German missionaries; a good windmill was then nearly completed, and the native chapel was furnished with neat glass windows, obtained from the cabin of a shipwrecked vessel.

The bishop endeavoured to induce them to place themselves in connexion with the Church of England, as many Lutheran clergymen have done, but in this attempt he did not succeed;—he also found a decided disinclination existing on the part of the natives to join the German communion, and a strong feeling in favour of the Church of England. He mentions as an instance of the religious feeling of the natives, the fact of nearly 400 people having assembled on a Saturday at Taupeka, for the services of the following day, while at another place seventy children were presented to him by the native teachers, with the full consent of their parents, that they might be admitted by the sacrament of baptism within the pale of the church. Thus, in this small and remote group, the benefits of Christianity are becoming appreciated.

CHAPTER II.

ISLANDS IN THE WESTERN PACIFIC TO WHICH ENGLAND HAS A CLAIM, OR WHICH, UNCLAIMED BY OTHER NATIONS, LIE CONTIGUOUS TO BRITISH POSSESSIONS.

THE intertropical islands to the west and north-west of the island-continent of Australia, are probably destined, in coming years, to occupy as prominent a position in the commercial annals of the world, as the West India Islands, adjacent to the American continent, have done during the past century, and may, it is to be hoped, again attain.

The migrating route of the Anglo-Australian people lies along the eastern coast

from Moreton Bay towards Cape York; from thence the isles of Torres Straits form an oceanic bridge by which the neighbouring groups may with ease be reached; and thither a luxuriant clime, fertile soil, and beautiful scenery, will tempt many European adventurers to form establishments for the growth of the tropical productions required in the markets of the colder regions of Australia, Van Diemen's Island, and New Zealand. The enterprising and intelligent Chinese, who are sure to migrate wherever gold

* Visitation Tour, in 1848; p. 99.

or the hope of improved position may offer, will find their way there, as they have already done to California; and thus a population, comprising the three elements of capital, skill, and labour, will be created, adapted for the conversion of many of these rich but now almost waste lands, into scenes of active and profitable industry. The people now thinly scattered over these islands, appear to resemble strongly the aborigines of Australia, and are consequently decidedly inferior to the Maories of New Zealand; the few travellers who have had an opportunity of judging from personal experience, describe them as for the most part engaged in fierce and almost incessant hostility with each other, delighting in cannibalism, and all the worst vices and crimes of savages. On this dark and barbarous heathenism the light of Christianity is slowly dawning; missions are being planted, the native language reduced to a printed character, and the Gospel preached. This is as it should be; the conversion and at least partial education of the aborigines—be they few or many—ought always to prelude the colonization of their country; thus only can they learn to receive civilized men without being compelled to offer the opposition of enemies, or be reduced to the condition of slaves.

The rapid extinction of aboriginal races has become, in the mouths of many, a byword and a reproach to all colonizing nations, while others look upon it as an inevitable law that savage tribes should fade away and perish before the influence of a civilization for which neither they nor their children can ever become fitted. One thing, however, is certain—that England is bound by the faith she professes, and the first principles of the free constitution she so justly prizes, to remember that the “right of discovery” obtained as against other European nations, by the skill and daring of her navigators, if it have any validity, must necessarily involve a certain amount of responsibility, and that even in this case—much more in those where she is in the actual exercise of sovereignty—it is clearly her duty to make every effort for the preservation and progress of the races entrusted by the Ruler of Nations to her care and guidance. The present moment is an important one, rich in opportunities which wisely used, may be fraught with blessings, and avert great misery and bloodshed. Is it not of immediate importance that these islands, whither British adventurers at no distant period will surely

congregate, should be prepared for their reception?—that the natives should be guarded against the rapacity of the future settlers—the settlers protected from the ruthless barbarity of the natives?—that they be placed at least to some extent on a par with each other before a sweeping decree declares them fellow-subjects, yet yokes them in most unequal fellowship?

A wide field lies open, offering abundant scope for national and individual exertion: state policy and Christian duty dictate the same course, as, when rightly understood, they ever must do, pointing out the un-mixed good that would attend the conversion and civilization of these islanders. True, the task is no light one; yet, when we think of the great work that has been wrought in New Zealand, or looking towards Eastern Polynesia, behold in the Society Islands, Sandwich Islands, and other groups, the harvest of long years of toil, privation, and danger, being at length reaped, and a goodly fold gathered under the protection of the Shepherd of Souls, we may well believe that the Christian associations, who, under the various denominations of the *Church Missionary, Wesleyan, London, Baptist, Moravian*, and other missionary societies, have been the chosen instruments of effecting this great work, may be permitted to prosecute, with equal success, the labours now commenced in the islands whose leading characteristics, so far as they have yet been described, are briefly stated in the ensuing pages.

NEW CALEDONIA was first sighted by Captain Cook, on the 4th September, 1774, during the course of his second voyage round the world. He landed, examined several parts of the island, and caused an inscription to be cut on a large tree near the watering-place where his ship lay at anchor, setting forth the ship's name, the date of the visit, and other particulars, in testimony of the British discovery of the country, as he had done at all other places at which he had touched, “where this ceremony was necessary.”

The extreme length of the island is about 250 miles, the average breadth from twenty-five to thirty miles: it extends from 19° 37' to 22° 30' S. lat., and from 163° 37' to 167° 14' E. long. It is bordered by immense coral reefs, rising from the depths of the ocean, so like a perpendicular wall, that Captain Kent, commander of the *Buffalo*, sounding at no greater distance than twice the length

of his ship, with a line of 150 fathoms, could find no bottom. These reefs extend for perhaps thirty miles beyond the south point of New Caledonia, and in the opposite direction terminate in a circular form at double that distance from the land, thus constituting an embankment, against which the surging waves dash with extreme violence. Within the reefs the sea is always tranquil, and is studded with numerous lofty isles and islets.

PHYSICAL FEATURES.—The aspect of the island bears much resemblance to some parts of Australia, situated under the same parallels of latitude, in its barren and mountainous appearance, in many of its natural productions, in the coral reefs on its coast, and the absence of undergrowth in its woods. A lofty chain traverses it in a north-west to south-east direction, and lesser ridges rise on either side. Their elevation is described as varying from 2,000 to 6,000 feet; one eminence, however, is conjectured to attain a height of 8,000 feet.

A tract of flat land, intersected by winding streams, lies along the north-eastern shore, and the plantations, the little straggling villages, the variety in the woods, and the shoals on the coast, are described by Cook as affording an animated and pleasing scene. He likewise speaks of an extensive inland valley lying between two hilly ridges, through which ran a serpentine river, on whose banks were several native plantations and villages. The fertile spots on the plains, and some few on the sides of the mountains, were, however, only exceptional, the remainder appearing a dreary waste. The mountains and high places are, "for the most part, incapable of cultivation, consisting chiefly of rocks, many of which are full of mudicks. The little soil that is upon them is scorched and burnt up with the sun; it is, nevertheless, coated with coarse grass and other plants, and here and there trees and shrubs."* In fact, nature appears to have been less bountiful to this than to any other of the tropical islands in the Western Pacific.

The summits of some few hills are clothed with wood, as are most of the plains and valleys, which are irrigated by numerous streamlets. The available land is diligently cultivated by the natives. Near the village where Cook landed, and also in other localities, the ground was laid out in plantations of sugar-

* Cook's Second Voyage, p. 529.

canes, plantains, yams, and other roots: and watered by little rills conducted by art from the main stream, whose source was in the hills. He saw some roots baking on a fire in an earthen jar which would have held six or eight gallons, and which he did not doubt was their own manufacture. The loose black mould on the sides of the hills is sustained in its place by embankments of stone—as is done by the Chinese, and in some of the Malay islands. Of manuring the soil they have no idea, their only mode of recruiting its exhausted powers of production, being to allow it to remain fallow for some years.

POPULATION.—In appearance and language there is considerable dissimilarity between the aborigines of New Caledonia and those of the neighbouring groups: on the whole they resemble the Papuan negro rather than the Malay. They are of moderate height, well-proportioned, and of a swarthy colour inclining to brown. Their long, bushy, frizzled hair, of a jet black, is sometimes worn by the men tied in a bunch upon the crown of the head, and sometimes in two bunches, one on either side. Combs, composed of pieces of stick about the size of knitting-needles, are worn; they are generally about two inches long. The women all crop theirs closely, which gives them, in spite of their tortoise-shell ear-rings, a very unattractive appearance. The only covering worn by the men is a sort of apron, formed from the bark of a tree, fastened to a girdle which passes round the waist, or occasionally a large mat or wrapper; but the women wear a kind of short petticoat composed of the filaments of the plantain tree, and reaching below the knee. Their number was supposed by Mr. Forster, in 1774, to amount to about 50,000; this was probably an over estimate. The Rev. John Inglis, a reformed Presbyterian missionary, who visited the groups in the Western Pacific, towards the close of 1850, during a cruise of H.M.S. *Havannah*, (Captain Erskine), estimates the joint population of New Caledonia and the Loyalty Islands (a small neighbouring group) at only 40,000. Great destruction of life has taken place since the introduction of fire-arms, upon obtaining which the natives of the Isle of Pines went over, and nearly depopulated the south end of New Caledonia. Their native weapons consisted of stone axes with wooden handles, clubs, wooden spears or darts which they throw with

extraordinary dexterity, and smooth stones which they sling so skilfully as to strike down a staff at a considerable distance. The club has in many places been superseded by the tomahawk. They have no musical instruments, but are very fond of dancing, and strike sticks together as an accompaniment. The system of the *tapu* or *taboo*, formerly so general in New Zealand, is also practised here. The cocoa-nut trees are tapued, or made sacred, till all the other crops are planted, or till some feast is celebrated, and death is the penalty of touching the forbidden fruit. The *tattoo* is not among their customs. Circumcision is generally practised. Their houses are of a superior description to those found in the other islands of the Western Pacific, being constructed of a wattled frame, and thatched with grass; the walls are round, and the roofs conical; in appearance they resemble corn ricks; while in the neighbouring groups they have simply oblong sheds, some small, others very large. Their canoes are of considerable size, but clumsily formed, two single ones being usually fastened together with a kind of platform. Their character has been differently described. Cook bears honourable testimony to their good nature and honesty, they being "not in the least addicted to pilfering, which is more than can be said of any other nation in this sea;" he also commends the chastity of the women.

Admiral D'Entrecasteaux, who visited the island twenty years after, described them as strongly addicted to predatory habits; the statements of both navigators at the time they were given were doubtless correct, the temptation to thieving having increased with the successive visits of foreigners; the character of the women has deteriorated, doubtless from the same cause.

It remained, however, for more recent visitors to make known the most abhorrent feature in their character—cannibalism. It was long before the civilised portion of the world could believe that human nature, in its most savage state, its lowest abasement, could deliberately practise this loathsome and brutalising crime; but the testimony of many credible witnesses has placed beyond a reasonable doubt, that it has actually prevailed, more or less, throughout both

Eastern and Western Polynesia, but especially in the latter. The most recent authority (the Rev. John Inglis) says that "in open day, and as an ordinary practice, human bodies have been cooked and eaten by the score, and by the hundred." And he accords to the New Caledonians the fearful distinction of being, with the single exception of the natives of Fiji, "among the worst cannibals of Polynesia." In illustration of this he mentions that "at Shuaka, on the east of New Caledonia, one chief, in the space of thirty-five days, had caused as many as seventy people to be killed for the express purpose of being eaten. He always alleged some crime against them, but it was well known that the real object was to obtain their flesh to eat."* The natives, however, are everywhere beginning to feel ashamed of the practice; the influence of missionary operations, and the occasional visits of ships-of-war, are telling powerfully upon them, and by the blessing of God cannibalism will be soon entirely eradicated.

NATURAL PRODUCTIONS. — The inhabitants, partly from the nature of the soil, and partly from their imperfect, though careful mode of cultivation, were formerly but insufficiently supplied with the necessaries of life. The only native quadruped is the rat. Cook left with them a boar and a sow, and a male and female dog; but these were probably destroyed, as neither pigs nor dogs now exist on the island. The native vegetation comprises several kinds of timber, and some of the best known tropical productions, viz:—the bread-fruit, cocoa-nut, plantain, banana, and fig trees, sugar-canes, and yams; but most of these grow only in certain districts, and all, from the aridity of the soil, are of inferior quality. There are also three descriptions of the *arum*, or taro, and one of the sweet potato (*battata convolvulus*). The *arbor alba*, from whose odorous leaves the aromatic kaiaputa, or cajeput-oil, is extracted, likewise grows here. The soft, ragged bark of certain trees, and the tuberous roots of others, are sometimes used for food. The introduction of maize, pumpkins, melons, and other exotic productions, has now greatly ameliorated the physical condition of the natives, in respect to food.†

that the natives of the interior of the islands were driven to satisfy their hunger by eating a soft saponaceous crumbling stone, or steatite of a green colour, which, though it might appease the cravings of hunger, could not afford any real nourishment, and gave them an enfeebled and emaciated appearance.'

* Report to Governor Grey. Printed at Auckland, New Zealand, in 1850; p. 21.

† In one of a series of papers furnished me, when editing the *Colonial Magazine* in 1840, by Mr. Polack, the author of an interesting work on New Zealand, quoted in the preceding pages, it is stated

Fish of several descriptions abound; the method of capturing them employed by the natives, appears to be by lying on the coral reefs by which the shores are bordered, and striking them with their wooden spears, or catching them with small hand-nets and fish-gigs; but no mention is made of their using seines, or hooks and lines. Turtles are plentiful, as are also the famous bêche de mer, or sea-slug.

An exceedingly poisonous species of fish is found; it is described by Cook, who purchased one, among other kinds, from a native, as being "something like a sun fish, with a large, long, ugly head. No suspicion being entertained of its deleterious qualities, it was dressed for supper; Cook and the two Forsters alone partook of it, and they tasted only the liver and roe. About three o'clock in the morning they were seized with an extraordinary weakness and numbness in their limbs. Cook says he almost lost the sense of feeling, and could not distinguish between such light and heavy bodies as he had strength to move, a quart-pot full of water and a feather being the same in his hand. By emetics and sudorifics these distressing symptoms were removed: one of the pigs which had eaten the entrails died. These poisonous fish are probably similar to those found on the coral banks off Rodrigues Isle, near the Mauritius. Voyagers should be cautious in eating any species devoid of scales.

Land-birds are tolerably numerous; the species, however, are not very various, and resemble those found in New Zealand rather than New South Wales. In fact, the Flora of New Caledonia in general resembles that of the former, and the Fauna that of the latter locality. *Sea-fowl* of various kinds have been noticed. *Reptiles* there are none, except lizards. Mosquitoes and sand-flies are very troublesome. Locusts are much used as an article of food; and a peculiar description of spider is also occasionally eaten.

GEOLOGY.—According to Mr. Polack, quartz is very abundant, both opaque and transparent; mica; various steatites, more or less hard; green schorl; serpentinite; hornblende; and the talc, or poenamoo of New Zealand, are also found. Several irregular masses of rock have been noted, composed of remarkably close-grained stone, speckled with granites, each the size of a pin's head; garnets have been observed in petro-

silex.* No evidence of volcanic agency has been discovered. Specular iron ore and gold are said to exist.

The *climate* is not considered unhealthy; neither fever nor ague are known; hernia, hydrocele, and ulcerated noses and faces are, however, common: and Mr. Inglis states, that influenza, and other epidemics, occasionally prevail, and prove more or less fatal. Cases of elephantiasis have also been remarked.

Some of the smaller islands in the vicinity of New Caledonia are comparatively populous. A French Roman Catholic mission was established on the main island, a few years ago, but has recently been abandoned, and the missionaries are now located on the Isle of Pines, so named by Cook, from the fine trees growing there, which afford timber adapted for the masts and spars of ships. This little isle lies a short distance off *Queen Charlotte's Foreland*, the south-east extremity of New Caledonia, and is about a mile in circuit. Another still smaller isle was visited by Cook, and named *Botany Isle*, from the variety of tall trees, (some of which measured twenty inches diameter, and between sixty and seventy in length,) and of shrubs and plants growing on its sandy surface. Water-snakes, pigeons, and doves were also found here.

Balabea, and several other isles, together with numerous rocks and shoals, lie between the main island and the outer reefs; but of these no especial mention need be made.

NEW HEBRIDES.—The group bearing this name extends between $14^{\circ} 0'$ and $21^{\circ} 0'$ S. lat., and between $168^{\circ} 41'$ and $170^{\circ} 0'$ E. long. Quiros, in 1606, sighted these islands, and supposed them to be part of the immense *Terra Austral* of which mention has been so frequently made. Bougainville discovered that the land was unconnected, and composed of several islands which he called the Great Cyclades. Cook, in 1774, explored the whole archipelago, discovered many new islands, and gave them their present appellation. The following is a brief description of their leading features:—

The largest and most westerly, *Terra del Espiritu Santo*, is 66 miles long, from N.N.W. to S.S.E., and 36 miles broad. The northern coast is indented by a deep curve, comprising 20 leagues of sea-coast, called the *Bay of St. Philip and St. James*, which is everywhere free from danger, and of unfathomable depth, except near the shores, which are for the most part low. The two points forming the entrance are 10 leagues

* *Vide Colonial Magazine* for 1840, p. 411.

distant; the eastern is named *Cape Quiros*, the N.W. *Cape Cumberland*. The bay as well as the flat land at the head of it is bounded on each side by a ridge of hills; the western range is very high and double, traversing the whole length of the island, whose entire area, but especially the W. side, is exceedingly high and mountainous—in many places the hills rise directly from the sea. Besides the bay of St. Philip and St. James, other good bays and havens are doubtless formed by the isles which lie along the S. and E. coast. Except the cliffs and beaches, every other part of the surface is covered with wood, or laid out in plantations, from the number and extent of which the inhabitants would appear to be industrious and comparatively numerous. The chief feature in the luxuriant vegetation is formed by the fine cocoa-nut trees and graceful palms. Streams of fresh water flow through every little valley.

The next considerable island is *Malicola*, to the S.E. It extends N.W. and S.E. for above 50 miles, and has a varying breadth of from 8 to 24 miles, the middle being the narrowest part, a wide and tolerably deep bay on the S.W. side causing the diminution. The sea-coast is low, indented by creeks, and skirted by islets. A profuse tropical vegetation extends from the shore to the summits of the hills. *St. Bartholomew's Island*, which is about 20 miles in circuit, is situated at the N.E. point of the strait, named after Bougainville, that separates *Malicola* from *Espiritu Santo*. The centre of the passage is in 15° 45' S. lat., 168° 28' E. long.

The *Isle of Lepers*, of an egg-like shape, very high, and between 50 and 60 miles in circumference, lies between *Espiritu Santo*, and *Aurora Island*, a remarkably elevated and hilly tract everywhere covered with vegetation, intersected with streams, and well inhabited. It is 33 miles long, but rarely exceeds 6 or 7 in breadth. The plantations are filled with the finest fruit produced in the archipelago. *Whitsuntide Island* is one league and-a-half further to the S., it is of similar length, and lies in the same N. and S. direction, but is somewhat broader, and is clothed with wood except in the cultivated portions.

Two miles to the S. of *Whitsuntide* is *Ambryn*, an island of about 50 miles in circumference. The shores are low, but the land rises with an unequal ascent to a tolerably high mountain, which is an active volcano. It is fertile and populous.

Paoni is 15 miles in circumference; the land attains a great height in the form of a hummock; it is well peopled, and is divided in two by a canal. The neighbouring island of *Apee* is not less than 60 miles in circumference; it is very hilly, and diversified with woods and lawns. Off its southern extremity a small group extends, called *Shepherd's Isles*. *Three Hills Island*, about 15 miles in circumference, lies 4 leagues S. of *Apee*. *Sandwich Island* lies 9 miles to the S. of *Three Hills*, and is of much greater importance, being about 75 miles in circuit; its greatest extent in the direction of N.W. by W., and S.E. by E., is 30 miles.

Montagu Island is situated 6 miles north of *Sandwich Island*, and is 18 miles in circumference. The neighbouring isle, named *Two Hills*, from two remarkable and elevated mountains, separated by a straight and low isthmus, is only 2 miles in length; a channel, 3 miles long and 1 broad, intervenes between it and the *Monument*, a peaked black rock 200 feet high, nearly covered with bushes. *Hinchinbrook* is about 40 miles in circumference; two or

three small isles lie between it and *Sandwich Island*, with which heavy breakers evidence its connexion.

Erumanga, distant 18 leagues from *Sandwich*, is 70 or 75 miles in circumference; six leagues from its southern shore is *Tana*, an island 24 miles in length, with a breadth varying between 9 and 12 miles. On the north side of the eastern point of *Tana* is *Port Resolution*, so named by Cook in honour of the first ship that ever entered it. It is formed by a little creek running inland for $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile, and about half as much broad. This harbour is particularly convenient for taking in wood and water, for both are close to the shore; the depth of water is from 6 to 8 fathoms, and the bottom sand and mud. About 4 miles from *Port Resolution* there is a large volcano, which was visited by the Rev. J. Inglis in 1851. Of seven or eight craters, some were then extinct, others smouldering, and two were in a state of great activity; every five minutes or so, the one or the other emitted a dense cloud of smoke, exploded with a sound like thunder, and discharged a shower of molten matter. The volcano is always active, though the eruptions vary greatly in violence and duration, the noise at times being heard only in its immediate vicinity, and at others being distinctly audible at *Anciteum*, a distance of 30 to 40 miles. The mountain is low, and an area of perhaps 3 miles in diameter is covered with ashes. It is close to the sea upon one side. For a considerable extent along the side of *Port Resolution*, next the volcano, a succession of hot springs bubble out from the rocks on a level with the tide-mark, of all temperatures, from the boiling point downwards. The water is fresh, has no peculiar taste, and is regularly used by the natives. In one or two places smoke issues from the ground, and the soil is burned and cracked.

The island of *Penticost*, discovered by Bougainville, is high, well cultivated, and covered with abundant vegetation; it is 23 miles long and 8 broad. The isle of *Inmer*, the most westerly of the Hebrides, is about 15 miles in circuit, of considerable height, and flat at the top. *Anciteum*, the southernmost island, has a hilly surface, and is between 11 and 12 leagues distant from *Port Resolution*. A sandalwood establishment has existed here for several years, and a Presbyterian mission, which will be subsequently mentioned, has been more recently formed. The population is estimated at about 3,000. The most northerly island discovered and named by Quiros, *Nuestra Señora de Luz*, was called *Pic de l'Etoile* by Bougainville, from the remarkable cone which rises in the interior. It is about 12 miles in circuit.

Geology, Soil, Climate, and Natural Productions.—The formation of many of the islands is evidently volcanic, but beyond this fact little is known; the soil when manured would probably richly repay its cultivator. The climate from November till April, during the N.W. monsoons, is decidedly unhealthy, the hot and humid atmosphere giving rise to fever, similar to the jungle fever of India, and severe ague. At this season, violent thunderstorms and fierce hurricanes are frequent, and heavy rains continue for weeks together. The winter is, however, said to be healthy and agreeable; and the natives are in general well-formed, vigorous and robust, with remarkably white and well-set teeth. The vegetation much resembles that of New Zealand in its close undergrowth, and variety of ferns. A

species of the kauri pine is likewise found. Among the various indigenous products, the most important are—the sandal-wood, of which considerable quantities are obtained from the various groups in the western Pacific for sale in the Chinese markets, bread-fruit, plantains, and cocoa-nuts, which, however, are neither very fine nor numerous, oranges, bananas, wild figs, nutmegs, nectarines, citrons, almonds, and the pepper plant; sugar-canes and yams flourish luxuriantly in several of the islands, the latter especially sometimes weighing between 50 and 60 pounds, and being of excellent quality. The taro and the sweet potato are also cultivated. To the above, various exotic products have since been added, such as maize, pumpkins, and the "papaya" apple. The only indigenous quadruped is the rat; pigs were, however, introduced previous to the explorations of Cook. Fowls (similar to the domestic fowl of Europe) afford an important article of food, and are common to all the islands, as are also wild ducks, teal, water-hens, pigeons, parrots, parroquets, swallows, and fly-catchers. Owls and large bats abound in the forests. The only reptile is the lizard, and a species of sea-snake. Fish does not abound, at least the natives do not appear to attach very great importance to it, and but few of them possess the necessary adjuncts for fishing even after their imperfect method. Various species have, however, been observed.

Population.—The New Hebrides group is estimated to contain at present about 40,000 inhabitants, between whom many striking points of difference exist, both in their persons and language. They have all curly black hair, and are darker than the New Zealanders, but not nearly so black as the Africans. In stature they vary, being in some of the islands above, and in others below the average size. The people of Malicola are described by Cook as particularly ill-favoured and unprepossessing. Their clothing is much the same throughout, the men wearing a narrow cincture, and a wrapper of leaves or native cloth; the women a mat manufactured from the bark of a tree, adding, in some instances, a cordal appendage, which, seen from a distance, might easily be mistaken for a tail. The men of Aneiteum and Yana dress their hair after a peculiar fashion, dividing it into small locks, and twisting it round the rind of a slender plant, thus giving it the appearance of a bunch of small whipcord.

According to the reports of the missionaries recently stationed in this archipelago, the natives are occupied in fighting for ten months in the year; but there is comparatively little loss of life, as if one man is killed on either side the battle terminates for the day. Their chief missiles are wooden spears, which they use with marvellous dexterity. At Malicola dancing is a very popular amusement, and for two months in the year the natives meet daily at midnight for that purpose; here also every family or few families have a cluster of 10 to 20 drums, made from trees hollowed out like a canoe, and fixed into the ground, rising about 6 feet high. The opening on the side of the tree is as narrow as it can be made to allow the wood to be scooped out of the centre. When struck they emit a hollow funereal sound, and are employed to furnish music at their dances, and on other occasions. In some of the islands the natives are said to sing very sweetly. Their traditions and superstitions are many of them similar to those extant in the Eastern Pacific, and it is easy to trace in them their reference to several of the great

facts of universal history; for instance, they assert that the island was fished up by one of the gods, who afterwards made a man and a woman, from whom they had descended; and a native of Aneiteum, while one day listening to an oral translation of the Scriptural narrative of the flood, made by a missionary, cried out, "Stop! that is almost the same as ours, but your fathers having written an account for you, while ours only told it to their children, yours must be the more correct." Polygamy prevails to some extent, especially among the chiefs. The wife is strangled upon the death of her husband, or even when he is long absent from home; and all the children not able to support themselves share the same fate. The *tapu* is employed in all the islands to preserve persons and objects. The plantations are cleared, fenced, and cultivated with great care; irrigation is extensively practised, and canals more than a mile long are observable along the sides of the hills. Their knowledge of navigation is very imperfect; their canoes are inferior to those of New Caledonia and other groups, and at the time of Cook they were all ignorant of the extent of the archipelago they inhabited. Tobacco is fast coming into general use, but the taste for alcoholic liquors has not yet been acquired.

Missionary Operations.—A deputation from the London Missionary Society visited the New Hebrides in 1839, when the Rev. J. Williams and Mr. Harris were unhappily killed by the natives of Erumanga. Native teachers were subsequently planted on Aneiteum, Tana, and other islands; but a great number of them have perished, either from the climate, or by the hands of the barbarous natives. In 1842, two of the London Society's missionaries were located, with their families, on Tana, for ten months, when influenza, or some epidemic appearing, the natives attributed the calamity to their influence, and compelled them to quit, since which time no European missionary has been stationed there.

In 1848, a Presbyterian Mission was established at Aneiteum, the progress of which has been extremely encouraging, and life and property are perfectly secure throughout the island. A French Roman Catholic Mission was established there in 1848-'49; but the missionaries have since been wholly withdrawn from the New Hebrides. The small tribes, diversified languages, and little communication existing between the different islanders, are doubtless obstacles in the great and holy task of converting and civilizing them. The climate, again, is a terrible difficulty. Encouragements to persevere are, however, not wanting, in the naturally mild disposition of the people, when their passions are not excited: their energy and perseverance, also (a most unusual feature in the character of savages); their aptitude for acquiring the English language; their present strong desire for English missionaries to live among them; and their confidence in the British character.*

QUEEN CHARLOTTE'S ISLANDS, a small group to the northward of the New Hebrides, were so called by Carteret, who visited them in 1767; the principal island, which is about 24 miles in length and 10 in breadth, he named *Egmont*; it had, however, pre-

* *Vide* Report of the Rev. John Inglis; 1851: p. 30.

viously been discovered by the Spanish navigator Mendana, who had given it the appellation of *Vera Cruz*, which it still retains. To one of the smaller isles, *Vanicolo*, a melancholy interest attaches, as the spot where the celebrated La Perouse, and his companion, M. de l'Anglo, perished; their vessels, the *Astrolabe* and *Boussole*, having been wrecked on a coral reef. In their general character and productions, Queen Charlotte's Islands, bear a considerable resemblance to New Zealand. The population is probably a few thousands.

THE SOLOMON ISLANDS, are eighteen in number, and extend between 5° and 10° S. lat., and 155° and 160° E. long. They also were first visited by Mendana, in 1567, and were so far forgotten in the lapse of years, that their very existence was doubted by geographers until their rediscovery by Carteret. The names and positions of the principal of them will be seen by a reference to the general map of the Polynesian Islands. The number of the people is unknown, but it is thought to be considerable; cannibalism is a fearfully prominent feature in their character. They tattoo their bodies, wear rings in their ears and noses, and appear to live in a state of continual warfare. Their canoes are skillfully constructed and ornamented with mother-of-pearl.

The islands situated to the north-east of the Solomon group, namely, New Britain, New Ireland, New Hanover, the Admiralty, and others of smaller dimensions, were long considered by the Dutch, Portuguese, and Spanish navigators, to be part of New Guinea. Dampier proved their insularity at the beginning of the eighteenth century.

NEW BRITAIN extends about 280 miles from E.N.E. to W.S.W. with a very variable breadth, owing to the numerous indentations of the coast-line, in some places being not eight, and in others nearly thirty miles broad. A chain of mountains occupies a large portion of its area.

Dampier, D'Urville, and the unfortunate D'Entrecasteaux, (who perished of scurvy off this coast), agree in describing New Britain as a country gifted with great natural advantages. The coast is easily accessible on every shore; the land in most parts rises with a gentle ascent, is covered with a beautiful and varied vegetation, and irrigated by numerous streams. The mountains are wooded to their summits. Plantains, cocoa-nuts, cabbage-palms, and areca-nuts; wild spices, including ginger, tur-

meric, pepper, and nutmegs; yams and various other vegetables are indigenous. Among the birds, parrots, paroquets, and a species of cockatoo are very numerous.

The bays and creeks abound with fish. The geology and mineralogy of the island have not been examined. The climate is salubrious. The aborigines are dark-coloured, with frizzled hair and large lips; their bodies are painted and oiled, and the nose and lobes of the ears perforated, and adorned with various articles, such as the teeth of men; dogs, sharks, &c.

NEW IRELAND has a length of nearly 200 miles, from north-east to south-west, with a breadth varying from eight to twenty miles. A chain of mountains, like those of the contiguous groups, runs through the centre. The scenery, soil, and climate much resemble those of New Britain.

NEW HANOVER, so named by Carteret, in 1767, is about twenty-eight miles long, and twelve broad; mountainous, and well wooded. A strait, from five to six miles wide, separates it from New Ireland.

THE ADMIRALTY ISLANDS extend 120 miles from east to west, and fifty from north to south. They are about twenty-five in number, and are mostly high. The largest, named *Basco*, is fifty miles from east to west, with a breadth of eighteen to twenty miles: it is mountainous, and well wooded. *Jesus Maria* has a circuit of twenty; others have diameters of four or five miles; and several are quite small. The general aspect is very pleasing. The aborigines are similar to those of the before-mentioned groups, and their savage nature contrasts strangely with the beautiful and peaceful scenery around.

There are various other isles in this vicinity, but space only permits a brief notice of the extensive and valuable island, separated by Torres Strait from the northern coast of Australia.

NEW GUINEA, OR PAPUA, extends in a south-east direction from the equator to the parallel of 10° S., and between 130° and 150° E. long. The irregularity of its form renders it difficult to form any estimate of its area. In one place, a narrow isthmus connects the eastern with the western portion of the island. The interior is mountainous, and the scenery extremely picturesque: large lakes, numerous rivers, grassy lowlands, and lofty forests, constitute the principal features. The inhabitants are reported to be very barbarous, and fearfully addicted to cannibalism.



ADMIRAL LORD HAWKE

OB. 1781.

FROM THE ORIGINAL, BY COTES, IN

THE NAVAL GALLERY AT GREENWICH HOSPITAL.

BRITISH POSSESSIONS IN AFRICA.

BOOK I.—CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION—POSITION—DISCOVERY—HISTORY.

THE peninsular-continent of Africa, one of the great divisions of the globe, and the next to Asia in point of size, extends in a triangular form between 37° N. and 34° S. lat., a distance of nearly seventy-two degrees, or about 5,000 English miles; and from 18° W. to 51° E. long., the extreme breadth being thus nearly equal to the length. It is united by the narrow isthmus of Suez to Asia, and is bounded on the north by the Mediterranean, for a distance of 2,000 miles; on the north-east by the Red Sea and Gulf of Bab-el-Mandeb, for about 1,500 miles; on the east by the Indian Ocean for 4,000 miles, and on the west by the Atlantic Ocean for nearly 6,000 miles, thus showing a sea coast-line of some 13,500 miles without calculating the minor bights, bays, and inlets. In breadth this extensive region is very unequal; it is greatest between Cape Guardafui, near the entrance of the Red Sea, on the east, and the British settlement of the Gambia on the west; thence contracting abruptly towards the equator, the latter coast forms the deep, wide bight called the Gulf of Guinea; and a succession of curves on either shore mark the gradually diminishing area of the land until its termination at the southern extremity (the apex of an irregular triangle) known as the Cape of Good Hope. The superficies of Africa has been variously estimated: Malte Brun makes it 13,430,000 British square miles; Ukert 11,961,675, including Madagascar and the adjacent islands; and Gräberg's calculation approaches closely that of Ukert.

Although nearly insulated, and penetrable in various directions to a considerable extent by means of the Nile, Niger, Senegal, Gambia, Congo, Quilimane, and other rivers, yet, owing to the almost insuperable obsta-

cles interposed by its mountain chains and sandy deserts; by extremes of temperature, scanty supplies of water, and, in several localities, noxious climate; so little is known of the interior, that modern map makers and hydrographers might still resort to the old plan of delineating "elephants to fill up gaps," or the less excusable expedient of introducing supposititious mountains of extraordinary height, and rivers with imaginary courses. Even the European settlements of the French on the north and north-west; of the Portuguese on the east, and of the British on the west, south, and south-east (except at the Gambia and at the Cape of Good Hope) have been chiefly confined to the coast-line.

To what extent the ancients were acquainted with the shores of Africa we have but insufficient means of judging; the borders of the Mediterranean, where Carthage, the rival of imperial Rome, stood, were doubtless well known to them; Egypt and the Abyssinian coast are renowned in Pagan, Israelitish, and Christian records; and it is conjectured that Sofala, on the western shore of the Mozambique channel, was the Ophir whence the Queen of Sheba brought presents to Solomon. On the western coast, their knowledge is not supposed to have extended farther south than Cape Blanco or Cape Verd. In a later age (from the tenth to the fourteenth century) the Arabians penetrated a considerable distance into the interior of Africa, and formed several extensive settlements, especially on the western coast, but had evidently no knowledge of the Cape of Good Hope, as Edrisi, the famous Arabian geographer, extends Africa to the eastward until it becomes conterminous with India and China. From the fifteenth century, the

honours of geographical discovery belong to Europeans. In the first rank stands the name of Prince Henry, Duke of Visco, (surnamed the Navigator,) son of John, first king of Portugal, and Phillippa of Lancaster, sister of Henry the Fourth of England. This prince is said to have received much information at Ceuta respecting the territories to the southward of Morocco, while engaged with his warlike father in an expedition against the Moors, and his energies were directed to the circumnavigation of Africa with a view to opening a maritime route to the rich regions of the east, whose valuable commerce was then monopolized by the republics of Venice and Genoa, which was carried on by the overland route through Asia-Minor,—by the Red Sea, or the Euphrates and the Persian Gulf.

Although more than a century had elapsed since the introduction of the compass into Europe, mariners were afraid to venture far out of sight of land, and regarded the untraversed expanse of the broad Atlantic with awe; moreover an old belief still held its ground, that the earth was girdled at the equator by a torrid zone or region of intolerable heat, which separated the two hemispheres, and a superstitious opinion existed that whoever passed the surge-bound shores of Cape Bojador (in the neighbourhood of the Canary Islands) was fated never to return. These and other prejudices were vigorously combated by Henry the Navigator. He did not live to witness the full realization of his brilliant anticipations, but they were ably carried out in the reigns of his nephew John II., and his successor Emanuel II., by Bartholomew Diaz, Vasco de Gama, Columbus, and Magelhaens.

The doubling of the dreaded cape by Gilianez caused great surprise, and strongly stimulated the growing spirit of enterprise which at this period many circumstances combined to cherish in the Portuguese nation. Religious zeal, and an ardent desire to spread the faith of the cross, was a leading object, though the missionary efforts of the age were unhappily so deeply tinged with that most dangerous error of the Roman catholic doctrine, that the end sanctifies the means, as to be productive of much misery. It seems scarcely possible that a nation earnestly engaged in the holy work of evangelizing a people should commit so fearful a breach of the Gospel they professedly came to teach, as to take forcible possession of a territory, and sell its unof-

fending inhabitants, or at least suffer them to be sold, and carried away into slavery. Yet so it was—the King of Portugal on the discovery of the Gold Coast, took the title of “Lord of Guinea,” in virtue of a grant made to him by the arrogant Roman pontiff of all lands lying to the southward of Cape Bojador, formed an establishment called Elmina (the mine), which he made the capital of his African possessions, and commenced a traffic in *slaves* and gold dust. In 1484, Diego Cam sailed from Elmina to the southward, safely passed the tropics, thus divesting the torrid zone of its imaginary terrors, and discovered the mouth of the river Zaire or Congo, on whose southern bank he erected the emblem of Portuguese dominion—a lofty stone pillar, surmounted by a crucifix inlaid with lead, with an inscription on the stone showing the arms of Portugal, and the date of the discovery.

The natives received the strangers in the most friendly and fearless manner. When questioned by signs respecting the residence of their chief or king, they replied that he dwelt a long distance in the interior, and undertook to lead a party of the Europeans to him, and bring them back safely within a stipulated period. Having made this arrangement, Diego, taking advantage of a moment when several of the principal persons were on board his ship, weighed anchor and set sail, soothing their alarm by assuring them that in fifteen moons they should be restored to their country. On reaching Lisbon he presented “these nobles,” as they were then called, to the king, who loaded them with presents, and enabled Diego to keep his promise of returning immediately with them to the Congo, where, on arriving, he found the part of his crew whom he had left behind, alive and unhurt. The African monarch, on hearing the honourable treatment his people had received, treated Diego with great cordiality, and sent back with him several of the highest chiefs to be instructed in the principles of the Romish creed, which was accordingly done, and the Africans, after residing two years at Lisbon, were baptized; Henry II., himself, being godfather to the principal envoy, and his chief nobles to the others. They were then conveyed back to their native country with all honour, where the Portuguese were, in their turn, welcomed with joyful acclamation. The king and his chiefs were baptized, free scope was given to the exertions

of the missionaries, and a large number of the people, dazzled and amused by the splendid pageantry of the Papal ceremonials, and gratified by the presentation of beads, Agni Dei, images of the Madonna and saints, became nominal Christians long before they could have attained any sufficient knowledge of the pure and self-denying doctrines to which they were subscribing. All went on with apparent success until the missionaries, probably in too hasty and peremptory a manner, called upon their converts to renounce polygamy, by immediately selecting one wife, and dismissing all the others. Upon this the aged monarch abjured his Christian profession, and relapsed into paganism; but Alphonso, his son, the heir-apparent to the sovereignty, remained faithful, and on his accession to the throne the mission was again quietly established, and being reinforced by successive bodies of priests, spread extensively over the neighbouring country. The missionaries would doubtless have obtained much greater and more permanent hold over both the minds and the affections of the people, had they reasoned temperately and patiently with them on the vanity of their idolatrous and unchristian practices, instead of stealing secretly into their temples and setting them on fire, destroying their idols, and even personally ill-treating refractory individuals.* But the crowning blow to their influence was the establishment, among other ecclesiastical arrangements, of the Inquisition; this caused a sudden revulsion against them, and they thenceforth maintained only a precarious and even dangerous position. When and how they finally quitted, or were expelled, is not known, but the explorations of the present century prove that no trace or recollection of them now exists in this vicinity.

The discovery of the Congo River was speedily followed by others of greater importance. In 1486 Bartholomew Diaz was dispatched by the King of Portugal, in command of two small vessels, to find a way to India round the south-eastern extremity of Africa, according to a map given to Prince Henry by the Moors. Diaz was

likewise specially desired, as were all the officers employed on the African service, whether by sea or land, to neglect no opportunity of making inquiry of the natives, wheresoever they might be met with, respecting a Christian nation or collection of tribes, supposed to be governed by a Nestorian bishop, then much talked of throughout Christendom, under the singular name of Prester John. His dominions were supposed to stretch from Abyssinia far inland, and as the breadth of Africa was very imperfectly conjectured, it was thought probable that a mission from the east coast might be able to reach the court of the illustrious personage concerning whom so much mysterious interest had been excited by travellers from eastern Asia, and likewise by the statements made by some of the African kings or chiefs, respecting a potentate to whom, on their accession, they paid homage, who was neither heathen nor idolator, but professed a religion apparently similar to that of the Christians. The curiosity thus raised received no gratification from the expedition of Diaz, though his earnest zeal was crowned with a geographical discovery of the first importance to his country. He doubled the Cape of Good Hope, without being aware of its actual position, made the western point of Mossel Bay (named by him Cabo Vaccas, from the number of cattle which he saw grazing there), and on Thursday the 14th of September, 1486, (the Romish anniversary of the Holy Cross,) he anchored in Algoa Bay. Here the spirit of his mariners began to droop, and they firmly, though respectfully, urged upon their adventurous leader the necessity of returning to seek after the provision tender, from which they had parted.

Diaz had no authority to compel them to proceed in defiance of obstacles so grave as those which impeded his further progress; it was, besides, evident from the continued trending of the land to the north-eastward, that some great cape had been passed. He therefore landed on a rocky island in the bay, (Santa Cruz) accompanied by his chief officers and several sea-

* In a work entitled *Discovery and Adventure in Africa*, published in 1837, an amusing anecdote is related respecting the mode adopted by the Roman Catholic priests to enforce conviction upon a refractory subject. "A missionary at Maopango, having met one of the queens, and finding her mind inaccessible to all his instructions, determined to use sharper remedies, and seizing a whip, began to apply it to her majesty's person. The effect he describes

as most auspicious; every successive blow opened her eyes more and more to the truth, and she at length declared herself wholly unable to resist such affecting arguments in favour of the catholic doctrine. It was found, however, that she had hastened to the king, with loud complaints respecting this mode of spiritual illumination, and the missionaries thenceforth lost all favour, both with that prince and the ladies of his court."—P. 60.

men, and having taken possession of it in the name of his sovereign, planted there the usual stone pillar and cross, and partook of the sacrament with his companions, whom he then desired to state on oath, what they believed to be his and their duty to their monarch in this emergency. With one accord, they repeated their former declaration; he then conjured them to continue their attempt by sailing only two or three days more, pledging himself that if no important discovery should be made, he would no longer delay complying with their solicitations. During the time specified, they reached and entered the mouth of a stream named by them Rio d'Infante, but now known as the Great Fish River, and failing to procure any information from the aborigines respecting the position of India, they returned to Santa Cruz, doubled the great cape called by Diaz, Cabo de los Tormentos (Cape of Storms), from the heavy gales he there encountered. This appellation was changed by his royal master, John II., to the more auspicious title of Boa Esperanza (Good Hope),* from the prospect it offered of finding the much desired maritime route to the East Indies, which was eventually laid open by Vasco de Gama in 1497. In 1510, Francisco de Almeida, first viceroy of the newly acquired Portuguese dominions in India, returning thence with a fleet to Portugal, cast anchor at the Cape, and sent a party on shore to traffic for cattle; but this the natives refused, and compelled them to return to their ships. The viceroy was with difficulty persuaded to make another attempt to obtain refreshments, by landing in person, accompanied by a considerable body of officers and men; on entering the long-boat he exclaimed, alluding to his advanced age, with a melancholy presentiment of the issue of the adventure, "Ah, whither do you carry seventy years?" On landing, a trifling dispute between a sailor and a Hottentot, respecting a pair of brass buckles, is said to have been the immediate occasion of the contest which ensued; but it is far more probable that it was caused by an attempt to seize by force the cattle, which the natives refused to sell. The result was, that seventy-five Europeans, including the Viceroy, were laid dead on the shore, and the survivors fled in hasty confusion to their ships.

* Diaz was drowned off the Cape of Good Hope, eleven years after its discovery.

The revenge taken by the defeated foe was cruel and cowardly in the extreme. Two or three years after, a fleet bound for India again touched at the Cape, and the Portuguese, aware of the value placed by the aborigines on "glittering copper," landed a brass cannon heavily loaded, and telling the aborigines they had brought it as a present to their chief, directed them to drag it away by means of the long ropes attached to the mouth. The unsuspecting natives joyfully complied, and great numbers of them extended themselves in two files all the length of the ropes, full in the range of the shot; a torch being applied to the powder, a fearful slaughter ensued; those who escaped fled to the mountains in the wildest consternation, while their treacherous enemies re-embarked at leisure.

During the middle of the sixteenth century, the fleets of Portugal occasionally resorted to the Cape and the neighbouring bays, for the purpose of obtaining refreshments; but in 1581 the Portuguese fell under the cruel and degrading yoke of Philip II. of Spain (the husband of Mary, Queen of England), and the spirit of maritime adventure, which had so markedly characterized them, did not long survive their independence. The monopoly of the eastern seas and the chief part of their colonial empire were gradually wrested from them by the Dutch; whose naval supremacy was in turn contested by the English, who, in 1614, impressed with the importance of the Cape of Good Hope as a political position, attempted to establish a small convict settlement on Robben Island, Table Bay; but failed in consequence of an affray with the natives, in which some of the Europeans were killed, and the remainder compelled to quit. In 1620 Shilling and Fitz-Herbert, the commanders of two ships, belonging to the English East India Company, finding a Dutch fleet in Table Bay, and hearing that they intended forming a settlement there, thought to anticipate them by taking formal possession in the name of their sovereign, James I., and were suffered to do so without molestation by the Dutch officers; but no step in confirmation of this procedure appears to have been taken by the home authorities. At this time English, Dutch, and Portuguese vessels were in the habit of touching at the Cape on their outward and home-bound voyages, to procure refreshments, bury letters beneath large stones, and obtain those left for them in a

similar manner by the ships of their respective nations.*

The wreck of the *Haarlem*, a vessel belonging to the Dutch East India Company, in 1648, was the circumstance which more immediately led to the formation of a settlement. Two of the voyagers, named Leendert Janz and N. Proot, after residing there for some months, while waiting for a passage in the next home-bound-fleet, addressed an able and energetic memorial to the directors, setting forth the numerous advantages which would accrue to the company from the formation of a fort and garden at the Cape; showing that their ships and seamen would thus be enabled to procure better refreshment than St. Helena could afford, not only from the great capability of the soil and climate for the cultivation of various kinds of fruit and vegetables, but also on account of the abundance of sheep and cattle possessed by the "savages" who dwelt in the land, whom they described as kindly, hospitable, and confiding, and with whom they had been trading daily in perfect amity. The memorialists state that it was indeed true that some soldiers and sailors had been beaten to death, but they add; for this "we have not the natives, but the rude unthankfulness of our own people, to blame; for last year, when the fleet under the command of Wollbrandt Gelcijnssen, lay at the Cape, instead of making to the natives any recompense for their good treatment of those of the *Haarlem*, they shot seven or eight of their cattle, and took them away without payment, which may likely cost some of our people their lives if opportunity offers, and whether they have not cause, your honours will be pleased to consider." Among the inducements urged by Janz and Proot in favour of their project, was, that by maintaining a kindly intercourse with the natives, who had already given evidence of their ability to acquire a knowledge of the Dutch language, many souls would be brought to God and to the Christian religion, so that the formation of the said fort and garden would "not only

tend to the gain and profit of the honourable company, but to the preservation and saving of many men's lives, and, what is more, to the magnifying of God's holy name, and to the propagation of his gospel, whereby, beyond all doubt, your honours' trade over all India will be more and more blessed."†

The above representations probably decided the directors in at once attempting to establish themselves at the Cape. The formation of the proposed residency was entrusted to Jan van Riebeeck, a member of the return fleet whose ungrateful conduct was so indignantly reprobated by Janz and Proot. In a letter written by Van Riebeeck to the directors, or Chamber of the Seventeen, as they are more frequently termed, bearing date June, 1651, he expresses his gratification at having been admitted into their "praiseworthy service at his humble request," and confirms the statements of the memorialists in all points except with regard to the natives, whom he describes with evident prejudice as a savage set, by no means to be trusted; but he does not attempt to refute the direct accusation made against the Dutch by their own countrymen for "rude unthankfulness" and dishonesty.‡ This communication, as well as many subsequent ones, are by no means calculated to convey so favourable an idea either of the principles or abilities of the writer as that generally entertained; to obtain "further promotion from his honourable masters in fatherland," was his ruling motive, the welfare of the colonists being a very secondary consideration; while, with regard to the natives, the occupation without payment of as much of the best land as could be appropriated without provoking actual hostilities, and the obtainment, by the temptation of spirituous liquors and tobacco, of their flocks and herds, in exchange for brass and beads, was, from first to last, Van Riebeeck's policy, to which he steadfastly adhered; still, by manœuvring in some shape or other, compelling or inducing the aborigines to dispose of what was to them the main stay of life for the veriest trifles, even at the

* One of these missives, bearing date 1622, deposited in that year by Richard Blyth, commander of an English vessel bound from Surat for London, was recently found on removing the earth to repair a drain in one of the principal streets of Cape Town.

† *The Record*, a series of official papers (chiefly Dutch) showing the condition and treatment of the native tribes in South Africa, from 1649 to 1809. This valuable compilation, translated and edited at Cape Town, in 1838, by Lieutenant Moodie, R.N.,

mainly at the expense of the local government, forms a quarto volume of 570 closely printed pages.

‡ This accusation was doubtless well founded, for Van Riebeeck himself, in a subsequent communication, when endeavouring to obtain the consent of the directors to an act of most flagrant treachery acknowledges that "it has also often happened, before your honours had any establishment or fortification here, that their cattle have been taken or shot by your servants.—*The Record*, p. 50."

time when their wives and little ones lacked food.

At the close of the year 1651, two ships and a yacht sailed from Holland to take possession of the Cape, and arrived, after a voyage of four months and-a-half, without having touched anywhere for refreshment; the yacht *Goede Hoop* took the lead, and anchored in Table Bay after sunset on the 5th of April, 1652. Neither the names nor condition of the people destined to form the residency are mentioned in the early records, but it is stated in the directions given to Van Riebeeck by the assembly, that, as all the people were to be accommodated within the fort, proper lodging must be arranged for seventy or eighty persons. Among these, we learn from later despatches, were included some soldiers, several convicts, and probably a few slaves; the remainder were chiefly a low class of peasants; but there appears to have been also a small number of a higher order, from whom were selected a council, to which, with Van Riebeeck, the affairs of the residency were entrusted.

The families and the baggage were landed on the 24th of April, and lodged in a loose plank shed, hastily put together, and the erection of the fort, on the Soete (salt) River, was proceeded with as rapidly as the debilitated state of the people would permit. This was the humble commencement of the flourishing city of Cape Town, with its handsome buildings, fine streets, and luxuriant gardens. The country was inhabited by various nomadic tribes, who subsisted partly on the produce of their sheep and cattle, and partly on the flesh of the harts, steen-bucks, and other wild animals who ranged over mountain and valley in countless herds. At this early period, lions, leopards, wolves, and howling hyenas prowled about the "camp" at night; the rhinoceros was frequently seen within a short distance of it, and troops of elephants fed in the neighbouring thickets. A friendly intercourse speedily commenced between the Dutch and the Hottentots (or Ottentoots, as they were then termed);* one tribe especially, from the neighbourhood of Saldanha

Bay, are most favourably mentioned (8th April, 1652) in the journal kept by Van Riebeeck (and also by his successors in accordance with the special injunction of the Assembly of the Seventeen), as "very handsome, active men, of particularly good stature, dressed however in a cow (or ox) hide, tolerably prepared, which they carried gracefully upon one arm, with an air as courageous as any bravo in Holland can carry his cloak on arm or shoulder." They were armed with assagays (wooden spears, headed with iron), bows, and arrows. Nine of them meeting a much smaller party of the Dutch, who had gone out to fish in the Salt River, behaved "in a very amiable and handsome manner, so as to excite wonder—clasping the captain around the neck with great joy," and intimating their readiness to barter cattle for brass and tobacco. Accordingly, a few days later, Van Riebeeck obtained a cow and young calf for four pieces of flat copper, and three pieces of copper wire, each three feet in length.

Considerable difficulty was however subsequently found in obtaining animal food, the natives in the immediate vicinity of the Cape being very poor, and living chiefly on muscels and wild plants, and the more wealthy tribes having removed inland with their cattle and families, according to their custom in the winter season.

Perhaps a traffic between the Dutch and Africans would more readily have sprung up but for the interdict laid by the first proclamation of the commander (Van Riebeeck) and council, which forbade private trading under penalty of confiscation of the cattle or other articles so purchased, and the deportation of the offenders to Holland without pay or employment. The colonists had no horses, and were not sufficiently fleet of foot to hunt the wild animals, who wandered at will, within a cannon's shot of the fort,† and the great desire for fresh meat may be understood from an entry dated 24th April, 1652, which states that "the people on shore having caught a great sea-cow (hippopotamus), fully as heavy as two ordinary fat oxen, with a very frightful

against the teeth or palate. Kolben affirms it to be their national appellation. Kay and others declare their generic name to have been Quaiquæ.

† Van Riebeeck describes himself as exploring in a morning's journey from the fort, "the finest pastures in the world, full of game, harts, hinds, roes, elands, mountain ducks, geese, partridges, pheasants, &c., but all so wild, that it was impossible to catch them."—*Record*, p. 34.

* The origin of the word Ottentoot, which afterwards merged into Hottentot, after much discussion still remains an unsettled question. Some writers assert that it was a nick-name given by the Dutch, in consequence of the peculiar idiom of the language of this people, and its numerous monosyllables, especially *hot* and *tot*, uttered with strong aspirations from the chest, and a peculiar and frequently repeated guttural click or cluck, caused by pressing the tongue

monstrous head," used it for food. Fish of good quality was happily obtained in abundance; cormorants and penguins, and their eggs, were procured at Robben Island, and vegetables grew well from the imported seed. In the month of May a reinforcement of fifty men arrived from Holland. The inclemency of the weather materially aggravated the sufferings occasioned by insufficient nourishment, and imperfectly constructed dwellings. Dysentery and severe fever carried off many of these unfortunates, others lay prostrate, and in June, out of 116, only fifty were at all able to continue the laborious work of building the fort and digging the ground. Under these circumstances, it is not to be wondered at that they should make attempts at desertion. The runaway convicts from Sydney Cove, New South Wales, hoped in time to reach India or China, and five Dutch fugitives thought to get by land to Mozambique, and from thence make their way to Holland. One of them, named Jan Blank, had dreamed of finding a mountain of gold, and the others were possessed with equally idle delusions. Worn out with hunger and fatigue, they returned, after a week's absence, to the fort, and begged for mercy. The luckless dreamer was flogged and keelhauled, and sentenced, with his companions, to work two years in irons as slaves.*

The then imperfect knowledge of navigation, and the exaggerated ideas entertained respecting the dangers of the Cape of Storms,† rendered communication with the parent country very unfrequent and uncertain, thus greatly increasing the difficulties and depression of the little settlement. For instance, tidings of the war which broke out between the English and Dutch soon after the passing of the Navigation Act by Cromwell and his parliament, in 1651, did not arrive until January, 1653; and a galiot, the *Roode Vos*, which left the Texel on the 18th of September, 1652, only reached Table Bay on the 2nd of June, 1653, the captain and chief-mate having died on the passage, and the inferior officers and crew

having wandered about the Cape for three months, "in consequence of being misled by the compass."‡

Notwithstanding so many discouragements, the small band of Dutch settlers at this early period, before the introduction of slavery and its concomitant evils, and while still too weak to carry on warfare against the Hottentots, proved themselves gifted in no mean degree with the characteristic endurance and perseverance of the race who, in the "Vader-land," had successfully struggled for freedom from the moral tyranny of Rome, and political subjection to Spain—who had scooped their territory out of the sands of the sea, and sheltering themselves within vast dykes and embankments, from the ceaseless besieging of the German Ocean, had framed a commonwealth which long bade defiance to every power in Europe—whose very nature seemed to delight in conquering difficulties, and who in North and South America,§ China, Japan, Java, and other parts of the globe, manifested such extraordinary energy, enterprise, and judgment.

But while rendering due praise to the Dutch nation, for their bravery and ability during this, the brightest era of their history, the radical errors of their system of colonization cannot be overlooked, more particularly as by them were sown the seeds of the strife which now distracts one of the most important and valuable possessions of the British Crown, and imposes a heavy tax on the public exchequer. The Dutch, it is true, intended, at the outset, to form, not a colony, but simply a Residency of sufficient strength to ensure a place of refuge, where the annual fleet dispatched by them to India, varying in amount from 3,000 to between 5,000 and 6,000 men, should be supplied with fresh meat and vegetables, to the exclusion of the vessels of other, but especially of hostile powers. It was, however, not the less incumbent upon them, if only for the sake of saving their own people much risk and suffering, to have dispatched a small preliminary expedition,

* *Vide Record*, pp. 15, 16. Whether these fugitives were sailors or convicts, or in what manner they were bound to the company, does not appear; probably they were runaway sailors.

† Sir Francis Drake sailed from Plymouth, 15th November, 1573, on a voyage round the world. His fleet consisted of the *Hind*, 100 tons; *Elizabeth*, 80; *Marygold*, 30; *Swan*, 50; and a pinnace of 15 tons. On his homeward voyage in June, 1579, Drake doubled the Cape of Good Hope, and it is noted in

the account of his voyage, that "the few obstructions here met with, fully convinced him that the Portuguese had grossly misrepresented the passage [as the Dutch did after them], and abused the world with false representations of the horrors and dangers with which it is attended."—*Collection of Curious Voyages and Travels*, 4th edition, 1790. Vol. iii. p. 163.

‡ *Record*, p. 34.

§ New York and Demerara.

accompanied by some person who, like Janz or Prout, should have lived some time on friendly terms with the natives, with power to treat for the purchase of the requisite land and cattle, and explain the friendly intentions of his countrymen in coming among them. As for the far graver wrong of professing earnest zeal for the diffusion of religion among barbarous tribes, and yet taking no means of instructing them in its doctrines; but, on the contrary, making its very name odious in their ears, by being associated with the covetousness and oppression of its nominal disciples—that is an offence which the Supreme Ruler of every nation and every tribe under heaven, never yet suffered to pass unpunished. Nor was it only with regard to the aborigines, that the home authorities showed themselves indifferent, not to say hypocritical, in this important respect; for, disregarding the urgent solicitations of the commander and council, no clergyman was sent out for many years, and the people, meanwhile, were dependant on the casual and rare visits of ministers proceeding to or from India. Yet, notwithstanding the dearth of spiritual instruction and exhortation, a reverent sense of dependance seems to have been maintained among the settlers during their early trials. The council, when first assembled, was opened with prayer for a blessing upon its deliberations; the anniversary of the foundation of the settlement was commemorated by divine worship, and the delivery of the colonists from starvation, by the arrival of provisions from Holland and India, furnished occasion for humble and solemn thanksgiving. To such extremities had they been reduced immediately before receiving these long expected supplies in April, 1654, as to have eaten an ourang-outang, “as large as a small calf, with hands and feet like those of a man, long legs and arms, very hairy, and of a dark grey colour,” which had been found dead on Table Mountain.

Among other causes of their distress, was the theft of nearly the whole of their cattle, forty-four in number, by the natives, and the great mortality which took place among their sheep. The cattle were car-

ried off one Sunday, while the Dutch were assembled for divine service, and the boy left in charge of them was murdered. The theft was believed to have been committed by a party led by Herry, a Hottentot who had been acting as interpreter, and who had previously made a voyage to Bantam in an English ship. Whether this was or was not the commencement of cattle-stealing—the head and front of the offending on the part of the natives, from that time to the present, it is impossible to tell; but in Van Riebeeck’s journal it is spoken of as unprovoked. Even if it were so, his own statements prove, that before this or any other disturbances, beyond sundry small thefts on either side, had taken place, he had already suggested to the directors, that in the event of being unable to obtain cattle by friendly trade, it would be easy, with 150 men, to seize 10,000 or 11,000 cattle, and take prisoners of many savages, in order to send them as slaves to India, *as they still constantly come to us without weapons.* (December, 1652.) It is probable that no immediate aggression prompted the robbery,* as it appears from subsequent records, that having at first believed the Dutch to have come only as visitors, the aborigines became seriously alarmed when they beheld them building, sowing seeds, and gradually occupying the best pastures and springs, to the exclusion of their cattle. Then, knowing that their own subsistence depended mainly on the produce of their flocks and herds, (curdled milk being the chief article of food) they thought, by depriving the intruders of this resource, to compel them to quit the country. The Dutch, being the weaker party, dissembled their wrath, and resolved to bide their time. An entry in Van Riebeeck’s journal clearly illustrates the feelings of either party; avowed dislike and suspicion, on the one side—deadly hatred, concealed by treacherous professions, on the other. He states that his people had been forbidden by the Hottentots to cut wood and pluck grass; he adds, “they become the longer the more insolent, and we must, one time or other, show our teeth; but we ought to wait until they are hereabouts

* The people before spoken of as coming from Saldanha Bay, to whom, as also to the “Caepmans” and “Strandloopers” the Dutch thought fit to attribute the guilt of the robbery, were previously mentioned as scrupulously honest, so much so that when, after selling an animal, it strayed away, they would

voluntarily restore the piece of copper for which it was purchased, reclaiming it only on bringing back the same beast. They were besides at enmity with the “Caepmans” and “Strandloopers,” that is, with the people of whose territory the Dutch had taken possession.

with a thousand cattle, feeding meanwhile more and more their confidence in us, so as thereby to procure a better opportunity, not only for proper revenge for christian blood, but for a full indemnity for our stolen cattle."—(July, 1654.)

With regard to the unfortunate natives themselves, Van Riebeeck strongly urges the manifold advantages to be obtained by reducing them to slavery; and on another occasion, when describing the seeming kindness and forbearance with which they were being treated, he writes, "this, however, we only do to make them less shy, so as to find hereafter a better opportunity to seize them with all their cattle, 1,100 or 1,200 in number, and about 600 sheep, the best in the whole country. We have every day the finest opportunities for effecting this without bloodshed, and could derive good service from the people in chains, in killing seals or in labouring in the silver mines, which we trust will be found here." Instead of at once indignantly rejecting this infamous scheme, the company informed Van Riebeeck, that with regard to his proposal, in order to be rid of the "Cacpmans" (inhabitants of or dwellers at the Cape), "to keep them as slaves, to send some to Batavia, to employ some in killing seals, and others to fetch wood in charge," they thought fit to order him to "wait a little longer," before resorting to such extreme remedies. Subsequently, however, and after receiving the reports of various commissioners, the directors expressed in forcible language their decided disapproval of Van Riebeeck's views respecting the natives, declaring that their refusal to trade was not a sufficient reason for taking their property from them by force. In reply to this and other communications to the same effect, Van Riebeeck vindicated the policy he so frequently suggests—that of extracting from the natives the *amende profitable*, and of rendering the punishment of those who were deemed to "have deserved it," subservient to "the desired extension of the cultivation."*

The forbearance and simulated forgiveness of injuries practised by the Dutch, so greatly allayed the fears and suspicions of the Africans, as to induce them to recommence a friendly intercourse. Herry (the interpreter) came to the fort, bringing with him, in token of good will, about forty fine cattle for sale, and protested his innocence

of any share in the previous theft, declaring that on hearing of it, he had fled for fear of being punished on suspicion. Van Riebeeck pretended to believe him, and employed him in bartering with strange tribes for cattle, allowing him a small commission; reserving his vengeance for a more convenient opportunity. This occurred about three years after, when Herry's services being no longer required, it was resolved to seize him, and to capture, at the same time, the whole of the live stock belonging to him and his tribe. The treacherous manner in which this project was effected, is thus described by the commander and council, in a despatch to the Chamber, at Amsterdam, dated March, 1659:—

"Herry then [at the time chosen for taking him] lay with his camp about half an hour's walk from the fort, at Salt River, with a good herd of sheep and cattle (believing himself still in our best graces), and he suffered himself to be enticed by fair words into the commander's office, when, upon the 3rd of July following [about a week afterwards] the order was given to Sergeant Jan van Harwarden, to surround Herry's camp with a party of soldiers, with concealed weapons, and then to fetch all the stock, great and small, to the fort; which was easily carried into execution by him in sight of Herry (who was standing the while with us upon the *Cat*), but not without danger to the sergeant's life from some bold Hottentots, who opposed him with assegays, and one of whom he killed, wounding also two or three others, who, with the aid of some more Hottentots, several times repossessed themselves of the cattle; but he as often overtook them on horseback, and besides those wounded, as before stated, shot one, and at last brought all the live stock to the fort, being 110 very fine cattle, and 250 tolerably good sheep, which fully repays us for the stolen cattle, and for the merchandise entrusted to Herry; while, at the same time, by the killing and wounding of the said Hottentots, the murder of the Dutch boy is partially revenged, but not punished."

Poor Herry, and three or four of his companions, who were suspected of having been concerned in the robbery (five years before) were sent to the convict establishment at Robben Island, but he being "old and unfit for work," could not be made very serviceable. His niece, Eva, who had lived from the first coming of the Dutch in the family of Van Riebeeck, pleaded for him "like Esther for her uncle Mordecai,"† but not with a like result. Herry, however, and another Hottentot, succeeded, about a twelvemonth after, in making their escape to the main land in a small two-oared boat.

These proceedings greatly alarmed the natives, and Van Riebeeck took advantage

* See *Record*, pp. 50, 140, 155.

† See Van Riebeeck's Journal, *Record*, p. 141.

of their terror, to compel them to agree to a so-called treaty, by which they bound themselves to furnish a large quantity of cattle and sheep, in return for brass and tobacco, although well aware that the stipulated quota was much above what they could afford to part with. He exultingly informed his "honourable masters" that the savages were now so far brought into subjection, that none of them durst think of doing the slightest harm to any European, or venture near the fort with their cattle, "apparently out of fear that we may one day serve them *a la Herry*."* The directors, however, did not take the same view of the matter; they foresaw, at least to some extent, the evils which resulted from this step. To the colonists it taught the fatal lesson of the advantage to be gained by a system of reprisals, while it proved to the aborigines, that the white man could conceal revenge and covetousness for years under the fairest seeming. The results soon became manifest, and other circumstances combined to fan the flame of mutual distrust into unqualified aversion.

Shortly after the formation of the Cape residency, the Dutch East India Company, hoping to diminish its expenses, had issued orders to Van Riebeeck to offer freedom to such of their servants as would accept it, and to grant in freehold to each man as much land as he might desire for gardens, and that untaxed for the three first years, to be subject subsequently to such burdens as might be deemed suitable.

As a further inducement, their wives and children were to be sent out to them on condition of their binding themselves to remain not less than fourteen years at the Cape. At first, no one applied for freedom, being deterred by the numerous restrictions imposed by the company, such as not being

* See Van Riebeeck's Journal, *Record*, p. 157.

† The first "cargo" was brought from Guinea, in 1658; 228 arrived at the Cape, but no less than forty-three had perished on the passage. Never, perhaps, was there less want of slave labour. The Hottentots needed only careful and patient training to render them capable of far better service than even the Guinea slaves, and would unquestionably have given it at a very cheap rate; but it was the policy of the commander and council to treat them as, and thus probably render them, utterly debased and brutalised. Mr. (afterwards Sir John) Barrow, in his admirable work on the Cape, makes some very forcible remarks on this subject:—"Having first held out the irresistible charm that spirituous liquors and tobacco are found to possess amongst people in a rude state of society, they took the advantage of exchanging those pernicious poisons for the only means the natives enjoyed

allowed to trade with the large amount of shipping which visited the port (both from their own and other countries), nor with the natives, nor even with each other; but gradual encouragement, in the shape of advances in money and stock, being held out, nine soldiers and sailors requested their discharge, and others followed their example. More troops were sent to protect, or rather aid them in their aggressions, and slaves were procured from Guinea,† Angola, Madagascar, and other places. The determined desertion of the slaves, notwithstanding the fearful punishment inflicted upon them when recovered, furnished a new cause of complaint against the Hottentots, more particularly the women, who were accused of harbouring them, and were more than once seized upon suspicion, and detained prisoners until their relatives should discover and bring back the missing slaves, in spite of their tears and entreaties, and the offer of "a good number of cattle and sheep,"‡ as a ransom. In this state of things, little was wanted to occasion open warfare between the white and coloured races. The whole Dutch population amounted, in 1658, only to 360 persons, i.e. garrison 95;§ free persons, 51; women and children, 20; slaves (who were kept in irons), 187; and convicts, 7; and it was hardly to be expected that a people so numerous as the Hottentots must then have been, would submit to be robbed of their lands and cattle, without any attempt at resistance. Nothing is said in Van Riebeeck's journal respecting the intercourse which existed between the Dutch and the Hottentot women; that it was extensive is evident from the rapid increase of the race called *Bastaards*, and we subsequently learn from the statements of the early missionaries, that it was accompanied by gross brutality on the

‡ Van Riebeeck's Journal, July 3rd, 1658.

§ No less than twenty-one of the garrison had escaped by concealing themselves in the last homeward-bound fleet, a circumstance clearly indicative of the hardships to which they had been subjected.

part of the colonists. This probably was an additional root of bitterness. The Dutch, notwithstanding their small number, considered themselves, owing to their superior civilization and the possession of fire-arms, more than a match for the Hottentots, and multiplied their complaints against them, alleging constantly some new theft as a reason for seizing the finest cattle; and, not content with acting on the defensive, besought the commander and council (who evidently shared the popular feeling) to direct the troops to assist them in taking actively hostile measures. The natives on their part reiterated the statement which they had made from the first, that the Dutch were intruders; that they were depriving them, without any right whatever, of their land, a possession so highly valued, that the best pastures had been ever a fruitful subject of dispute and war among themselves. Van Riebeeck, writing in 1659, states, that, on questioning a prisoner, captured in the act of cattle-lifting, as to the cause of their enmity, the man, who spoke tolerable Dutch, "declared that it was for no other reason than because they saw that we were breaking up the best land and grass where their cattle were accustomed to graze, trying to establish ourselves everywhere, with houses and farms, as if we were never more to remove, but designed to take for our permanent occupation more and more of this Cape Country, which had belonged to them from time immemorial. Aye! So that their cattle could not get at the water without passing over the corn land, which we would not allow them to do; that they consequently resolved (as it was their land) to dishearten us by taking away the cattle (with which they could see that we broke up and destroyed the best land), and if that would not produce the effect, by burning our houses and corn until we were all forced to go away. Doman [a Hottentot who had been to Batavia, and was to some extent civilized] had also put into their heads, that after all the houses in the country were destroyed, the fort could be easily surprised, as the earth walls were built with a slope, and thus the Dutch might be forced quite to abandon the country."

The reply made by the Chamber of the Seventeen (August, 1660) is so far creditable that it contains an unqualified admission of the just ground of offence given to the Hottentots by the forcible occupation of their territory, declaring that "the discon-

tent shown by those people in consequence of our appropriating to ourselves, and to their exclusion, the land which they have used for their cattle from time immemorial, is neither surprising nor groundless, and we should therefore be glad to see that we could purchase it from them, or otherwise satisfy them."

Before receiving the above communication, Van Riebeeck had formed and dispatched against the Hottentots the first of those "commandoes," or warlike expeditions, which the desire of injuring, if not extirpating the natives, and seizing on their cattle, rendered so attractive in the sight of the colonists. On this occasion eighty soldiers and fifty inhabitants were sent out in three companies, under the command of the fiscal. Van Riebeeck professing to believe cattle-stealing "a matter most displeasing to the Almighty, when committed by such men as they [the Hottentots] were (who did not know him)," declared the Dutch to be justified in His sight, not only in offering them all possible resistance, but likewise in doing them all possible injury, in order to bring them to a better behaviour. He offered a reward of 100 guilders for the person of Doman, if taken alive, and 50 if dead; and for the rest, 20 guilders living, and 10 dead, "women and children half-price," nor did he scruple to apply "a little torture," to make the prisoners betray the hiding-places of their associates. The slaves were released from irons to join in hunting them, care being taken to prevent their staying away, by detaining their wives, to whom they were known to be tenderly attached. It being, however, discovered that the Guinea slaves purposed joining the Hottentots, they were again put in irons. In spite of these sanguinary proceedings, but few lives were lost. The Hottentots sued for peace, and stated that they had no intention of doing personal injury to the settler whose death had caused the outbreak, but had used their assagays, in the first instance, only in self-defence, after having been fired on; they likewise pleaded much wanton injury and insult on the part of some of the farmers. When asked why they were so anxious to be allowed to return to the Cape, they replied, that finding it hopeless to expel the Dutch, who were daily gaining strength, they gave up the attempt, and earnestly desired to be suffered to live in quiet "in their birthplace and their own land, full

of pure water, after which their hearts always longed." The various arguments urged by them in vindication of the border-warfare which they had been carrying on, as related by Van Riebeeck (a witness by no means favourably disposed towards them), are so forcible, and so nearly what might be urged by the Kafirs to the English with equal propriety at the present day, that they are quoted at length, although, to some extent, they reiterate the sentiments expressed in a previous extract.

"They dwelt long upon our taking every day for our own use more of the land, which had belonged to them from all ages, and on which they were accustomed to depasture their cattle, &c. They also asked whether, if they were to come to Holland, they would be permitted to act in a similar manner, saying, 'What would it signify if you remained here at the fort? but you come quite into the interior, selecting the best for yourselves, and never once asking whether we like it, or whether it will put us to any inconvenience.' They therefore insisted very strenuously, that they should be again allowed free access to the pasture [in the vicinity of the Cape and Table Mountain, from which the Dutch had debarred them]. It was at first objected that there was not grass enough for their cattle and for ours also; they said in reply, 'Have we then no cause to prevent you from procuring any cattle? for if you get cattle, you come and occupy our pasture with them, and then say, the land is not wide enough for us both! who then can be required, with the greatest degree of justice, to give way—the natural owner, or the foreign invader?' They insisted much upon their natural right of property, &c., and that they should at least be at liberty to gather, for their winter food, the bitter almonds and roots which grew there naturally; but this also could not be acceded to, because, on the one hand, it would give them too many opportunities to injure the colonists, and on the other, because we this year had need of the bitter almonds ourselves, for the purpose of planting the projected hedge or live fence [projected for the express purpose of forming a wall to cut off the free communication of the aborigines with the native land they loved so well], (a reason which was not stated to them), but they insisted so much upon this point, that this word must out at last: that they had now lost that land in war, and therefore could only expect to be henceforth entirely deprived of it, the rather because they could not be induced to restore the cattle which they had, wrongfully and without cause, stolen from us; that their country had thus fallen to our lot, being justly won by the sword in defensive warfare, and that it was our intention to retain it."—*Journal of Commander Van Riebeeck, April 6th, 1660. Record, p. 205.*

Whether, in this argument, the civilised or the savage man had the advantage, admits of no question, at least, so far as reason and justice were concerned; but right

* Van Riebeeck solicited and obtained from the Dutch East India Company, the grant of a certain tract of land along the sea-coast, behind Table Mountain, which, on his departure from the Cape, he sold

and might were on different sides. Van Riebeeck,* notwithstanding the suggestion made to him by the Chamber of Seventeen, did not attempt to reconcile the Hottentots to the seizure of their land, by offering them any compensation, nor was anything done in the matter until 1672, when Arnout van Overbeke, one of the commissioners sent occasionally by the company to examine and report upon the state of affairs at the residency, stated to the council "that he had been reflecting whether it might not be both practicable and serviceable to the company, as well as necessary for the prevention of much future cavilling," to enter into an agreement with the Hottentots, especially with those in whose lands the residency had been, or might be established, whereby they should declare the Cape district, and its dependencies, lawfully sold to the company for a specified sum of money, "in order thus more firmly to establish our masters in the right of property." A formal contract was, in consequence, agreed upon between Van Overbeke, on the part of the East India Company, and a Hottentot chief named Manckhagou, *alias* Schlacher, in whom the hereditary sovereignty of the Cape district was alleged to vest, and who agreed to sell and surrender to the Dutch the whole of it, "beginning from the Lion Hill, and extending along the coast of Table Bay, with the Hout and Saldanha Bays inclusive," for the sum of 4,000 reals of Eight, in sundry goods and articles of merchandise. The district called Hottentots' Holland, beginning from the Cape District, and including Table Bay and "the place where the *Yselsteyn* lay at anchor during last June," supposed to be Simon's Bay, was purchased from "the minor prince D'houw, hereditary sovereign of the country called by us [the Dutch] Hottentots Holland, and its dependencies, assisted by the Hottentot chief, Dackkggy (*alias* Cuyper), stadhouder and guardian of the prince, and the captain Oyth'key, his counsellor and representative." No mention is made in either of the deeds, of any provision for the maintenance, much less for the civilization or conversion of the natives dispossessed by these sweeping "contracts," of their birthright, by the cupidity of a few individuals, who, whatever their sovereign

for 1,600 guilders, (about £160 English coin sterling of that period.) For this territory there is no reason to suppose he ever made the native owners the slightest compensation.

power might have been (and even that is very questionable), could have had no such *territorial* dominion, as to authorise them to reduce a numerous people to the condition of beggars, making them henceforth vagrants on their own land. In a subsequent despatch from the Cape, the merchandise stated in both deeds to have been worth 4,000 reals of Eight, is shown to have consisted, in the first case, of "tobacco, heads, brandy, bread, and other trifles, to the value of $\text{f}81 : 16$, prime cost;" and, in the second of the same, articles to the value "of $\text{f}33 : 17$, also prime cost, a sum so inconsiderable [write the local authorities] that the matter should not have been so long postponed."*

It is but too evident that these so-called contracts were steps in the right direction, only in so far as they acknowledged the absence of any inherent right, on the part of the white race, to take forcible possession of the country of the coloured; in all other respects they were as far from being equitable agreements, as if a man should barter with a child sugar-plums for sovereigns. At this early period the Hottentots were far from experiencing or foreseeing the full extent of the misery which the Dutch, on becoming numerous and powerful, would bring upon them. They appear to have sincerely endeavoured to live in quiet, and their inoffensive behaviour during several years (that is, until roused by renewed aggression), is repeatedly noticed by the local authorities. Commander Wagenaar, the successor of Van Riebeeck, expressly stated, in reply to the questions of one of the company's commissioners, that he had never heard of any murders, thefts, or robberies, committed by them since the war of 1659, and did not anticipate any, so long as the colonists should refrain from giving them cause by

* The real of Eight is the old Spanish dollar, value about four shillings and four pence; the florin is identical with the guilder, and the stiver is the twentieth part of a florin.

† *Record*, pp. 255, 258.

‡ "The greater number of the freemen," says Van Riebeeck, "whenever any ships are in the roads, may be daily seen as intoxicated as irrational creatures, with the strong drink they obtain from the shipping."—*Record*, p. 181. Yet this very vice, which he knew to be so destructive to steady industry and propriety of conduct, he scrupled not to foster in the untutored Hottentots. While using every possible precaution to prevent their acquiring a knowledge of the management of fire-arms, which would have rendered them to the last degree dangerous as enemies, he remorselessly, and under pretence of friendship, encouraged them in the use of that more deadly wea-

ll-treatment, "to take revenge by theft or fire-raising." He therefore gave orders that they should no longer, "out of wantonness, or upon trifling causes, be called by the garrison, the cattle herds, or the sailors, 'black stinking dogs;' still less be kicked, pushed, or beaten, as our Masters in the fatherland most earnestly recommend [this caution], in order that these poor people may not thus be rendered more adverse and disposed to fly from us."†

The settlement itself progressed very slowly, and gave little indication of the magnitude and importance which it was eventually destined to attain. The records of the administration of Van Riebeeck and his successors, contain heavy complaints, on the one part, of the drunkenness,‡ laziness, and dishonesty of the burgers§ or farmers who had received their freedom; and on theirs of severe restrictions, against which it was impossible to make head by any industry. After becoming hopelessly indebted to the company, frequent and occasionally successful endeavours were made to escape in vessels bound to India, Holland, or England. The Dutch Governor-general of India, in answer to a communication from Van Riebeeck on this subject, writes (Dec., 1659)—"We agree with you that the desertion and concealment of free men, as well as of the company's servants, at the Cape, ought to be met with severe punishments, for it would otherwise be impossible to keep the Cape residency any longer in existence. * * * At the same time innumerable complaints are made to us that the free men cannot earn a subsistence there, and are thus compelled to fly by hunger and privation." There can be little doubt that the cultivation of the land at this time, under the restrictions of the Dutch system, rarely proved remunerative; among other

pon, by which, according to his own account, he constantly witnessed nominally civilized and Christian men reduced to the condition of brute beasts. Every purchase of cattle was concluded by dram-drinking, and on one occasion "a tub of brandy and arrack mixed was set open in the middle of the esplanade of the fort, with a little wooden bowl, from which these people made themselves so drunk that they made the strangest antics in the world." This scene, so disgraceful to the person who instigated and records it, occurred, we are informed in the same paragraph, "before the sermon," on the day on which the Dutch commemorated the holy festival of the Ascension.—Van Riebeeck's Journal, May 6th, 1660.

§ *Burger*, *burgher*, or *borger*, signifies a citizen, burgess, or freeman; *boer* signifies a countryman or peasant, and by general usage, though not strictly correct, is translated by the English word *boor*.

evidence may be noticed a resolution of the council in 1660, which provides for employing, at his own request, as a farmer on account of the company, a man who had landed as a free immigrant in 1659, at ten guilders per mensem (twenty shillings a month) for the term of ten years; and Commander Wagenaar, in 1662, found the greater part of the free farmers inclined to leave the plough and return to the company's service, if allowed so to do, finding that all their crops were required to repay the advances of the company. Of their character he gives a very unfavourable account, declaring that not above six or eight of them were either in repute, or, in fact, respectable and industrious men, and that the rest were "depraved from their youth upwards, lazy, drunken fellows," who cared as little for their Dutch servants as for beasts. In a despatch dated four years later, he speaks of them, and of their servants, in equally strong terms, declaring many of them to be reckless and useless, disobedient and worthless subjects, whom it would be well to get rid of one way or the other, as it was to be feared that in the event of a hostile attack* they would be the first to go over to the enemy, some of them having been long known to wish and pray that the English fleet might but come hither to convey them from this devil's land, as they commonly called it. Unsuccessful attempts at desertion were severely punished, the culprits being sentenced to be flogged and kept for two or three years in irons, without wages; and one man, for only expressing a wish that he had accompanied some deserters into the interior, was sentenced to fall thrice from the yard, and receive 100 lashes before the mast. Nor was it this offence only which was punished with excessive severity; caprice and tyranny marked the general proceedings of Van

Riebeeck and the Cape Council, both in their judicial and legislative capacity. In the list of convictions and penalties for crime, extending from 1652 to 1662, we find one man (a seaman) for stealing fruit from the company's garden, sentenced to six months' hard labour in irons, fifty lashes, and forfeiture of one month's wages. Another for evincing discontent with the provisions issued, and wishing the devil to take the purser for serving out penguins instead of beef and pork, received 100 blows with the butt of the musket. To be keelhauled, to have the tongue bored, or a knife drawn through the hand, are punishments also mentioned as inflicted upon different members of this small community.

But while every lapse from right was liable to be visited so heavily, proportionate encouragements for good conduct were wholly wanting. Commissioner Verburg, in 1676, declared that the colonists were so limited and restricted in every respect, as to be freemen only in name, and that if the placats of the council (proclamations or ordinances) "were enforced to the letter, the ruin of the inhabitants would often be the consequence."† They could scarcely be expected to refrain from endeavouring to evade enactments which required them to deliver up to the local government all the corn they raised at a fixed price, and to purchase from it monthly whatever they needed at an advance of twenty-five per cent., which interdicted them from carrying on any barter with the natives, the shipping visiting the bay, or even with each other, and compelled them to purchase their cattle, provisions, merchandise, clothing, &c., from the company alone. Besides these hardships, they were required to be constantly armed, to attend military parades on Sundays, and at other times, to be ready at any moment to proceed against the aborigines,

* The Dutch at this time looked with jealousy both upon the French and Portuguese, but the English were the especial objects of their dread and dislike. The partiality evinced by Herry and many other natives towards them, had been from the first an additional cause of suspicious distrust; consequently, when English vessels put in at the Cape, they found great difficulty in procuring the most inferior and insufficient supplies of meat and vegetables, and were treated with ill-disguised enmity. On several occasions captains with ships disabled from bad weather, or with crews so reduced by scurvy—the plague of that age—as to be scarcely able to work them, were preserved from the worst treatment only by the recollection of the £80,000 which Cromwell had compelled the Dutch to pay on making

peace in 1654, for the injuries inflicted upon the English East India Company, at their Asiatic possessions. In a despatch, dated May, 1663, Commander Wagenaar informs the directors of a horrible outrage committed upon an English crew by the commanders of two Dutch vessels; the captain and ten persons having been put to the torture by lighted matches being placed between their fingers, to force them to reveal where their money was secreted. Wagenaar states, that he has been particular in recording the details, as the event might create new disputes with "the easily excited English nation;" and probably it did have some share in producing the renewed hostilities which broke out in the following year.

† *Record*, p. 254.

and were not permitted to build within three miles of each other. The lands granted in freehold to the first settlers, though exempted from taxation for three years, were subsequently made liable to an assessment, fixed at one-tenth of the produce raised. A tenth of all stock grazed on the pasture land, which they were allowed to occupy, was also required by the government, and the value of imported goods received by them on credit from the company was secured by special mortgages on their freeholds. The tithe was to be assessed by the collector before the crops were reaped, and to prevent frauds and evasions, no person was allowed to bake bread or to purchase grain, without a licence, or to have flour ground except at the Dutch East India Company's mills, near the fort.

In 1666, Cornelis Van Quaelbergen succeeded Wagenaar as commander, but was superseded in the following year (on account of the kind reception and supplies which he furnished to the admiral and crew of a French vessel which touched at the Cape, instead "of allowing them to drift upon their own fins"), by Jacob Borghost, under whom great cruelties were practised towards the Hottentots. Of this there is no record in the official documents of that period; but Governor† Bax, writing a few years after (1677), animadvert strongly on the shameful conduct of the settlers in former times, but especially under Commander Borghost, in not only frequently and forcibly despoiling the "Gonnema" and other Hottentots of their cattle, but also in treacherously firing upon and killing many of them, in consequence of which, so strong a feeling of hostility had been produced in the minds of the natives, that instead of its being deemed safe to send two or three men far into the interior, now twelve in a body could hardly be dispatched "twenty mylen," without apprehension. These remarks throw considerable light on the true causes of the renewal of warfare between the settlers and the Gonnema Hottentots, and of the commando dispatched against the latter in 1672. Before the expedition started, news arrived at the Cape of the attack on the little garrison at Saldanha Bay, the loss of

* Despatch from the Chamber of Seventeen to Commander Borghost and council. Nov. 1637.

† The Cape was raised to a government in 1671, but the directors, finding but small progress made in agriculture, declared that the country which could not produce its own corn, could not be called a colony,

the corporal in charge and three men, and the plunder of the company's effects; orders were consequently given to endeavour to fall upon the Gonnema people and their allies unexpectedly, and, as far as possible, destroy them without mercy, sparing nothing that was male. To surprise the natives, when on their guard, was, however, no easy matter, and the Dutch were compelled to return after capturing "800 excellent horned cattle, and 900 fine sheep," having sustained no injury, with the exception of one of the mounted burghers, who having "left the rest of the party, in order to kill some Hottentots who had hidden themselves in a sedgy river, was wounded in the back with an assagai (though not dangerously), in consequence of his pistols repeatedly missing fire."†

In 1676 another commando was despatched against the same tribe, who were then encamped a day's journey beyond the Berg River, in the "Suyker Bergen" (Sugar Mountain), which resulted in the death of a chief named Kees, and some Hottentots, and the capture of about 160 head of cattle and a few sheep; a booty which, though small, was doubtless very acceptable to the Dutch, from the great mortality which had previously ravaged their flocks and herds, and the hope of which had probably no small share in prompting the expedition. The Gonnemas sued for peace in the following year; it was granted on condition of their paying an annual tribute of thirty oxen for the first returning fleet—a quantity which there is every reason to suppose they could not afford to part with, without being reduced to beg or steal, for the support of their families, from the Europeans, or from other tribes.

Under these circumstances it is not surprising that the handful of colonists should have deemed it necessary to have an armed force protecting the cattle when grazing; one-third of the garrison mounted guard every night, and the commander, chaplain, and surgeon, never moved about without pistols or fire-arms of some description.

Such a state of things could not long continue; in truth, no European settlement, however small, could well be established amid savage tribes, without greatly improving and again reduced it to a residency, and, on the death of Governor Bax, appointed an officer (Simon Van der Stell) to succeed him, with the rank of commander only.

‡ Despatch from Governor Goske and council, to the Chamber of Seventeen. July, 1673.

ing or greatly deteriorating their condition. It would seem to be almost hopeless to expect from a body of nominally Christian and civilized men, the mixture of forbearance, firmness, discretion, and strict honesty, so peculiarly necessary to those, who, from whatever motive, desire to obtain the confidence and permanent affection of the people of a nation yet buried in heathen darkness; putting aside, therefore, all idea of elevating them, it remains either to extirpate or reduce them to subjection. The course adopted by the Dutch combined these alternatives, and gradually brought under their yoke the various neighbouring tribes, whose love of ardent spirits, and jealousy of each other, rendered them an easy prey. Famine and sickness, the too frequent accompaniments of war, thinned the ranks and diminished the individual strength and courage of the aborigines. Various diseases unknown before the arrival of the foreign invaders, likewise committed fearful ravages; measles, and an infectious malady not named, destroyed thousands, and an eye-witness, the Rev. Mr. Valentyn, speaks in 1713, of a sweeping pestilence,* whereby "hundreds of fugitive natives lay dead upon the roads." It would be needlessly prolix to follow the colonists step by step, in their gradual increase in number and power, or more than illustrate, by a few striking instances, the atrocities committed by the settlers, and the injustice legalized by local authorities against a foe by nature barbarous, and too often brutalized by oppression. In Africa, most especially, it might then as now be said—

"Man's inhumanity to man, makes countless nations mourn."

The civilization which became a potent element of destruction, could not have its violence checked, or its vengeance softened by a merely nominal profession of Christianity, which changed not the heart; the first principles of justice were violated in 1652, and after two centuries of Dutch and English administration, the white and black man are still struggling to the death—the one for dominion, the other for existence; the soil of South Africa is still bedewed with human gore; and the causes of this terrific violation of the divine law are to be traced to the grievous errors of dis-

honesty, false policy, and neglect of Christian duties, which so strongly marked the first stages of Dutch colonization, and which, it is to be feared, are far from having been wholly abjured, even in the middle of the nineteenth century, by their successors in the government of the country.

In 1700 the free trade in cattle was allowed between the settlers and the natives, on condition that no force or compulsion should be made use of. The farmers, however, soon turned this licence to a means of oppression; and, instead of trading, proceeded in parties of eighty or ninety beyond the boundaries, and, being armed, forced the natives (and even murdered them in some instances) to give up their cattle, and afterwards shared the plunder. In 1702, one of these marauding parties, consisting of forty-five persons, returned with 2,000 oxen, which they had forcibly taken from the Honisons and Gonoquas; these, together with the Namaquas, Ubiquas, and Kockemans, retaliated, and many innocent persons suffered. Therefore, in October, 1702, the commander and council repealed the permission given in 1700, and forbade future cattle trading under pain of corporeal and even capital punishment, until the pleasure of the Chamber of Seventeen should be known. So general had been the ill-conduct of the colonists towards the natives, that the directors considered that no punishment could be inflicted without material injury to the colony, as more than half the inhabitants were deeply implicated; they therefore passed it over with a feeble threat, that it should be punished if repeated. It is difficult to suppose they could expect such a warning would prove sufficient to deter the offenders from crimes which they tacitly admitted it to be not to their interest to put a stop; the cattle trade was again sanctioned, and the records thenceforth note annually hostility with the native tribes, many killed on both sides, and numerous cattle taken and recaptured, by both Europeans and aborigines. Kolben, a Prussian astronomer and naturalist, who visited the Cape in 1705, and remained there some years, under the especial protection of the Dutch East India Company, gives many details, correct and incorrect, concerning the extensive Hottentot popu-

* Thunberg, doubtless alluding to the same "sweeping pestilence," says, "in 1713 the small pox was first brought here by a Danish ship, when it made a dreadful havoc among Europeans, as well as

Hottentots, only three houses having escaped. The Hottentots died in such multitudes, that their bodies lay in the fields and highways unburied."—Vol. i., p. 120.

lation which then inhabited South Africa, and devotes a chapter (VI.) of his work,* to the description of what he terms sixteen different "nations," viz., the "Gunjeman, Kochaqua, Sussaqua, Odiqua, Chirigriqua, Greater and Lesser Namaqua, Attaqua, Koopman, Hessaqua, Sonqua, Dunqua, Damaqua, Guaros or Guariqua, Houteniqua, Chamtouer, and Heykom," to which he adds the "Terra de Natal, inhabited by the Caffres." Each nation he describes as having an hereditary chief called *Konquer*, who presided in the courts of the elders or captains of each kraal or village, declared war or peace, and commanded the fighting men. The duties attendant on the hereditary office of the captain of the kraal, were to preserve peace, administer justice within his jurisdiction, and hold a subordinate command in war. Before taking office, he solemnly assured the assembled people that he would not alter or deviate from their ancient laws and customs.

In his fourth chapter, Kolben describes the Hottentots as he saw them, and refutes many of the mis-statements put forth by the Dutch; he says—"they are by no means stupid, have some sense of God and of religion; I have known many of them understand Dutch, French, and Portuguese, to a degree of perfection; and, allowing for defects in pronunciation, express themselves roundly in those languages. I knew one who had gained the English and Portuguese in a very little time, and spoke them with surprising readiness and propriety. In agriculture and many other arts and customs these people discover good marks of capacity and discernment; they make excellent servants, and perhaps the faithfulest in the world."

* Kolben's *Present State of the Cape of Good Hope*. English edition. London, 1731. Vol. i., p. 61.

† Parliamentary Papers relative to the Cape of Good Hope, 1835; p. 17.

‡ The Bushmen, Buschies, or Bosjesmen, are supposed by Barrow and others to be the veritable aborigines of this part of Africa; but some authorities consider these wild and predatory tribes to be the remains of large Hottentot hordes, reduced by war or famine to extreme poverty.

§ Sparrman, vol. i., p. 213. This good old woman, named Helena, and some few others, lived to reap, even in this world, the fruits of patient continuance in well-doing. From time to time reports reached the Moravian Society of the earnest desire entertained by the converts for the return of their beloved teacher, and the "United Brethren" repeatedly applied to the Dutch East India Company to sanction it. This, however, was as constantly refused. Schmidt died; but the society increasing in influence, and becoming

In 1723 the barbarous treatment of the Hottentots, and the complaints made by them, were laid before the Council by the "churchwardens at the Paarl;"† but it would appear without effect. In 1727, some feelings of compunction appear to have been aroused in their favour; the cattle trade was once more prohibited, on account of the extreme poverty to which they had been reduced by forced barter with the farmers, who were enjoined to refrain from injuring them under pain of being punished as disturbers of the public peace.

In 1739, "the great Bushmen‡ and little Namaquas complained to the Council that frequent murders and robberies were committed upon them by the colonists. The fiscal (a kind of local magistrate) was ordered to investigate their statements; and the result of the inquiry being considered unfavourable to the complainants, two commandoes were ordered out against them. About this time an attempt was made for the promulgation of the Christian religion among the Hottentots, which it will be easily conceived the burgers and boors met with undisguised hostility. A Moravian missionary, named George Schmidt, preached the gospel to them during three years (from 1739 to 1742) with remarkable success, it being received "with great avidity and zeal." There were numerous converts at *Serjeant River*, a small branch of the river *Zonder End*; one of these was mentioned to Dr. Sparrman, in 1775, as still living; she "used to perform her devotions every morning on her bare knees by the side of a spring; she had a German bible, which she often read, and treated with the greatest veneration: her behaviour throughout life was decent and quiet."§ Schmidt, who had

more and more convinced of the urgency of the case, at length prevailed on the directors to permit the renewal of their mission; and at the close of 1792 three missionaries—who, according to the principles of the Moravians, were able mechanics as well as sound and zealous Christians—arrived at Bavian's Kloof (Baboon's Glen), and established themselves on the very spot where Schmidt had taught half-a-century before, holding their first meetings under the shade of a large pear-tree, planted by him. Many Hottentots flocked joyfully round their new teachers, especially old Helena, who, taking her Testament from its leathern case, read to the astonished missionaries the narrative of our Saviour's birth. For eighteen years after this she lived peacefully at Bavian's Kloof, and expired in 1800, having attained the age of nearly a hundred years.—[For further details on this interesting subject, see *Historical Sketches of the Missions of the United Brethren*, by the Rev. John Holmes; pp. 372-6.]

obtained the name of "the Great Hottentot converter," having christened five natives in Sept. 1742, was prohibited from repeating that offence, and banished from the country on the pretence of his having "illegally made himself a chief among the Hottentots in those parts, in order to enrich himself by their labour, and the presents they made him of cattle."* This allegation comes with peculiarly ill-grace from a government and people who were at that time forcibly depriving these very Hottentots of their lands, plundering them of their cattle, and slaying

them if they resisted being made slaves of; while it proves beyond dispute the hold upon their affections that might be gained by kind treatment, when one man, poor and unaided, could do so much in so short a period. The following table, showing the number and condition of the people, and the amount or stock, produce, revenue, and expenditure for the years 1769 to 1773 inclusive, derived from the annual reports of the Cape government, is interesting as affording a view of the state and progress of the colony about a century after its establishment:—

Particulars.	1769.	1770.	1771.	1772.	1773.
Company's servants—civil, military and commercial	1,356	1,401	1,361	1,325	1,490
Sick in hospital ¹	399	303	439	638	675
Company's live stock, cattle	3,231	3,129	3,133	2,719	2,958
horses	307	342	354	369	336
Colonists, men	2,147	2,136	2,218	2,283	2,300
women ²	1,486	1,517	1,538	1,576	1,578
boys	2,184	2,256	2,333	2,263	2,318
girls	2,132	2,179	2,212	2,251	2,269
Male European servants	78	89	77	87	89
Slaves, adult male	5,650	5,660	5,631	5,971	7,102
female	1,537	1,569	1,634	1,676	1,707
boys	548	510	533	550	564
girls	369	418	537	518	529
Horses	7,427	7,883	8,188	8,514	9,061
Cattle	38,012	38,357	37,977	38,665	39,019
Sheep	244,558	258,250	264,943	271,002	285,094
Wine (leggers)	4,624½	3,976	3,784	1,934½	5,332
Wheat (muids)	12,953	14,276	14,244	17,480	24,775
Revenue	f166,673	151,399	157,556	163,648	171,637
Expenditure ³	450,524	464,775	452,010	475,228	510,902

Note.—No census taken of native population, of whom and of other free coloured persons twenty-two were convicted and eight capitally punished during the same period.

¹ The sick consisted chiefly of scorbutic recruits or seamen: the number of deaths from scurvy, between Holland and the Cape, much exceeded, during this period, that of the sick left there; in 1771, twelve ships lost, on the passage, 1,034 men, or nearly half their crews.

² In consequence of an urgent appeal made by Commander Van der Stell and council, in 1685, on behalf of the colonists, the chief number of whom were "strong, gallant, and industrious bachelors, who, for the solace of their cares, and for the managing of their domestic concerns, would most gladly be married," forty-eight young women were sent out to the Cape, by the Chamber of the Seventeen, in the following year.

³ The following is the detail of the expenditure of 1773:—Expenses of shipping, f184,488; ordinary rations, f78,878; ordinary expenses, f30,902; extraordinary expenses, f3,866; buildings and repairs, f17,783; fortifications, f1,155; expense of company's slaves, f18,969; condemnation and confiscation, f4,576; expenses of boats, f9,615; pay of shipping, f14,169; salaries on shore, f146,497.

The explanations attached to each branch of expenditure make no reference to any expense incurred for operations, offensive or defensive, against the natives. In subsequent years such expenses appear under the head of extraordinaries—the extraordinaries for the above five years are successively—3,355—3,427—3,373—4,799 and 3,866 guilders. The expense of the journey of the Landdrosts in 1770 is noticed under this head.

The same observation applies as to the particulars of the colonial revenues;—in 1773, of a total income of 171,637 guilders, 77,775 were derived from the licensed retail of wine, brandy, and beer, of which sum only a small portion was drawn from the interior of the colony. The following are the details of this source of revenue. At Cape Town:—Sale of wine, f29,800; brandy, f32,000; beer, f5,400; impost on spirits sold to foreigners, f9,300; sale of Cape wine at Rondebosch and False Bay, f3,300; of wine and brandy at Stellenbosch and Drakenstein, f800.

The European portion of the population, though generally alluded to as Dutch, was chiefly composed of, or descended from, disbanded soldiers from various German regiments, and comprised Prussians, Hanoverians, Flemings, and Poles, besides the descendants of about 150 French refugees, who, in 1690, in consequence of the revoca-

tion of the Edict of Nantes, sought and obtained a home in South Africa. The so-called Dutch, with some few exceptions, had little knowledge of, and no family connexion with the Batavian Republic; they only knew that the Cape belonged to a company of merchants in Amsterdam, whose especial desire it was that their native tongue should be spoken and taught, to the

* Parliamentary Papers, 1835; p. 18.

exclusion of any other, and that the Dutch laws and customs should, in all points, be steadily enforced. So completely did the language prevail, that the slaves and Hot-tentots soon acquired it sufficiently to speak it even among themselves, as did also the French immigrants, whose very names lost their nationality; thus Rousseau was changed into Roussouw, Bruyère into Bruel, Terre Blanche into Ters Blans.

The manner in which soldiers were obtained for the Dutch East India Company, to be sent to the Cape of Good Hope and other settlements, is described and strongly condemned by Thunberg, a learned Swede, who in 1772 sailed for the Cape in one of their ships, as surgeon-general.* He cautions all strangers visiting Amsterdam to be on their guard, for—

"Kidnappers (zeelverkoopers), the most detestable members of society, frequently effect the ruin of unwary strangers, by decoying them into their houses and then selling them to be transported to the East Indies. * * * These man-stealers are citizens who, under the denomination of victuallers, have the privilege to board and lodge strangers for money, and under this cloak, perpetrate the most inhuman crimes. * * * They not only keep servants to pick up strangers in the street, but also bribe the carriers who carry the baggage of travellers from the ships to the inns, to bring strangers to lodge with them, who, as soon as they arrive are shut up in a room, together with a number of others, to the amount of an hundred and more, where they are kept upon scanty and wretched food, entered as soldiers upon the company's books, and at length, when the ships are ready to sail, carried on board. The honest dealer receives two months of their pay, and what is called a *bill of transport* for 100, 150, or 200 guilders. In the two, three, or four months during which they are shut up at the kidnapper's, they contract the scurvy, a putrid diathesis, and melancholy (which break out soon after they come on board), and by their pale countenances, livid lips, and swelled and ulcerated legs, are easily distinguished from the others, who are healthy and sound. * * * Many innocent people, often of decent family and in easy circumstances, are trepanned by these man-stealers, and must go as soldiers to the East or West Indies, where they are obliged, by the articles of their agreement, to serve at least five years. * * * The Directors of the East India Company can neither be defended as not knowing of such scandalous practices that disgrace humanity, nor, indeed, be acquitted of favouring them at times. For as the company is often in want of men, and does not care to give better pay, they are obliged to overlook the methods used by these infamous traders in human flesh to procure hands."—P. 73, '4, '5.

Of the internal state of the honourable

* *Travels in Europe, Africa, and Asia, between 1770 and 1779, (to the Cape of Good Hope, 1770 to 1773) by Charles Peter Thunberg, M.D.; in four volumes. Third edition. London: 8vo edition, 1793. Vol. i.—Africa.*

company's fleet, the writer describes in most unfavourable terms.

"Theft can hardly be carried to a greater extent than it is on board an East Indiaman, during the time it lies in the Texel. Chests are broken open in the night and emptied of their contents, so that the owner has not a single rag left for shifting himself; hammocks and bed-clothes are stolen, insomuch that the owners are obliged to sleep on the bare boards of the deck: shoes and night-caps are purloined from the feet and heads of those that are asleep, and the sick have frequently their breeches and stockings stripped from off their bodies, so that those who slept, when they awake, and the sick when they recover, must run about in the cold bare-headed, bare-footed, and half naked."—P. 77.

Add to this, that these unfortunates were, according to the same authority, hard-worked, badly fed, and miserably lodged, and the mortality which took place annually in the fleet, is then amply accounted for. Some idea of the fearful loss of life thus wantonly sacrificed, may be formed from Thunberg's statement of what he witnessed during his voyage from the Texel, in the middle of December, 1771, to the Cape, which was reached the 16th of April, 1772. Each ship had above 100 so-called sailors, and from 200 to 300 of the so-called soldiers. On arriving in the Texel, Thunberg found that several ships which had been lying there since September, had so many sick and dead, "as to be obliged, for want of hands, to wait for a fresh supply, notwithstanding that they had each been sent out at first with more than 300 men" (p. 72). On reaching Table Bay, it was ascertained that on board Thunberg's ship 115 had died, including ten who perished before leaving the Texel, and two who had fallen overboard. The *Hoencoop* had lost 158 men; the *William V.*, 230; and the *Jonge Samuel*, of Zeeland, 103.—(p. 99.)

To resume the history of the colony. In 1773, its limits had extended in far more than due proportion to its population, who coveting yearly more and more land, had driven the natives from pastures which they had not even the poor excuse of needing for the sustenance of their own flocks and herds. This, however, they did not accomplish without some severe struggles, and a most fearful destruction of life on the part of the aborigines, who were hunted and shot like so many wild beasts, only with greater ignominy—the slaying of men by their ruthless and most savage brethren, being looked upon rather as the necessary act of exterminating venomous reptiles or loathsome vermin than as a contest with the

nobler animals, in whose pursuit there was danger to be braved, and glory to be won.

Looking back after the lapse of years, it seems scarcely possible to credit the existence of such an utterly degraded state of public feeling; yet official records and private testimony concur too exactly, to leave any doubt on the subject. Nor, while expressing the deep and just abhorrence excited by a course of almost unmixed cruelty, should it be forgotten that the colonists themselves were oppressed and surrounded by temptations. If Thunberg's statements are correct, which there appears no ground for doubting, many of them had been entrapped, in the first instance; and even supposing them to have come of their own free will, the regulations of the Dutch East India Company were, as has been shown, extremely rigorous, and enforced by heavy penalties; and while their errors were liable to excessive punishment, comparatively little encouragement was held out to them to persevere in well-doing. Many of them were unmarried, and lived in open concubinage with slaves and Hottentots; how could they be otherwise than debauched? they were slave owners—that alone would be sufficient to render most men indolent and cruel, to give them a distaste for the laborious and anxious pursuits of farming, and incline them rather to look to the increase of their stock, under the herding of their bondsmen, as an easier mode of acquiring competence and even affluence; they had many incitements to drunkenness in a land where the vine grew wild; and too little occupation for mind or body, to find pleasure in any but sensual gratifications. This is a fearful picture—the illustrations given in the following pages, will enable the reader to form some estimate of its general truth.

In 1772, Thunberg saw in confinement at Cape Town, 950 men, women, and children of the Bushman nation, who had been made prisoners about 150 miles from Cape

* Thunberg's Travels. English edition, 1795. Vol. i., p. 132.

† This assertion was probably a mere cloak for their desire of exterminating the natives. Colonel Collins, writing respecting the "horrors which disgraced the name of Christian in these parts," attributes them chiefly to the false accounts made by the burgers or boors—(as they were more generally and perhaps more correctly termed, inasmuch as few were by birth and education above the condition of peasant farmers)—to the authorities at the Cape; and thus proceeds to account for their ill-will. "An attempt to draw them (the Bushmen) into their ser-

Town. They had concealed themselves in a mountain kloof (the colonial word for cleft or narrow pass), and defended their home against a party of boors and soldiers by rolling large stones down upon their enemies. They asserted that they had been forced to attack the colonists, by reason of the Europeans making every year fresh encroachments upon their lands and possessions, and forcing them continually further up the country, whence they were driven back again by other Hottentots, or else killed.* "The Hottentots," he says, "are almost extirpated."—(p. 279.)

In 1774, the governor (Van Plettenberg) and council approved of an extensive commando devised by the Landdrost and Heemraden (local board of magistrates,) of Stellenbosch, and the militia officers assembled there, for the purpose of re-establishing in their "loan farms" certain of the settlers, or rather squatters, who having taken forcible possession of the best portions of the Camdeboo, Nieuweveld, Ilantam, Groote, Middel and Kleyn, Rogge and Bokkeveld districts, reported themselves to have been compelled to quit by the marauding incursions of the Hottentots and Bushmen.†

The expedition was divided into three distinct bodies or commandoes; one of which was "to assemble behind the Sneeuwberg, and to make the attack in those districts;" the second "to assemble at the Sax (Zak) River, and make the attack in the surrounding districts;" the third "to meet in the Lower Bokkeveld, and to make the attack in the so-called Bosjesman's (Bushmen's) land." "Ninety firelocks, 900 lbs. of gunpowder, 1,800 lbs. of lead, 3,000 flints, 24 handcuffs, and 12 leg-irons," were contributed from the "Castle of the Good Hope," in addition to the offensive weapons possessed by the burgers and local militia; a field-commandant was appointed, to whom, for the first time, was given the rank of cornet, and promotion was likewise conferred on the field-corporals.

vice having proved unsuccessful, and some losses having been occasioned by their disposition to theft, *a people not inferior in natural endowments to any upon the face of the globe*, were represented to the colonial government as unfit to live. A journey from the Cape was supposed at that time to be too great an undertaking for the purpose of ascertaining any point which concerned only so distant a quarter. The reports received were implicitly believed, and orders were given for unlimited commandoes.—Parliamentary Papers, 1835; p. 40. This testimony, borne by a writer by no means generally prejudiced in favour of native races, deserves particular notice.

In the event of the Hottentots and Bushmen not fleeing from their country, or giving it up on the combined attack being made, they were to be "entirely subdued and destroyed." According to the instructions given to the commandant by the local authorities, it was left to his good management, and that of the leaders of the other parties, to act "according to the circumstances and exigencies of the case, and to attack and slay them (the natives) in such a cautious manner however, that our own inhabitants may be as little as possible exposed to danger, and not rashly led to slaughter." The women and children would, it was expected, be captured in such numbers as "to become troublesome; the commandants were therefore authorized, if they chose, to release them, but were ordered to keep the adult and young males until quiet should be restored, when they were to be (at the pleasure of the commandants) released or else distributed among the poorest settlers as servants, without hire, for a term of years. The ammunition was to be "frugally used, not wasted, nor unnecessarily expended," as a satisfactory account would be demanded of the quantity expended. This latter injunction, repeated on subsequent occasions, in some measure explains the reason of the peculiarly cruel mode of slaughter, to be hereafter mentioned, which, according to Mr. Maynier, was occasionally adopted by the boors. The instructions to the commander-in-chief concluded with the following sentence:—"Trusting now that all will be managed by you discreetly, according to the duty of an upright and honourable man, the authority of the government maintained, and the best interests of the colony and of the inhabitants duly consulted, we will recommend you to the protection of the Almighty, and remain your good friends."* It would be out of place to do more than notice in passing the shocking impiety of commending to the protection of a just and merciful Being, men about to engage in establishing wrong and robbery by murder. The commando fulfilled its direful mission, drove out the rightful possessors of the soil, and the three companies, comprising in all 150 men, succeeded in surprising the natives, and firing upon them, killing 513, and capturing 241, with the loss on their own side of only one man. This and subsequent commandoes were

too evidently not battles but *battues*. Van der Merwe, one of the field-corporals, was charged by a burger named Schombie of having needlessly destroyed women and children, in the great commando of 1774; in proof of which the accused stated that having requested Van der Merwe to give over to him a wounded girl that she might be cured, he had refused, and caused both her and a little infant at the breast, who was also wounded, to be shot. Van der Merwe stated, in his defence, that he had not wantonly taken the lives of females and defenceless children, but that "a few who were mortally wounded, and who thus must necessarily have suffered a painful death on the field, had on that occasion been dispatched, in order that their death might not be still crueller."† The result of the investigation was that Van der Merwe was declared to have done his duty, and to prevent "the zeal and public spirit of the field-corporals from being damped, Schombie was sharply reprimanded, and fined for having brought forward what the board thought fit to call an 'unfounded charge.'" The children saved from the commandoes were registered as servants, or rather slaves, to such of the colonists as desired it, for the term of twenty-five years, and at the expiration of that period few had the courage or ability to claim their freedom; and even against this alternative their masters generally provided by tempting them to receive spirituous liquors, tobacco, and other articles, at the price of a renewed term of servitude, when the first should have expired.

This circumstance doubtless had weight in inducing expeditions from which much was to be gained, and little to be hazarded. They became so frequent, that in 1775, field-corporal Joubert applied to the council to excuse his men from their burger duties for that year, because their horses were tired with constant commandoes. The details of these are all nearly similar; some a little more, some a little less cruel, and more or less sanguinary according as the boors surprised them in larger or smaller numbers, for they never attempted to attack them in open warfare, and thus endanger their own lives; but having tracked them to their homes, in rocky caves or amid sheltering bushes, they waited till the dawn of day to surprise them, while yet sleeping, and pour in on them volley after volley until all was

* *Record*, pp. 29, 30.

† Extracts from Records of the Board of Land-

drest and Militia Officers. Stellenbosch. June, 1775.

still, save the groans of the wounded and the dying—then they entered, and counted at leisure their twenties or fifties slain so valiantly. Thus, field-corporal Jaarsveld, in a report of his proceedings, addressed to Commandant Opperman, relates how, having in August, 1775, started on a commando comprising in all about seventy persons, he had encountered a small party of Bushmen, and had made them presents, and assured them on the part of himself and his companions, of their peaceful intentions, the better to get them and the rest of the robbers into his power. The Bushmen, however, suspected the snare, and fled during the night, but the Dutch succeeded in tracing them to a place where lay the bodies of some sea-cows (hippopotami), which they had slain, on purpose to entice them. Here they surprised the sleeping natives; fired on them in the dark, and, “on searching, found 122 dead, and five escaped, who saved their lives by swimming through the sea-cow pool.” Shortly after this the same commando “surrounded another kraal (or assemblage of natives) and fired upon it, when not one of the thieves escaped, but fifteen fell upon the spot, and eight little ones were taken; two days later, after murdering in cold blood two Bushmen, who refused to point out the hiding-places of their tribe, they proceeded at night-fall to some caves, where a larger party had been followed by the Dutch spies, and, says the field-corporal, “in the morning we fired upon them in their caverns, so that not a single one escaped. On counting the dead we found forty-four, and took seven little ones.” Those poor “little ones,” at the close of the commando, which was soon afterwards brought to a conclusion by the “want of food and lead,” were as usual divided as spoil, and entrusted to the tender mercies of the ruthless murderers of their parents.

At the period now referred to, Dr. Sparrman, an intelligent naturalist, was engaged in traversing the colony. He remained there four years, from 1772 to 1776, and on returning to Europe, made public a fearful picture of the state of society; describing the government as cruel and tyrannical,* and the boors as leading most immoral and sensual lives, being very ignorant and very wealthy, treating their slaves and Hotten-

tot servants with extreme barbarity, but evincing ever the one redeeming trait of hospitality to strangers. The following passages express his opinion of their behaviour towards the Bushmen, and the spirit in which they formed commandoes against them:—

“The capture of slaves from among this race of men is by no means a difficult matter, and is effected in the following manner. Several farmers that are in want of servants, join together and take a journey to that part of the country where the Boshies-men live. They endeavour to spy out where the wild Boshies-men have their haunts. This is best discovered by the smoke of their fires. They are found in societies, from ten to fifty and a hundred, reckoning great and small together. Notwithstanding this, the farmers will venture on a dark night to set upon them with six or eight people, which they contrive to do by previously stationing themselves at some distance round about the kraal. They then give the alarm, by firing a gun or two. By this means there is such a consternation spread over the whole body of these savages, that it is only the most bold and intelligent among them who have the courage to break through the circle and steal off. These the captors are glad enough to get rid of at so easy a rate; those that are stupid, timorous, and struck with amazement, and who in consequence of this stupor, allow themselves to be taken and carried into bondage, answering their purpose much better.”

After describing the manner in which the kidnapped Bushmen are treated, Sparrman proceeds to show how the wild man of the woods, even though in some instances well fed and gently treated, sensibly feeling the want of his liberty,—

“Generally endeavours to regain it by making his escape, but what is really a subject for wonder is, that when one of these poor devils runs away from his service, or more properly, bondage, he never takes with him anything that does not belong to him. This is an instance of moderation in the savages towards their tyrants, which is universally attested, and, at the same time, praised and admired by the colonists themselves. * * * None of this species of Hottentots are much given to violence or revenge. * * * Some live in small societies peaceably and quietly, in desert tracts where the colonists cannot easily come at them, and are sometimes in possession of a few cows. * * * The slave business—that violent outrage against the natural rights of mankind, which is always in itself a crime, and leads to all manner of misdemeanours and wickedness—is exercised by the colonists with a cruelty towards the nation of Boshies-men, which merits the abhorrence of every one; though I have been told that they pique themselves upon it; and not only is the capture of the Hottentots considered by them merely as a party of pleasure, but in cold blood they destroy the bands which nature has knit between husband and wife, and between

* Sparrman speaks with horror of the gallows, with above half-a-score wheels placed around it, but adds that the gallows itself, though the largest he had ever seen, “was by no means too large for the purpose of

a tyrannical government, who, in so small a town as the Cape, could find seven victims to be hanged in chains.”—*Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope*; published in 1786: vol. i., p. 53.

parents and their children. Not content, for instance, with having torn an unhappy woman from the embraces of her husband—her only protection and comfort—they endeavour all they can, and that chiefly at night, to deprive her likewise of her infants; for it has been observed that the mothers can seldom persuade themselves to flee from their tender offspring. * * * This amiable tenderness is the very circumstance laid hold on by their persecutors to rivet the chains of the wretched female so much the faster. There are some mothers, however, that set themselves free, when they have lost all hopes of saving their children. * * * They sometimes keep secretly about the neighbourhood. * * * They wander up and down, less in fear of the wild beasts than of the colonists, and perhaps, in the end, fall a prey to some of those ferocious animals, or not unfrequently perish with hunger; for as soon as they have eloped, men are set to lie in ambush by the rivers' sides, which it is supposed they must pass in their way, and by this means they are often retaken. And though they should reach their own homes in safety, they may even then very possibly happen to be laid hold on by some peasant and carried into slavery."—Vol. i., p. 202, *et sequitur*.

"Does a colonist at any time get sight of a Boshies-man, he takes fire immediately, and spirits up his horse and dogs, in order to hunt him, with more ardour and fury than he would a wolf or any other wild beast. On an open plain a few colonists on horseback are always sure to get the better of the greatest number of Boshies-men that can be brought together, as the former always keep at a distance of about 100 or 150 paces (just as they find it convenient), and charging their heavy fire-arms with a very large kind of shot, jump off their horses and rest their pieces in their usual manner, on their ramrods, in order that they may shoot with the greater certainty, so that balls discharged by them will sometimes go through the bodies of six, seven, or eight of the enemy at a time, especially as these latter know no better than to keep close together in a body. It is true, on the other hand, that the Boshies-men can shoot their arrows to the distance of two or three hundred paces, but with a very uncertain aim, as the arrow must necessarily first make a curve in the air; and should it, even at that distance, chance to hit any of the farmers, it is not able to go through his hat, or his ordinary linen or coarse woollen coat. * * * Government, indeed, has no other part in the cruelties exercised by its subjects, than that of taking no cognizance of them; but on this point it has certainly been too remiss in leaving a whole nation to the mercy of every individual peasant, or, in fact, of every one who chooses to invade their land; as of such people one might naturally expect that interested views and an unbridled spirit of revenge should prevail over the dictates of prudence and humanity. I am far from accusing all the colonists of having a hand in these and other cruelties, which are too frequently committed in this quarter of the globe. While some of them plumed themselves upon them, there were many who, on the contrary, held them in abomination, and feared lest the vengeance of Heaven should, for all these crimes, fall upon their land and their posterity."—Vol. ii., pp. 143-4.

* Including that of Mr. (afterwards Sir John) Barrow, and various missionaries and travellers. The public punishments for slaves were probably still the same as in the time of Kolben, 1706 to 1713, when

The description given by Sparrman, and supported by much corroborative testimony,* of the barbarities inflicted by the boors on their wretched slaves, might be now passed over in silence, since, praised be God, the foul sin of slavery, in which they originated, is no longer suffered in British dominions. But it is well that men should remember, even in the present day, that the mere circumstances of having been born in a free country, bred in the habits of civilized society, and even baptised in the name of Christ, have not sufficed to preserve others, and will not alone suffice to preserve them—when no longer under the wholesome control of a strong government, or the restraints imposed by the opinions and customs maintained by mutual consent among the citizens of an old country—not only from debasing their bodies by sloth and debauchery, to a level with the brutes that perish, but from rendering their immortal souls fit only for association with fiends and demons. This is strong language, but surely it is justified by statements such as these:—

"I have known (writes Sparrman) some colonists, not only in the heat of passion, but even deliberately and in cool blood, undertake themselves the low office (fit only for the executioner) of not only flaying, for a trifling neglect, both the backs and limbs of their slaves by a peculiar slow lingering method, but likewise, outdoing the very tigers in cruelty, throw pepper and salt over the wounds. * * * Many a time, especially in the mornings and evenings, have I seen in various places unhappy slaves who, with the most dismal cries and lamentations, were suffering the immoderately severe punishments inflicted upon them by their masters; during which they are used, as I was informed, to beg not so much for mercy as for a draught of water: but so long as their blood was still inflamed with the pain and torture, it was said that great care must be taken to avoid allowing them the refreshment of drink of any kind, as experience had shown that in that case they would die in the space of a few hours, and sometimes the very instant after they had drank it. The same thing is said to happen to those who are impaled alive, after having been broken on the wheel, or even without having previously suffered this punishment. This operation is performed by thrusting up the spike along the backbone and the vertebræ of the neck, between the skin and the cuticle, in such a manner that the delinquent is brought into a sitting posture. In this horrid situation, however, they are capable of supporting life for several days, as long as there comes no rain, as in that case the humidity will occasion their sores to mortify, and consequently put an end to their sufferings in a few hours."—Vol. ii., pp. 342, '4.

It is now impossible to form any estimate breaking on the wheel, roasting alive, and the frightful tortures subsequently witnessed by Sparrman, were among the ordinary sentences."—*Vide Present State of the Cape of Good Hope*, p. 363.

of the number of Bushmen slain by the colonists throughout the long years during which they made war against them. One man informed Colonel Collins, in 1809, when speaking of the exploits of his younger days, that the parties under his orders had either killed or taken 3,200 of these unfortunate creatures within a period of six years; and another stated that the parties in which he had been engaged had caused the destruction of 2,700. The same writer adds, "they had acted thus in compliance with the instructions of a government, which not only violated all the principles of religion and humanity by the indiscriminate massacre, but even acted in direct opposition to the plainest rules of policy, and of common sense, by depriving the colony of the benefit which might have derived from so useful a people."* That the government ordered or even desired the extermination of the Bosjesmen, except in consequence of the misrepresentations of the boors, and at their earnest request, does not however appear to have been the case. Sparrman, as we have before seen, with more justice attributes great blame to them for suffering and even sanctioning the atrocities of the colonists, but does not accuse them of originating any. On the contrary, the official records prove that both the Cape and the local authorities did offer various remonstrances, which probably weakness alone prevented from being commands. Thus in March, 1776, the Landdrost and Heemraden of Stellenbosch, addressed an earnest remonstrance to Field-commandant Opperman, and Field-cornet Van der Berg, urging them to act with somewhat greater moderation, to be less vindictive, to oppose "almost needless commandoes, and to give the necessary orders, that henceforth there may not be so much unnecessary bloodshed."† The degree of attention likely to be paid to this counsel, may be judged from the postscript of an official report from one of the field-cornets, dated a few days later, in which the writer states, with undisguised vexation, "we have only shot twenty-three Bushmen, with three successive commandoes; thus we see that commandoes, according to the times, are now in vain."‡ That they were, however, actively continued, and with murderous effect, is too clearly proved by

the official evidence of Mr. Maynier, who, when examined by the commissioners of inquiry, sent to the Cape by the British government, in 1824, stated that on being appointed Landdrost of Graaf Reynet, in 1792, he "found that regularly every year large commandoes, consisting of 200 or 300 armed boors, had been sent against the Bosjesmen, and learnt by their reports that generally many hundreds of Bosjesmen were killed by them, amongst which number there were perhaps not more than six or ten men escaped (they generally contriving to save themselves by flight), and that the greatest part of the killed comprised helpless women and innocent children. I was also made acquainted with the most horrible atrocities committed on those occasions, such as ordering the Hottentots to dash out against the rocks the brains of infants, too young to be carried off by the farmers, for the purpose to use them as bondsmen, in order to save powder and shot."

The humane Landdrost endeavoured to prevent these commandoes, and establish peaceable relations in their stead; this the boors declared to be impossible, and even lodged a complaint with the government against him, urging that he neglected his duty of extirpating the Bosjesmen.§

It was indeed time, if even a remnant of the miserable people were to be saved, that a stop should be put to such indiscriminate slaughter, for the official returns of the number killed and taken prisoners by commandoes from the Graaf Reynet district alone, during a period of ten years—from 1786 to 1795—were 2,480 killed, and 654 prisoners; the annual average being 244 killed, and sixty-four captured, the proportion of killed to prisoners being four to one. At the close of the period above alluded to, the local government, not from any consideration of humanity, but from the most selfish and cruel expediency, at length made an effort to check, by something stronger than empty threats, the sanguinary proceedings of its subjects, and offered a reward of fifteen rix-dollars for every Bushman, Hottentot, or Bastaard taken alive, purposing to detain the prisoners thus captured, and compel them to labour in iron fetters at the public works for the remainder of their lives. It is true that these unfortunates, hunted to

* Supplement to the *Relations of a Journey into the Country of the Bosjesman and Caffre People*.

† Extracts from Official Papers, extending from 1769 to 1795, p. 52.

‡ Extracts of Official Papers, extending from 1769 to 1795, p. 54.

§ Parliamentary Papers relative to the Cape; published in 1835: p. 28.

the death, had retaliated by stealing the cattle, and even firing the dwelling of the colonists; but Mr. Maynier expressly declares that "experience has taught us (the Dutch) that the Bosjesmen had never burnt the habitations of the boors until the latter had commenced to set fire to the huts of the former."*

When the Dutch had well-nigh subjugated the Hottentots, and greatly diminished the power and number of the Bushmen, they commenced a system of robbery of the cattle and aggression on the lands of another and more powerful people, differing very remarkably both from the Hottentot and African negro,† and termed Kafirs, whose country lay to the eastward of the Gamtoos River, this stream being recognized in various proclamations dated 1739, 1770, 1774, and 1778, as the boundary between the colony and Kafirland.‡ The term Kafir, or Caffre (unbeliever), is an Arabic word, said to have been originally applied by the Moorish navigators of the Indian Ocean to the inhabitants of the east coast of Africa, and adopted from them by the Portuguese and other nations. The native name of the more southern Kafir tribes is *Amakosæ*, of which *Kosa* is the singular; their territory is sometimes called *Amakosina*, and appears to have at one time extended from the Sunday to the Umbashee River, which is about 160 miles east of the Fish River.

The *Amapondæ*, or *Mambookie* Kafirs, dwelt in the territory between the Umbashee River and the Umsimcoolu River, about thirty miles beyond the St. John or Umzimvoobo River. The *Amatembu*, or *Amatymbæ* (*Tambookies*), dwelt to the northward of the *Amakosæ*, near the sources of the Umbashee; from this tribe the *Amakosæ* obtained their wives by purchase. The *Amazoolu* or *Zoolus*, *Vatvaks* or *Hollontontes*, inhabited the country to the north and east of the *Amapondæ*, and, probably, far beyond Delagoa Bay. Each tribe lived in a feudal state, with an aristocracy of chiefs, who acknowledged, on extraordinary occasions, the authority of a sovereign or paramount chief. They had numerous petty chiefs presiding over a greater or less number of hamlets or kraals, each containing a dozen, or even two dozen families, who

were ruled patriarchally by their chief, assisted by a council of the elders of the hamlet; they cultivated millet and vegetables, but lived chiefly on the milk of their kine, and on the wild animals of the country. Whatever may be the diversity of idiom among the various tribes included under the general name of Kafir, it is found that when brought together, the natives, even where there is most apparent dissimilarity, after a little time converse fluently with one another. This and other circumstances, tend to prove the common descent from the same branch of the human family of the numerous tribes of the *Amakosæ*, of the *Amapondæ*, of the *Amatembæ* (*Tambookies*), of the *Amazoolu* or *Zoolus*, of the *Bechuanas* or *Sichuanas*, and the *Damaras*, on the west coast, beyond Namaqua land. And in their freedom from idolatry, strict observance of the rite of circumcision, abhorrence of pork, and several of their customs, may be traced a resemblance to the Jewish nation. The supposition of Barrow respecting their origin, is, that they have sprung from some of the wandering Arabs known by the name of *Bedouins*, who having made their way from the north-eastward, gradually traversed the eastern border of Africa. The Kafirs have no records, and little traditionary lore, but the investigation and persevering inquiries of the celebrated Van der Kemp, Dr. Philip, the Rev. Mr. Brownlee, the Rev. Stephen Kay, Justus (Mr. Beverley), Mr. G. Thompson, and others, have thrown some light on the manner and date of their occupation of the territory called by their name. The earliest chief in the annals of the *Amakosæ*, named Thlanga, appears to have migrated with his followers from the north-east, about the period 1470—1500,§ and settled on the banks of the river Kei, whence the Hottentots were driven to the southward and westward. The lineal descendants of Thlanga were, in succession, Goösh, Malangana, Isikomo, and Toguh. The last named had three sons, Gondé, Tindé, and Keitshé. Gondé inherited his father's chieftainship on the Kei River, and his brothers removed thence with their herds and followers to the coast, then inhabited by the *Gonaquas*,|| whose kraals extended along the Buffalo River up to the very sources Hottentot-Kafir race, who occupied the country not far from the Cape peninsula. According to native tradition, the *Gonaquas*, when the Europeans first made encroachments into the interior, were a united people under their last chief, named Quama: unable

* Parliamentary Papers, 18th March, 1835; p. 28.
† Barrow.

‡ Aborigines' Protection Committee, 1835; p. 636.

§ *Wrongs of the Caffre Nation*, by Justus; p. 64.

|| The *Gonaquas* appear to have been a mixed
DIV. VII.

of the Keiskamma River. The Kafirs purchased for a large number of cattle the territory near the sea-shore, between Fish and Sunday Rivers, and occupied the Zuurveld (now Albany). This necessitated the removal of the Gonaquas further inland, and they settled about the Zuurberg and Bruintjes-hoogte, whence they were eventually expelled by the encroachments of the Dutch settlers.

Gondé was succeeded by his eldest son, Tshio, whose younger brother, Mandanka, had been declared by his father independent of Tshio.* Mandanka removed with his people to the country between the Chumie and Kat Rivers, and afterwards occupied the banks of the Konap, and the district on the Great Fish River, opposite to where Somerset is now placed. Tshio, soon after his accession to power, sent his men to attack the clan of Keitshé, who, being defeated near the mouth of the Kalumna, Krumna, or Kroomie River, retreated to the northward with his horde, and has not since been heard of; this was about 125 years ago. The warrior who on this occasion commanded the forces of Tshio, was created by him a chief, and from him are descended the Congo family, since well known on the British frontier. Tshio was succeeded by his two sons, Galaka or Tgaraka, and Palo (called Pharoah by the colonists), who ruled in amicable conjunction.† On the decease of Palo there was, by mutual consent, a division of the Amakosé Kafirs, and Khahae, his second son, migrated from the Great Kei River with his followers, and settled near the sources of the Keiskamma and Chumie. Palo was succeeded in the Kei territories by his son, Galeka, the father of Khauta, whose heir was Iinza or Hintza, the acknowledged head of all the Amakosé clans. Khahabe died, leaving his second son, Zlambie, regent over the tribe until the minority of Gaika (child of Umlao, the rightful heir of Khahabe) should be past. Zlambie refused to give up his delegated authority at the request of Gaika, wherefore to prevent the onward progress of the Dutch, and unwilling to acknowledge inferiority, they moved eastward, and finding an improving country for their cattle, they continued retreating until the territories of Tzeeo, a Kafir chief, were reached. Tzeeo was as much disinclined to admit the encroachments of the Gonaquas as the latter were those of the Dutch; contests took place, and after a loss of men and cattle, the wanderers retraced their steps; some settled in the fine plains on both banks of the Great Fish River, and of the Keiskamma; others, still fearing the wrath of Tzeeo, proceeded in a northerly direc-

fore the youthful chief declared war against his uncle, and after several rencontres, made him a prisoner. He was, however, afterwards set at large, and settled in the Zuurveld. Gaika being the principal chief near the frontier, was subsequently erroneously treated as the supreme head of all the Kafir tribes—a mistake which has been attended with very unfortunate results. The sons of Gaika, whose names will often appear in the future narrative, were, Sandilli, Macomo, Cheäli or Tyali, &c. Jan Tzatzoc was the fifth chief in descent from Tindé, second son of Toguh; Botman, fifth from Cheou, second son of Malangana. Several tribes were broken up, and became scattered among various clans. The larger ones were subdivided, their numbers and cattle increased; some moved to the northward, others advanced westward into the Zuurveld, and towards the Zwaartkops River, near Algoa Bay.

I have brought this brief notice of the genealogy of the leading chiefs of the southern Kafirs down to the present date, in order that the reader, growing confused as to their identity during the long series of years, when hostilities or at least disputes and border forays between them and the colonists occupy so large a share of the annals of the country, may have some clue to guide him as to the relationships of the Kafir chiefs and clans to each other.

For more than a century after the establishment of the Cape residency, all traffic between the colonists and the Kafirs was studiously interdicted, from a not unfounded fear of the dangerous coalition which the latter might possibly form with the Hottentots and slaves; but licences to hunt elephants "towards the Kafir country" were occasionally granted. In consequence of the murder of some elephant hunters by the Kafirs in 1737, even this was forbidden. The prohibition was shortly afterwards recalled, and the licences granted as before, but trading was still forbidden, under heavy penalties, and the boors were strictly inter-

tion, where they encountered the Bosjesmen, by whom they were driven westward, until they reached the Atlantic Ocean, where their posterity became known as *Namaquas*, and their territory as *Namaqualand*.—Parl. Papers, 18th March, 1835; p. 43.

* It is necessary to remember that the eldest son of a chief does not necessarily succeed his father, but that more frequently the son of the wife of highest rank is the acknowledged heir—this question being arranged at the time of the marriage.

† This is the general account, but Kay gives a somewhat different version.—*Travels and Researches*, p. 160.

dicted from passing the Gamtoos River, which having formed the boundary between the territory of the Kafirs and Hottentots, was, in the various proclamations referred to in a previous page, adopted by the Dutch as their eastern limit.

The boors, as they grew more numerous and wealthy, became less and less inclined to obey the orders issued at intervals from the Cape; and, elated with their successes over the Hottentots and Bushmen, confidently hoped to find as little difficulty in dealing with the Kafirs. They therefore passed and repassed the Gamtoos River at their pleasure, and in 1770 the commissioners sent from the Cape to fix the boundaries of the Stellenbosch and Zwelendamdorp districts, reported "having found between the Gamtoos and Fish rivers, several families, with large flocks of cattle (some of them several days' journey from the loan places), wandering from one spot to another, and thereby defrauding the revenue of the company, and carrying on an illicit trade with the Caffres (Kafirs), with whom they had opened a direct communication." The council immediately ordered the Landdrost "to oblige every person beyond the Gamtoos River to decamp," and graze their cattle upon or in the vicinity of their own loan farms only, on pain of confiscation. This was easy enough to command, but to enforce was a very different matter, and one far exceeding the ability of the Landdrost.

In 1774, Governor Joachim van Plettenberg, in council, passed a resolution which set forth that covetous persons, notwithstanding rigorous and repeated proclamations to the contrary, having prosecuted a barter with the Kafirs for cattle, and some colonists having passed the boundary of the

colony, and made it their business to wander about "everywhere in the interior" with goods and merchandise, conveyed on waggons, carts, horses, or pack-oxen, thus causing many irregularities; the barter for cattle was again strictly prohibited, and every one was forbidden to settle, or having settled, to remain, beyond the Bruintjes-hoogte, or Gamtoos River; or to traverse the interior districts with merchandise or cattle, for barter or sale, under heavy penalties of confiscation of property, fine, &c." The Kafir chiefs on their part took every pains to prevent free intercourse between their people and the Dutch. Lieutenant Paterson, who visited Kafirland in 1779, writes, "the Kafirs are so jealous of the encroachments of the Dutch, that they strictly prohibit individuals from entering their territory; while its remoteness has prevented the States or the Company from considering it as an object of conquest." He found that there were then frequent disputes between the Kafirs and Gonaquas, "originating about cattle, of which both nations are extremely avaricious."* In the following year open warfare commenced between the Dutch and the Kafirs, in consequence of the disgraceful conduct of two inhabitants named Joshua Joubert and Petrus Hendrik Ferricira, who, together with a number of others, formed a large commando without any authority, killed a great number of Kafirs, carried off their cattle, and divided the spoil.† As may naturally be supposed, the Kafirs retaliated, upon which a great commando was sanctioned by the governor and council, 24th October, 1780, to take the field, and drive them beyond the Fish River, which was declared to be thenceforth the boundary of the colony.

* *Narrative of Four Journeys into the Country of the Hottentots and Caffraria, in 1777, '8, and '9.* London, 1789. Quarto edition; p. 77.

† In the appendix to Mr. Thompson's *Travels and Adventures in Southern Africa*, a sketch of the history of the Amakosse, or Southern Kafirs, is given, on the authority of Mr. Brownlee, a missionary who resided many years among them, and collated it from their own statements. He says, that the colonists, or squatters, who first located themselves at the Bruintjes-hoogte, not daring at first to oppress or expel the Kafirs, as they had done the weaker Hottentots, treated them for some time kindly, and both races occupied the country together and lived in amity, until a barbarous act of perfidy was perpetrated by the boors, who, according to the Kafirs, invited the Amadanka, or Mandanka clan of Kafirs, of whom Jalamba was then chief, to meet them on the west bank of the Great Fish River, for the purpose of holding a *palaver*, or consultation on some

public matter. The conference took place; the Kafirs were entertained with tobacco, and informed that their Dutch friends had brought them a present of beads; these were spread on some rush mats, and, while the Kafirs were eagerly employed in gathering them up, the boors retired to a little distance, snatched up their loaded guns from the place where they had been lying concealed, and at a signal given by Veld-cornet Botman, poured a murderous volley on the unsuspecting natives. Mingled, as they were, in a heap on the mats, very few escaped the massacre. The residue of the Mandankæ immediately abandoned the banks of the Fish River, and sought refuge in the Zuurveld, with the chief, Congo, and their countrymen of the Tindé tribe, and became the most inveterate in their hostility to the colonists. The Dutch seized 5,200 head of cattle: and the next year Dlodlo, the son of Jalamba, was slain in resisting the aggressors.—Thompson's *Southern Africa*, vol. ii. p. 338.

The Kafirs resisted this aggression by the only means in their power. Having no fire-arms, they could not meet their adversaries in open fight; they could only hope to compel them to quit by maintaining unceasing guerilla warfare; and as both parties contested for the two things most valuable in their sight, land and cattle, desperate border frays were made on either side, under circumstances of greater or less provocation, as the case might be, the conquerors dividing the spoil, and the vanquished consoling themselves with the hope of regaining their own with interest by another struggle.

In 1785 a circumstance occurred which clearly evidenced how little authority or even influence could be exercised over the scattered boors by their own government, and doubtless hastened the formation of the Graaf Reynet district, and a more extended system of surveillance, if not control. On the 2nd of May, the English East India Company's ship *Pigot* put into Algoa Bay (then called Baya a la Goa), on whose shores a few Dutch wanderers had located themselves, nominally under the jurisdiction of the Landdrost of Swellendam. With their permission, above 100 scorbutic English patients were landed and lodged at one of the chief farms. The notification of this event did not reach Swellendam (a distance of only 350 miles) until the 10th of July. Colonel Dalrymple, a distinguished British officer, engineer, and surveyor, who had been a passenger in the *Pigot*, hired a waggon, and was the first to convey the news to the astonished governor and council at Cape Town, who (the old jealousy of the English being stronger than ever), lost no time in establishing a new magistracy, of which the chief object was stated to be "to prevent any foreign power from settling at the Baya a la Goa.* The newly-appointed Landdrost was specially directed to cultivate peace and amity with the Kafirs, and to recal such of the colonists as should have migrated into Kafirland to the colonial side of the Fish River. The endeavours of the magistrates could, however, but faintly check the evils of the frontier system, which invested the field-commandants (so far as the unfortunate aborigines were concerned), with almost irresponsible power. These commandants, being chosen from the boors, held councils of war, with minds prejudiced

and inflamed, and then proceeded to carry their own resolutions into effect; they were generally averse to pacific measures, and had been long accustomed to acquire cattle from the Kafirs, and slaves from among the Bushmen, under pretence of procuring compensation for their losses. Mr. Maynier, whose testimony with respect to the latter people has been before cited, bears somewhat similar witness regarding the Kafirs, declaring (as do other authorities) that most of the disputes with the frontier tribes might have been peaceably settled if the boors had not always been so eager to form these commandoes, from which they expected to reap considerable advantage. He states most positively his conviction, founded on long experience—

"That the complaints of the boors about depredations from the Kafirs were often altogether unfounded, and always exaggerated; originating from a design to enrich themselves with the cattle they were in the habit of taking from the Kafirs, on the commandoes which they were allowed to conduct under no other control than that of officers appointed from their number, and consequently having the same object in view. * * * I recollect particularly to have witnessed on these journeys, the distribution of cattle taken from the Kafirs by a commando, under the orders of a certain field-commandant, Daniel Kuhn (who had been either a sailor or a private soldier, and after his discharge had intermarried with the family of the Ferreiras), when the number of cattle taken from the Kafirs was computed to be 30,000 head."—Parliamentary Papers, 18th March, 1835; pp. 27, 29.

Mr. Maynier added, that he had had frequent opportunities of observing the effect of conciliatory measures, with both Kafirs and Bushmen, and had found them invariably successful. The different Kafir chiefs and tribes generally evinced every disposition to maintain peace with the colonists. In most instances the quiet of the colony was disturbed by the acts of one or other of the colonists.

The best proof of the willingness of the Kafirs to preserve peaceable relations with the Dutch, is furnished by the fact that these latter, when in open revolt against the government for checking their lawless and barbarous proceedings, scrupled not to take refuge among the very people on whom they had been with difficulty prevented from making war. Moreover, Europeans in small parties did not fear to enter their territories, for we find that a report having reached the Cape that some persons belonging to the unfortunate *Grosvenor*, wrecked in 1782, still survived, an enterprising colonist named Van Reenen, actuated by the

* *Cape of Good Hope*, by J. C. Chase. Edited by J. S. Christophers. London, 1843: p. 58.

noblest motives of humanity, volunteered to go in search of them. Although unsuccessful in the object of his visit, Van Reenen made a very singular discovery, namely, that among the Kafirs were scattered "descendants from whites; some, too, from slaves of mixed colour, and natives of the East Indies,* who had formed the survivors of the crew of a vessel cast ashore at the mouth of the Lauwambaz, a small river to the eastward of the Umzimvoobo. In 1790 three old women still lived, and though sunk in the manners and habits of barbarism, they received Van Reenen gladly, and would have accepted his offer of taking them to the colony, but that they desired to remain with their children and grand-children till harvest-time, to gather in their crops, "after which, with their whole race, to the amount of 400, they would be happy to depart from their present settlement."† Van Reenen adds that, "they had very extensive and handsome gardens, planted with Kafir corn, maize, sugar-canes, plantains, potatoes, black beans, and many other things." The sweet potatoe referred to in the above extract, was probably introduced by the immigrants, for this tribe (at least, until very recently,) alone cultivated this vegetable; they are, moreover, distinguished by using fish as an article of food, although it is generally rejected by the Kafir race.

In 1793 a treaty was entered into between the border colonists and the Kafirs, and in a report made by Mr. Maynier to the Cape authorities, on the best means of preserving peace, he strongly enforces the necessity of checking the predatory incursions of the farmers, and not allowing them to enter Kafirland, either to shoot elephants, or on any other pretext, without special permission. The government, however, were too weak to support him in re-

* Van Reenen's Journal, November 4th, 1790.

† The Rev. Stephen Kay, who visited this part of the country in 1830, obtained from a chief named Daapa, an interesting account of his mother, one of the "three old women" discovered so unexpectedly by Van Reenen, domesticated in the heart of Kafirland. He (Daapa) repeatedly asserted that she was as white as Kay and his European companions, and his statement was confirmed by several other natives who had known her well. Her hair, they said, was at first long and black, but before she died (which was in extreme age) it became quite white. Whatever might have been her original name, Quma was the only one by which she was here remembered. She had been taken to wife by a principal chief, who, being greatly attached to her, made her head of his household. At his death, which was very shortly

straining the turbulent boors, who persisted in proceeding without his sanction (as Landdrost) on commandoes against the Kafirs, and daily shewed themselves more inclined to defy all control. At length they compelled him to depart, and organized a popular government, electing from among themselves a president and secretary who could hardly read and write, and holding meetings in avowed imitation of the revolutionary assemblies of France.‡ A commission of some members of the government came from Cape Town to endeavour to restore order, but after the first interview with the ringleaders, gave up the attempt as hopeless, and returned, leaving the boors to pursue their mad career unchecked. The excitement spread rapidly from Graaf Reynet to the other districts, and the rebel boors, assuming the title of "Nationals," deposed the Landdrost and secretary at Swellendam. A stronger power than that of the Dutch East India Company, was however, about to become supreme in South Africa.

Soon after the separation of the northern colonies of America from England, in 1782, the attention of English statesmen was directed to the growing importance of the British territories in Hindostan, and to the necessity of raising in the east a dominion and maritime power as an equivalent for that which had been lost in the west. A glance at the map of the world was sufficient to demonstrate that the Cape of Good Hope was not only a "half-way house," for vessels in their voyages between Europe and Asia, but that from its peculiar geographical position, it was, in fact, a military and naval key to the British possessions eastward of the Cape, including the colony recently formed in Australia. Holland, even before the breaking out of the French revolution, in 1793, had been a declining

after their marriage, his brother, contrary to one of the most stringent laws of Kafirland, insisted upon marrying "the white woman," whose popularity appears to have reconciled the whole clan to this step. By her he had many children, five of whom lived to years of maturity; to one, who in 1830 was still living, was given the name of Bess, an evident abbreviation of Betsy, which, in all probability, was the original name of one of the shipwrecked party, if not of the mother herself. One of the daughters of Bess married Dushani, the eldest son of the celebrated Zlambie, so that the descendants of Quma and her companions are now probably scattered over a very considerable extent of country.—*Vide Researches in Caffraria*, pp. 353 to 362.

‡ Lichtenstein's *Travels in Southern Africa*, during the years 1803-6. Vol. i. p. 372.

power; the Cape of Good Hope was a drain on its finances, and ideas were entertained either of ceding it to England, or making it a free port open to all nations, under the guarantee of the leading powers of Europe. When the spread of revolutionary principles compelled the Prince of Orange to retire from Holland, and it became evident that France was not only aiming at becoming an important naval power, but also at the extension of her territorial dominion and influence in India and the eastern hemisphere, where her fleets had become equal, if not superior to those of England; the occupation of the Cape of Good Hope was a matter of great importance to the latter power, lest that settlement should become the prize of the ruling authorities of France, and their allies and supporters in Holland. A military and naval force was therefore dispatched from England, with letters from the Prince of Orange, then in London, to take possession of the colony in the name of his royal highness.

The Cape people or Capians, as they were sometimes called, imbued with revolutionary views, and misled by the false reports of some emissaries sent for that purpose, were only awaiting the expected arrival of a French force to depose the existing authorities, and hoist the tricolor flag and "cap of liberty." The few officers of government attached to the cause of the Stadtholder, were unable to control the popular will; and the weakness of the government favoured the views of the disorderly citizens, who were clamorous to declare themselves, by some public act, a free and independent republic. "They prepared," says Barrow, "to plant a tree of liberty, and establish a convention, whose first object was to make out proscribed lists of those who were either to suffer death by the new-fashioned mode of the guillotine, which they had taken care to provide for the purpose, or to be banished the colony. It is almost needless to state that the persons so marked out to be the victims of an unruly rabble were the only worthy people in the settlement, and most of them members of government."*

The adult male slaves, who bore the proportion of five to one to the white men, having heard their masters descant on the blessings of liberty and equality, and the inalienable rights of man, naturally desired to participate in these advantages, and held

* *Travels in Southern Africa*, vol. ii. p. 165.

their meetings to decide on the fate of their owners when the day of emancipation should appear, which they were encouraged to hope could not be very distant. The timely arrival of the British fleet saved the colony from anarchy and bloodshed. The governor called a council to deliberate as to the course to be pursued in this emergency; some were inclined to place the settlement under the protection of the British flag, but the governor and a majority voted for resistance. The militia or burgher cavalry, whose numbers on paper were estimated by thousands, were called out in aid of the regular troops, and a few hundreds reluctantly obeyed the summons; but the self-styled "Nationals" refused to assist in the defence of Cape Town, declaring themselves alike independent of the Dutch company and of the English. The advocates of liberty and equality then proceeded to disperse the mission settlement at Bavian's Kloof, and to issue a proclamation containing the following resolutions, to which they obtained nearly 3,000 signatures, compelling many to affix their names without allowing them time to read it:—

"We will not permit any Moravians to live here and instruct the Hottentots; for, as there are many Christians who receive no instruction, it is not proper that the Hottentots should be taught; but they must remain in the same state they were before.

"Hottentots born on the estate of a farmer must live there and serve him until they are twenty-five years old, before they receive any wages.

"All Bosjesmen or wild Hottentots, caught by us, must remain slaves for life."

Meanwhile the British forces, consisting of the 78th Regiment, some marines, and two battalions of seamen, amounting in all to 1,600 men, led by Sir James Craig, landed under the orders of Sir Alured Clarke, protected by the fire from the shipping, which soon cleared the important pass called Muysenberg; the regular troops then retreated to Wynberg, an elevated tongue of land projecting from the east side of Table Mountain, and about eight miles from Cape Town. A Hottentot corps did some damage to the advancing party from behind the rocks where they were ensconced; but these were soon dislodged, and fell back on the main body; whereupon the burgher cavalry made a precipitate retreat to their respective homes. The sailors, having with much tact and alacrity drawn up some guns, they were

brought to bear upon the Dutch camp, and the Hollanders soon retreated within their lines; the English encamped on the spot from whence they had fled, and the fleet entered Table Bay. Perceiving it hopeless to attempt further resistance, a flag of truce was sent by the Dutch during the night; the terms of capitulation were settled on the ensuing day, and the British troops marched into Cape Town. Most of the members of the Dutch government who were well affected towards the Prince of Orange, and had conducted themselves with propriety, were continued in office,* those only being dismissed whose behaviour had been decidedly revolutionary; the missionaries were reinstated at Bavian's Kloof (afterwards called Genandendal), as also several of the Hottentots who had been summoned from the settlement to assist in the defence of the Cape, and had taken an active part in the late engagement.†

When these proceedings became known in England, the question arose under what tenure the new acquisition should be held? little doubt being at that time entertained either by her majesty's ministers or the public that at a general peace the settlement would be made over in perpetuity to England, as it was evident that Holland having lost one resource after another, was no longer able to hold an independent position of the Cape, being "neither rich enough to maintain its establishments, nor strong enough to govern its people."‡ It was doubted whether the charters of the English East India Company gave them a claim to the territorial possession of the Cape, or whether it should be considered as a foreign dependency of the Crown, and subjected to the same regulations as the other colonies. Until these points should be decided, it was judged advisable that the possession should be treated as dependent on the Crown, and its affairs administered by the executive power, as constitutionally responsible to parliament; but that the rights and privileges of the East India Company should be carefully preserved, and the advantage of supplying the Cape with Indian and Chinese goods exclusively conferred on them.

In May, 1797, the Earl of Macartney, a scholar of good repute, who had filled with credit several diplomatic positions, was sent out as governor; his lordship

was accompanied by Mr. (afterwards Sir) John Barrow (as private secretary), whose *Travels in South Africa*, first published in 1806, mainly contributed to diffuse a just idea of the actual condition, value, and capabilities of the colony. No small amount of administrative ability was needed, of judgment, firmness, and sound policy, to cope with the disorganized, seditious spirit, then rampant at the Cape. The settlement had been in the undisturbed possession of the Dutch for nearly a century and-a-half; it comprised four large districts, named the Cape, Stellenbosch and Drakenstein, Swellendam, and Graaf Reynet; was supposed to extend about 580 miles in length, by 315 in breadth, and to contain an area of 120,000 square miles; yet so little pains had been taken to ascertain even its physical conformation, that there was not a survey of a single bay whose accuracy could be depended upon (with the exception of a recent one of Table Bay), or a map, that took in a tenth part of the extent of the colony. So extraordinary was the ignorance that prevailed among the inhabitants, that few knew even the direction of Graaf Reynet, and still fewer could form any estimate of its distance from Cape Town. It was called a month's journey, or so many hours with an ox-waggon (then and now the ordinary mode of travelling in South Africa, camels having strangely enough never been introduced). Sir James Craig, who had held the chief command during the interval between the taking of the Cape and the arrival of the Earl of Macartney, roughly calculated it at 800 miles, which proved to be 300 too many.

Equally exaggerated notions prevailed with respect to the number of the inhabitants, it being currently reported that the three country districts could raise a militia of cavalry to the amount of from 15,000 to 20,000 men, when, in fact, the white population of the whole settlement scarcely exceeded 20,000.§ The monetary system was in a wretched state, and a large irredeemable and irresponsible paper currency had contributed to induce almost total bankruptcy.

While personally examining into the causes, and striving to rectify these evils at the Cape, Lord Macartney strongly felt the necessity of obtaining accurate informa-

* Barrow, vol. ii., p. 164.

† *Missions of the United Brethren*, p. 390.

‡ Earl of Macartney's letter to Mr. Dundas, then prime minister, October, 1797.

§ Barrow, vol. i., p. 2.

tion concerning the state of the distant parts of his government and the frontier tribes; for this purpose, as also to reinstate the Landdrost and clergyman who had been driven out by the boors of Graaf Rynnet, he despatched thither Mr. Barrow, and a detachment of soldiers. The clergyman, however, terrified or disgusted with the treatment he had met with, positively refused to return; and the Landdrost reluctantly consented again to place himself among a people who had more than once threatened to take his life.

Mr. Barrow so far succeeded in his mission, that aided by his military escort, many of the boors submitted to the reinstatement of the expelled Landdrost; but some, disgusted at the restraints likely to be enforced, instead of merely commanded, fled to Kafirland, under pretence of refusing to take the oath of allegiance to his Britannic Majesty, from a feeling of fidelity to the rulers against whom they had been so lately in avowed rebellion. Two of the most turbulent among them, named Pisani and Delport, were transported to Holland, where they represented themselves as martyrs to their patriotic principles. The internal state of the Kafirs was also extremely disturbed, war having broken out among them about the time of the taking of the Cape by the English, in consequence of a quarrel between the young chief, Gaika, the son of Umlao, and his uncle Zlambie, who, during his minority (as previously stated, p. 26), had been his appointed guardian. The cause of the quarrel is said to have been the refusal of Zlambie to resign the reins of government into Gaika's hands, upon the latter attaining the fit age; in consequence of which, Gaika resorted to arms, supported by his mother, Palo and his adherents, and some other chiefs; while the sons of Khauta, and his brother Jalulsa, adhered to Zlambie, and took possession of their former territories on the southern side of the Great Fish River, whence the colonists were too weak to expel them. At this critical juncture Conrad Buys, a fugitive colonist, fled to Kafirland, was well received by Gaika, and contracted (according to Lichtenstein*) a sort of a marriage with his mother. Zlambie was conquered and fell into the power of Gaika, who detained him prisoner for two years, at the expiration of which time he suffered him to

return to his people. Hintza, the younger son and heir of Khauta, was carried away during the night by some of his late father's retainers, and two of his brothers likewise escaped with life; but the others were put to death, and one, who was somewhat deformed, Gaika slew with his own hands.

Zlambie was in the custody of Gaika at the time of Mr. Barrow's visit, when he vainly attempted to bring about a reconciliation between the severed clans; Gaika declaring, on the one part, that he had not strength to compel them to quit the colony, and that, moreover, he had not the right, as the chiefs who led them were entirely independent of him; while they, on theirs, received Mr. Barrow courteously, but refused to place themselves within Gaika's territory. They admitted that they were aware of a treaty having been made fixing the Great Fish River as the line of demarcation; but stated that the colonists had, on their part, made no scruple of crossing the boundary, not only to hunt the hippopotamus and other large sorts of game, but had also used the Kafir side of the river as their own—had sown, planted, and driven over their cattle to graze. Indeed not only had the boors entered and used, without leave or licence, the land of the Kafirs; but some of the squatters of Bruintjes-hoogte had gone among the peaceful Gonoquas, taken possession of some of the choicest land, laid out the extent that each meant to occupy, planted vines and other fruit-trees, and, says Barrow, "making themselves certain that the avaricious and unjust views of the government would keep pace with their own, joined by twenty or thirty names that they contrived to muster from different parts of the colony, they had the audacity to petition Sir James Craig to grant them, as an indemnification for their losses by the Bosjesmans and Caffres, a small piece of ground on the Kaapna; and that it would still further oblige them, if he could extend it to the Kat River. This small piece of ground is [was] only about five-and-forty miles beyond the present boundary. The daring and impudent falsehoods on which the letter was grounded, were easily seen through by Sir James Craig, and their petition was at once rejected."

Hoping to put a stop to the constant aggression of the colonists, by establishing his statements narrowly, and even then it is sometimes difficult to escape being misled.

* Lichtenstein gives many details respecting the Kafir history of this period, but it is necessary to sift

limits—not only for the eastern frontier, but for the whole colony—Lord Macartney issued a proclamation in July, 1798, in which it was stated, that—

“—whereas hitherto no exact limits have been marked out, respecting the boundaries between this colony and the Kafirs; and in consequence of such limits not having been regularly ascertained, several of the inhabitants in the more distant parts of the settlement have united in injuring the peaceful possessors of those countries, and under pretence of bartering cattle with them, reduce the wretched natives to misery and want, which at length compels them to the cruel necessity of having recourse to robbery, and various other irregularities, in order to support life.”

The northern boundaries thenceforth were to be the Great Fish River, the Kachas, Tarka, Bamboes, and Zuur Mountains, to the Edele Heers beacon on the Zeekoe River; and the Bushmen frontier, the Nieuwveld Mountains, the Riet and Fish Rivers, behind the Roggeveld Mountains, the Spiou, Kobies-Kouw, and Long Mountains, the north corner of the Kamiesberg, and the Koussie River. These limits the colonists were strictly prohibited from passing. Any colonist found across the boundary, without a government pass, was liable to corporeal punishment and the confiscation of his cattle.*

However good the intention of this proclamation might have been with respect to the natives, it contained a repetition of the enactment which declared them intruders on the land from which having been first driven by commandoes, they had returned to cultivate and occupy; and confirmed the usurpation of Governor Plettenberg, in 1778. The position of the large number of Kafirs, hostile to Gaika, was thus rendered anything but an enviable one. At this time they were widely scattered under their respective chiefs, both within and without the stated limits. Some had joined Congo, others had gone towards the Zwaartkops River, still further to the westward; a third division proceeded in a northerly direction towards the Orange River; and on obtaining his liberty, Zlambie established himself in the Zuurveld, now Albany.†

The Earl of Macartney left the colony in 1798, and his departure was the signal for the standard of rebellion being again raised by the turbulent frontier boors, who imagined that with “the old lord” all power to restrain their outrageous behaviour had departed. For this conduct there was no

excuse, inasmuch as they had been treated with great forbearance by the British government; no new taxes had been imposed, and some old ones taken away, or lightened, and a considerable sum of money, in which they were indebted to the treasury, had been freely remitted. Their only grievances were the restraining their lawless wanderings, encroachments, and pillage of the aborigines of the land; and the protection and countenance afforded to the Moravian missionaries, whom they hated for having taught the Hottentots, of whom no less than 600 had assembled at Bavian's Kloof, the use of their liberty and the value of their labour, of which they had long been kept in ignorance. To such a length (according to Barrow) did some of the peasantry carry their hatred, that a party, consisting of about thirty, entered into a conspiracy to murder the three teachers, and seize and force into their service all the young Hottentots that might be found at the place, and they had actually assembled at a neighbouring house, intending to carry their murderous purpose into execution on the Sabbath, when all should be assembled for divine service. A timely warning was conveyed to the missionaries, who forthwith appealed to the British authorities for protection, which was immediately extended, and for a brief period they were enabled to exercise their functions unmolested.—(Vol. i., p. 311.)

While the boors were themselves committing all kinds of depredations and injuries upon the Kafirs, they strove to imbue them (and more especially the clans within the colonial territory) with fear and aversion to the English. The before-mentioned Conrad Buys is said to have fostered the same feelings in the mind of Gaika and his followers, to whom he represented the English, in most unfavourable terms, stating that the old Dutch company were inhabitants of a large country, and what they possessed in that neighbourhood, was only of the size in comparison to it, that a cattle-fold is compared with a whole farm. Then, taking advantage of the dislike entertained by the Kafirs to their roving and predatory neighbours, he said that the English were the Bushmen of the Seas, and had taken this cattle-fold from its rightful owners.‡ By these and other statements made by him and several more disaffected colonists and

* Parliamentary Papers, 18th March, 1835; p. 114.

† Kay's *Travels and Researches in Caffraria*, p. 245.

‡ Lichtenstein, vol. i., p. 328.

deserted soldiers or sailors, who had likewise found asylums without the boundary, the Kafirs were influenced against the British; that is, they were induced to extend to them the distrust with which they had long regarded the Dutch. Graaf Reynet soon became a scene of anarchy and disturbance. Even among each other, a witness, generally very favourable to the boors, and strongly prejudiced against the English, describes them as harsh, unforgiving, and so quarrelsome, that "out of ten near neighbours, nine would be at variance," the principal cause of dispute being the boundaries of their respective properties; while so violent were their resentments, that without the check of severe civil regulations, "it seemed inevitable that every generation would go backwards in civilization, and that they would at last sink nearly as low in the scale of human nature as the former savage inhabitants of the country.* The much needed control imposed by the British they made a desperate effort to shake off. The first avowed act of the revolt of 1798 was an attempt to rescue one of their most turbulent members, Zacharias van Jaarsveld, who had been pronounced guilty by the provincial court of judicature, on the clearest evidence, of having committed a forgery and appropriated some orphan property entrusted to the care of a duly constituted board for managing the effects of minors and orphans. Having failed in this attempt, through the courage of the dragoon in whose charge the prisoner had been placed to be conveyed to the Cape, they sent a threatening message to the Landdrost, informing him that unless he would not only release the prisoner, but also "comply with

all the demands they were about to make, they should in the first place seize upon his person, and either hang him before his own door, or deliver him over to some of the settlers against whom he had on a former occasion been the instruments of obtaining a decree of outlawry, and who were now living among the Kafirs.† A few dragoons being happily stationed at the Drosdy (district town), for the purpose of forwarding despatches to the Cape, the Landdrost was enabled to hold the undisciplined rabble, though ten times the number of his forces, at defiance; and also secretly to convey to the government, intelligence of his position. General Dundas, who had succeeded Lord Macartney as lieutenant-governor, immediately dispatched to his relief Brigadier-general Vandeleur, a squadron of dragoons, a few companies of infantry, and the greater part of the Hottentot corps.‡ The rebels, although collected together in considerable numbers, on learning the approach of the troops, thought proper to disperse at once, leaving in the hands of a neutral person a most humble petition for pardon. The General returned a verbal answer, desiring them to appear before him on a certain day, and voluntarily surrender themselves to his discretion, declaring that all who should fail to present themselves at the place and time appointed, would be considered in the light of traitors, and treated accordingly.

On the day fixed the majority obeyed the summons. General Dundas, selecting nine of the ringleaders, sent them on board H.M.S. *Rattlesnake*, then at anchor in Algoa Bay, to be conveyed to the Cape, there to take their trial by their own laws, before their own court of justice,§ and

* Lichtenstein, p. 369.

† Barrow, vol. i., p. 364.

‡ Towards the close of the first period of Dutch occupation, a number of Hottentots had been assembled near Cape Town; but being neither paid, clothed, nor fed, they exhibited a scene of filth, misery, and wretchedness, which rendered their presence a nuisance, and they were in consequence disbanded. Yet, as we have seen, the Hottentots suddenly collected from Bavian's Kloof, and other places, at the time of the expected attack of the Cape, actually made the only effectual resistance offered to the assailants. Predictions of failure were nevertheless made when the British government undertook the formation of a corps of upwards of 300 Hottentots, but the result was highly satisfactory. Lieutenant-general Sir James Craig declared that "never were people more contented, or more grateful for the treatment they now receive. . . . With the opportunity of knowing them well, I venture to pronounce them an intelligent race of men. All who bear arms exercise well,

and understand immediately and perfectly whatever they are taught to perform. Many of them speak English tolerably well. I do not find they are more given to the vice of drinking than our own people. Of all the qualities," he further observes, "that could be ascribed to a Hottentot, it will be little expected that I should expatiate upon their cleanliness; and yet it is certain that at this moment our Hottentot parade would not suffer in comparison with that of some of our regular regiments." This is but an extract from fuller testimony borne by a distinguished general officer: Mr. Barrow, who records it, says, "it will be no less satisfactory to the reader than gratifying to myself, in thus having an opportunity of adding, in support of my former description of the moral character of this people, the opinion of such high and respectable authority."—Barrow, vol. i., p. 374-5.

§ They were tried, found guilty, and condemned to death, but the sentence was still unexecuted when information arrived of the transfer of the colony back

levied on the rest a certain fine towards defraying the expenses of the expedition, which they had occasioned. Infuriated by the sudden check they had received, the boors, on returning to their homes, unable longer to restrain their savage tempers, wreaked their vengeance on their unoffending Hottentot servants, being especially maddened against them by seeing the orderly and efficient corps of this despised race, well treated, and respected as a valuable ally. The long-continued oppression of nearly a century and-a-half, was now to receive its first reversal; for the Hottentots, inspired perhaps with hope, by the very circumstance that had filled their masters with rage and alarm, fled from the farms, carrying with them such muskets and gunpowder as they could lay hands on. They assembled in large numbers, and commenced making open war upon the colonists; some went among the Kafirs, and incited them to join them, by the story of their sufferings, while others proceeded to ask the protection of the British troops. One large armed party met General Vandeleur, a few days after he had subdued the rebellious boors, and was preparing to leave the district, as he thought, in peace. Their leader, the afterwards celebrated Klaas Stuurman (Nicholas the Helmsman), stepped forward, and confessing that they had been on a plundering expedition, entreated the General to hear their excuse, and forthwith commenced a narrative of the injustice of the boors, who having first deprived them of their country, forced them and their offspring into a state of slavery; and stated, that being no longer able to bear their cruel treatment, they had resolved to apply for redress before the English soldiers should leave the country. Their employers, suspecting their intention, threatened to shoot them if they attempted to escape, or to punish their wives and children in their absence. In proof of what he advanced, Klaas called out a young Hottentot whose thigh had been pierced through by a large musket-ball, but two days before, which had been fired at him by his master for having attempted to leave his service. "This act," continued he, "among many others equally cruel, resolved us at once to collect a sufficient force to deprive the boors of their arms,

to its former rulers, and General Dundas, considering that the pretence of adhering to the mother country had been one reason urged in their defence, left the

in which we have succeeded at every house which has fallen in our way. We have taken their superfluous clothing in lieu of the wages due for our services; but we have stripped none, nor injured the persons of any, though," added he, shaking his head, "we have yet a great deal of our blood to avenge."

The further the troops advanced, the more alarming they found the state of the country; and the representations of Klaas, says Barrow, "were more than confirmed by our own observations." In illustration of numerous instances of cruelty which they witnessed, he records the two following as particularly striking:—

"Stopping at a house to feed our horses, we by accident observed a young Hottentot woman, with a child in her arms, stretched on the ground in a most deplorable condition. She had been cut from head to foot with one of those infernal whips, made from the hide of a rhinoceros or sea-cow, known by the name of *samboes*, in such a barbarous and unmerciful manner, that there was scarcely a spot in her whole body free from stripes; nor had the sides of the little infant, in clinging to its mother, escaped the strokes of the brutal monster. * * * She gradually recovered, and the fellow was suffered to depart, after making her a pecuniary compensation; had the wounds proved mortal [as was for several days expected], the perpetrator would, no doubt, have afforded the first instance of retributive justice for the numberless cases of murder that have been committed with impunity on this unfortunate race of men. The only crime alleged against her, was the attempt to follow her husband, who was among the number of those of his countrymen that had determined to throw themselves upon the protection of the English.

"The next house we halted at upon the road, presented us with a still more horrid instance of brutality. We observed a fine Hottentot boy, about eight years of age, sitting at the corner of the house, with a pair of iron rings clenched upon his legs, of the weight of ten or twelve pounds; and they had remained in one situation for such a length of time, that they appeared to be sunk into the leg, the muscle being tumefied both above and below the rings. The poor creature was so benumbed and oppressed with the weight, that, being unable to walk with ease, he crawled on the ground. It appeared on inquiry, that they had been rivetted to his legs more than ten months ago. What was to be done in a case of such wanton and deliberate cruelty? It was scarcely in human nature to behold an innocent boy for ever maimed in so barbarous a manner; and at the same time to look upon the cold-blooded perpetrator without feeling a sentiment of horror, mingled with exasperation. The fellow shrunk from the inquiries of the indignant General; he had nothing to allege against him but that he had been a worthless boy, he had lost him so many sheep; he had slept when he ought to watch the cattle, and such-like frivolous charges of a negative kind, the amount of which,

final decision with the reinstated Dutch authorities, by whom four years' imprisonment was deemed a sufficient punishment.

if true, only proved that his own interest had sometimes been neglected by this child.

"Determined to make an example of the author of such unparalleled brutality, the General ordered him instantly to yoke his oxen to his waggon, and, placing the boy by his side, to drive directly to headquarters. Here he gave orders to the farrier of the 8th regiment of Light Dragoons to strike the irons from the boy, an operation that required great nicety and attention, and to clench them as tight as he could on the legs of his master. * * * For the whole of the first night his lamentations were incessant; with a stentorian voice a thousand times he vociferated, "*Myn God! is dat een maniere om Christian mensch te handelen?*" ("My God! is this a way to treat Christians?") His, however, were not the agonies of bodily pain, but the bursts of rage and resentment on being put on a level with one, as the boors call them, of the *zwarte natie*, between whom and the *Christian mensch* they conceive the difference to be fully as great as between themselves and their cattle, and whom, indeed, they most commonly honour with the appellation of *zwarte vee*, black cattle. Having roared for three days, and as many nights, at first to the great amusement, but afterwards to the no less annoyance of the whole camp, he was suffered to go about his business, on paying a penalty in money, for the benefit of the boy whom he had abused in so shameful a manner."

Notwithstanding the veneration for "*Christian mensch*," expressed by the Graaf Reynet boors, their sanguinary dispositions were, in fact, incapable of understanding the value of human blood, no matter the character of those in whose veins it flowed. One illustration of this will suffice, and we may turn from the painful subject. Three fine young men had deserted from the 81st regiment; on their absence being discovered, General Vandeleur desired a farmer named Van Roy to arrest them, if he should have an opportunity, as his sons and people were abundantly sufficient for the purpose. The following day Van Roy appeared, and stated that he had shot the three deserters for the protection of his family. The General rode to the spot immediately, and found the dead bodies lying on the ground; one, at the distance of ten or twelve yards from the house-door, had been shot through the breast; the other two lay at forty or fifty yards' distance, and had both been shot through the back. From these circumstances it was strongly conjectured that the ruthless boor and his sons had waited at the door with their loaded muskets—that on the first being shot, the other two had attempted to escape, by which endeavour they afforded the Dutchmen the opportunity of taking a cool and sure aim. Of this, however, no proof could be obtained, and as desertion had already begun, it was

deemed advisable to let the matter rest. Van Roy escaped the judgment of an earthly tribunal, but was destined, nevertheless, to afford a warning to his fellow-men, of the retributive justice which, even in this world, in so frequent and remarkable a manner overtakes the bloodthirsty and deceitful. In the subsequent wars between the boors and Hottentots, Van Roy was shot through the head in his own house, which was afterwards burnt to the ground, his property plundered and destroyed, and his family reduced to extreme poverty.

The position of General Vandeleur and the British troops was becoming more and more embarrassing, especially with regard to the Hottentots. He had neither the right nor the power to compel them to return to their cruel taskmasters, and although great numbers of them would gladly have enlisted as volunteers, the difficulty would remain of providing for the old people, the women and the children. Klaas Stuurman thought the justice of the case very clear. "Restore," said he, "the country of which our fathers have been despoiled by the Dutch, and we have nothing more to ask. We lived very contentedly before these Dutch plunderers came among us; and why should we not do so again, if left to ourselves? Has not the *Groot Baas* (the Great Master) given plenty of grass-roots, and berries, and grasshoppers, for our use? and, till the Dutch destroyed them, abundance of wild animals to hunt? And will they not return and multiply, when these destroyers are gone?" Klaas, however, and his party, were prevailed upon to deliver up their arms, and follow the troops until some arrangement could be made for their future welfare.

Congo, the Kafir chief, and his followers, as also Zlanbie and his adherents, were less easily dealt with. Congo declared that the ground he stood on was his own by inheritance; that, nevertheless, being desirous of remaining in friendship with the English, he would remove eastward in the course of a few days; but that he would not, and could not, cross the Great Fish River, as "there was blood between Gaika and himself."

Meanwhile, such of the rebel boors as had refused to make their submission to Brintjes-hoogte, had, together with previous fugitives, so stirred up the minds of the Kafirs with false representations of the intentions of the English, as to induce

* Barrow, vol. i., pp. 396-8.

them to commence a system of guerilla warfare, and even to attack General Vandeleur's camp near the Bushman's River. Numbers were killed in this unsuccessful attempt; but about the same time, Lieutenant Chumney, with a detachment of twenty men of the 81st, returning from the sea-coast to the camp, was surprised by a large party of Kafirs, who fought them hand to hand with the iron part of their assagays, the wooden shaft being previously broken off. The young officer defended himself bravely till sixteen of his party were killed. Then, finding himself mortally wounded, and perceiving that the whole aim of the enemy was against him, he directed the four survivors, and a Dutchman who had accompanied them, to drive off in the waggon, and turning his horse, galloped in a contrary direction, followed by the whole body of Kafirs; thus affording an opportunity for the small remains of his party to escape, of which they availed themselves, and reached the camp in safety, there to bear testimony to the self-possession and the generous devotion of their gallant leader.

While these events were taking place, Barrow, who had been dispatched with about a dozen dragoons to Algoa Bay, found, to his great astonishment, that the whole of the boors, with their families, in number about 150, who had been plundered by the Hottentots, had assembled on an adjoining plain, with their cattle and the remains of their property, and were waiting in order to claim protection against "the heathens." The heathens, that is the Hottentots, on their part made precisely the same request, and they numbered upwards of 500. Each party vowed vengeance against the other, and a contest was with difficulty prevented by Mr. Barrow, who obtained from the *Rattlesnake* twenty armed seamen, and caused a swivel gun to be mounted on a post immediately between the boors and the Hottentots. Thus matters remained for several days, until a report circulated among the latter by the malice of the rebel boors residing with Congo's tribe of Kafirs, to the effect that it was the intention of the English to get them on board ship, and send them to the Cape, so alarmed them, that influenced by this false rumour many of them stole away in the night and joined the Kafirs. The consequence of this proceeding was that all attempts on the part of the English to restore peace were rendered unavailing by the general want of

confidence which prevailed alike between the Europeans themselves and between the different Kafir clans. Before a decided contest commenced between the boors and the Hottentots, part of the troops had returned to the Cape; the remainder, who were about to follow them, were detained and placed at Algoa Bay, where a small military post was established, which formed a nucleus for the peaceably disposed. Some time before these events took place, the celebrated Doctor Van der Kemp had attempted to form a mission station in the territory of Gaika, who at first received him favourably, as did also the Dutch fugitives living under his protection; but when these latter saw his earnest exertions to enforce with unflinching fidelity the necessity of reformation of life as well as of profession; they injured and annoyed him in various ways, shamelessly stealing his money and goods, and so prejudicing the mind of the Kafir chief against him, that they at length compelled his return to the colony. The fate of the men who thus conspired to defeat the endeavours of one, who, notwithstanding some striking eccentricities of deportment and errors of judgment, united to extraordinary abilities, the most childlike singleness of purpose, and almost apostolic zeal, was remarkable. Not one of them died a natural death: "Faber was afterwards hung in the colony as a rebel; Buis wandered about amongst the tribes, murdering and plundering until he himself was murdered. Botha was killed by the Kafirs at the instigation of his companions. The hut in which Bezuidenhoud slept was one night fired by the natives, and he was burnt to death. The Irishman (a deserter connected with the band), together with one of his children, was also burnt to ashes, while asleep, by one of the native women with whom he had lived; and Lochenberg was literally cut to pieces by the Amakwabi about the middle of 1829.*

On quitting Gaika, Van der Kemp went to Graaf Reynet, to attempt the conversion and civilization of the Hottentots, but was expelled thence by the enraged colonists, who fired several times upon him for daring to put Hottentots and Kafirs on a level with Christians. General Dundas then offered him any piece of ground he might think suitable, on which to form a missionary establishment, and urged him to use his great influence in pacifying Klaas Stuur-

* Kay's *Travels and Researches in Caffraria*.

man and his followers, who were taking a leading part in the warfare then desolating the country. In this Van der Kemp succeeded; Klaas entirely withdrew from the contest, and bore with equanimity the ill-usage of both parties, neither of whom could appreciate his stedfast sincerity. The united body of Hottentots and Kafirs, after spreading terror through the whole of the Graaf Reynet district,* and defeating the boors in the Uitenhage district, chased them to the Chamtoos River, and were met at Lochenberg's place by a strong body under the brave Tjaard Van der Walt, who was killed in the contest which ensued.† With him the affrighted boors lost all hope; some crossed the boundary, others fled half-way to Cape Town, until the progress of their pursuers was stopped at the Kayman's River, not far from Mossel Bay, by a body of English combined with the Swellendam settlers, who, although they had at one time shown much disposition to join the disorderly boors of Graaf Reynet, had been won by gentle and judicious treatment to renounce their seditious spirit, and had afterwards cordially co-operated with the British authorities. The truth was, that with the exception of the Graaf Reynet boors, the whole colony had progressed rapidly when released from the harsh restraints and oppressive taxes levied upon them by the now defunct Dutch company. The severity of the law, especially the criminal law, had been greatly relaxed; and the application of torture, the rack, and breaking on the wheel, wholly abolished, notwithstanding the strenuous opposition of the court of justice at the Cape, who urged that the use of these engines of terror was necessary to prevent the commission of murder, from which bad men would not be deterred by the prospect of being strangled with a cord. Contrary however, to this opinion, instances of capital crime were less frequent under the British government than

* The aborigines having attacked a party of boors, the latter fled at once, leaving their wives and wagons in the hands of the enemy, who, "on this, as on all similar occasions," treated them with respect, and despatched a Hottentot after the fugitives, to say that they would restore the prisoners for a certain very trifling ransom. Instead of joyfully accepting the offer, one of them recognising in the messenger a former servant of his own, in an excess of uncontrollable fury, shot him dead on the spot. Intelligence of this atrocious act was speedily conveyed by the companion of the deceased to the Hottentots and Kafirs, but they nobly released their helpless captives notwithstanding, declaring that they disdained to

in any period of the same duration for the previous thirty years; so much so, indeed, that one of the public executioners made an application for a pension in lieu of the emoluments he had been accustomed to receive for the breaking of legs and arms. Having therefore, had seven years' experience of British rule, during which nearly half-a-million sterling had been annually expended among them by the army, the navy, and the English settlers,‡ the Dutch learned with regret the change to be made in accordance with the terms of the peace of Amiens, by the restoration of the colony to Holland, in March, 1803; and when General Dundas passed along from the castle to the place of embarkation, escorted by Commissary-general de Mist and General Janssens, into whose hands, as representatives of the Batavian government, he had surrendered his authority; the road was lined with spectators, not drawn together to express the boisterous joy usual on such occasions, but rather to take a melancholy farewell of a just and merciful ruler. And such indeed had General Dundas been to them. Lord Macartney, during his brief tenure of office (about a twelvemonth), had taken the initiative in instituting a very different course of policy to any heretofore adopted, by respecting the rights both of the white and coloured races. One enactment of his with regard to the Bushmen, though unfortunately only partly carried out, was so far attended with success that it unquestionably influenced those wild and wandering tribes in remaining at peace during the whole of the hostilities which desolated the frontier in 1799.

The proclamation of July, 1798, after dwelling on the mischiefs produced by the constant hostilities carried on between the inhabitants of the Middle Roggeveld, the Hantam, and Under Bokkeveld districts, with the Bushmen, set forth the advisability of adopting conciliatory measures;

take away the lives of the innocent, but should soon find an opportunity of revenging this and other murderous acts upon the perpetrators. They likewise suffered English dragoons, travelling alone with despatches, and even a house which they discovered at Plettenberg's Bay to belong to an Englishman, they left undisturbed, though all the rest that fell in their way were burnt to the ground. This very house was afterwards plundered by the same party of boors, who had just before fled from the Hottentots, leaving their wives and little ones in their hands.—Barrow, vol. i., p. 416.

† Philip's *Researches in South Africa*, vol. i., p. 86.

‡ Barrow, vol. i., p. 425.

and as it was well known that the predatory incursions of the latter were chiefly occasioned by hunger, authorized the field-cornets to levy from the inhabitants, as a free contribution, a sufficient number of sheep to satisfy their urgent necessity, and also to provide for their future subsistence by the natural increase of the same.* The chiefs of the Bushmen were in future to be recognized and distinguished by metal-headed canes and brass gorgets, in the same way as the chiefs and captains of the other Hottentot tribes; encouraged to consider themselves as under the protection of the British government, and allowed to visit the governor at Cape Town, to receive marks of kindness and good will. A sufficient tract of country was to be traced and assigned to them; no expedition was to be fitted out against them, nor any violence committed, unless in actual self-defence; their habitations were not to be molested, nor their children taken from them, or made slaves or servants of on any pretence whatsoever.

General Dundas cordially entered into Lord Macartney's views with regard to the Bushmen, and formed similarly humane and politic plans for the location of the Hottentots. He cordially supported the Moravians at Bavian's Kloof, and, as we have seen, enabled Van der Kemp to establish a place of refuge at Algoa Bay. He had intended granting land to the Hottentots, and endeavouring to induce them by this means, and by presenting them with a few head of cattle and some seed-corn, to become farmers. Thus he trusted gradually to ameliorate their condition, and give them a permanent interest in preserving the peace of the colony, as landed proprietors; while the jealousy which this step might excite in the minds of the colonists would, he believed, be eventually overcome by its justice and sound policy.† The project of General Dundas was unhappily frustrated by the surrender of the Cape to the Dutch; and while the better class of colonists, knowing the weakness of Holland and the poverty of her exchequer, viewed with regret the departure of the English, the missionaries and the natives were inspired with apprehensions of a still more alarming nature.

* The good effects of this measure, which the Landdrost Stockenström most zealously entered into, were greatly diminished by the insufficiency of the quantity raised, and the thefts of other tribes.

† *Vide* Letters of General Dundas to Mr. Maynier,

Nor did the British government, on its part, relinquish possession of the colony from any doubt of its great importance, since of that there had been recent and convincing proof. The Earl of Mornington (afterwards Marquis Wellesley), when proceeding to India as governor-general, in 1798, visited the settlement; saw at once the importance of the position, and in a letter dated Cape of Good Hope, 28th of February, 1798, addressed to the Right Hon. Henry Dundas (afterwards Viscount Melville), dwelt forcibly on its high value with reference to the defence of our trade to the East, and of our territories in India. As a depôt for the maintenance of a military force in India, his lordship considered the Cape to be invaluable: to an enemy, in this respect, it would furnish every means of pouring in troops, either upon the coast of Coromandel, or of Malabar, in such a state of health as to be able to encounter at once all the inconveniences of a tropical climate; Lord Mornington therefore viewed with serious apprehension the possibility of the Cape being in the occupation of an inimical power. As a naval station he looked upon its possession as still more important, for the following cogent reasons:—‡

"Many ships in the Indian and China trade make the land upon the outward, and all upon the homeward-bound passage. The course of those even which keep farthest to the southward never is more distant from the Cape than two or three degrees of latitude. An enemy's squadron, stationed at the Cape, could not fail to intercept the greater part of our trade to and from the East, without being under the necessity of making any very distant cruises. We should find it impossible to check the operations of such a squadron, unless we could continue to send out with every trading fleet from Europe a convoy of such considerable force as must compel us greatly to increase our present naval establishments. The expense of fitting out such large fleets of ships of war, victualled and stored for the whole voyage to India or China, would be enormous; and here, in my opinion, is the point of the question upon which the whole argument must turn—which would be the heavier expense? to retain the Cape, keeping up a large naval and military establishment here, and using it as an outpost to your Indian empire, or to leave the Cape in the hands of the enemy, and by so doing incur the necessity of increasing to a vast amount the protecting naval force requisite for the defence of your Indian and China trade? The expense of the Cape in our hands, however large, must not be estimated as so much positive loss. There are two points of view in which that loss may be con-

dated January, 1800. Parliamentary Papers, March, 1835; pp. 31 to 35.

‡ See *Wellesley Despatches on British India*, vols. i. to v. Edited by R. Montgomery Martin. Published by Allen & Co. London: 1837.

sidered to be compensated by a proportional diminution of expense in other establishments. The army stationed at the Cape might always be looked upon as a part of the Indian force, and a corresponding saving ought to be made in the expense of your European army in India. Your Indian and China ships might, under proper regulations, be victualled at the Cape at a much cheaper rate than in Europe; consequently their valuable cargoes, both outward and homeward, might be increased in proportion to the smaller quantity of tonnage occupied by their provisions. Instead of taking six months' provisions from Asia or Europe, they need not take more than three, and the vacant tonnage might serve for an augmentation of their cargoes of merchandise. In this view a great advantage would result to the East India Company from the possession of the Cape. The whole of this comparative statement might be reduced to calculation, and it would not be difficult for you at once to estimate the several articles of expense which must be incurred by the public in either event, of retaining the Cape or of abandoning it to France.

"But I doubt whether, with the Cape in the hands of the enemy, it would be possible for you to maintain your Indian trade or empire, unless you could acquire some other settlement on the southern continent of Africa. This I know to be Lord Macartney's opinion; and if this opinion be just, the question of the expense of maintaining the Cape will be materially varied."

The governor-general added, in a postscript,—

"I believe the necessity of retaining Ceylon [which we had recently taken in the name of the Prince of Orange], is now admitted universally: with the Cape in the hands of an enemy, would it be possible to retain Ceylon for any long period of time?"

Practical experience amply confirmed Lord Mornington's opinion of the value of the possession of the Cape to Great Britain as a military dépôt. Foreseeing shortly after his arrival in India, that a war with Tippoo Sultan was inevitable, and that Tippoo was intriguing for the support of a French armament, Lord Mornington dispatched orders to Earl Macartney to send immediately Sir David Baird and three regiments, containing upwards of 2,000 men forming a Scotch brigade, to Madras, where the whole number arrived in the highest state of health, in time to lead the assault under Sir David at the capture of Seringapatam, in May, 1799. Again, when the governor-general planned the grand design of an Anglo-Indian army on the plains of Cairo, for the expulsion of Napoleon Buonaparte and the French troops from Egypt, his lordship sent to the Cape to provide an addition to the Indian forces, which were to meet in the valley of the Nile the regiments sent from England *via* the Mediterranean. So also, when Lord Wellesley designed the plans for the cap-

ture of the Isles of France, Bourbon, and Java (subsequently carried into effect by his successor, Lord Minto), the Cape would have furnished its quota of men or material. Notwithstanding these incontestible proofs of its value, the British government, influenced probably by their having taken possession of it in the name of the Prince of Orange, restored the Cape to Holland, who, however, desired it only at the instigation of France, Holland having little influence in adjusting the terms of peace.

Few events of any importance occurred during the second epoch of Dutch ascendancy. General Janssens, on first arriving to assume the reins of government, was joyfully welcomed by the most turbulent of the border farmers, who at once proposed to him that all the Hottentots belonging to Van der Kemp's missionary establishment should be seized; that every individual among them should have a chain put on his legs, and that they should be distributed among them as slaves.* This scheme met with a decided refusal from the new governor, who, hoping by his presence to restore order and bring about a better state of feeling, determined personally to examine the condition of the country districts. Graaf Reynet, he found, as the English had done before him, the seat of internal and external disturbance and dissension. "The chest of the district was empty," says Lichtenstein, who accompanied General Janssens, "the books of accounts were in the most lamentable disorder, the public buildings were destroyed, and presented nothing but a sad monument of crimes; the most important posts were filled by people wholly ignorant and devoid of capacity;" the former holders having been fairly driven away by the disorderly populace, whose "reciprocal irreconcilable spirit of discord and enmity towards each other, their wholly perverted ideas of right and wrong, their extravagant notions with regard to liberty, their total want of true religious principles though making much external profession of piety, their perfect ignorance, in short, of all the social virtues, had placed them in a most unfortunate situation both for themselves and the government." More than sixty families had emigrated, the Kafirs had re-established themselves in the whole southern part of the district, half the farms were

* Dr. Philip's *Researches in South Africa*, vol. i., p. 90.

forsaken and destroyed, dearth and murrain had followed, to carry misery to its height. To remedy such complicated and deep-rooted evils, was far beyond the power of any governor; but General Janssens did his utmost, by installing a most efficient Landdrost, in the person of the hitherto secretary of the Swellendam district, named Stockenström; by putting the financial affairs of the colony into a more promising state, and making many excellent arrangements for the local administration. The old and most impolitic regulation affecting all the country districts, by which marriage and baptism could be legally solemnized only at Cape Town, was removed, and these ceremonies were thenceforward to be performed in the presence of the respective Landdrosts. It is only surprising that so unwise a restriction had not been long before repealed, from the manifest hardship and even impropriety of compelling two people to come, for such a purpose, perhaps a month's journey, by the tedious and expensive mode of travelling then practised in the colony, namely, in waggons drawn by a team of oxen. Before leaving the frontier, the governor took great pains to reconcile the differences of the inhabitants, each one of whom assailed him with the bitterest complaints of some other public or private person, and endeavoured to make them understand that they owed their misfortunes to their own perverted views of things, and must act in a very different manner towards the government and towards each other, if they would wish to avoid a renewal of them.* The district of Graaf Reynet being found too extensive to be included in the same jurisdiction, a new *Drostdy* (Uitenhage) was founded in the neighbourhood of Algoa Bay, which, since the departure of the British, had likewise been the scene of much misery and crime of a very atrocious nature. General Dundas, on leaving the colony, had earnestly entreated Van der Kemp and his companion missionaries to quit Algoa Bay on the withdrawal of the British troops, and remain at Cape Town until the Dutch should take formal possession, and order be restored. This they nobly refused to do, declaring that since, feeble as they were, their presence, and the fear of the testimony they might hereafter bear, was the sole restraint on the conduct of the peasantry to the peaceable and unoffending Hottentots

belonging to the mission-station, they would, if need be, die at their post. And fearful indeed, were the outrages witnessed by them, though their own lives and persons were uninjured. The Hottentots had rallied round Van der Kemp, as the best proof of their desire to remain at peace; but the boors, enraged by their refusal to continue in their service, or assist in massacring their countrymen, not content with placing every obstacle in their way, appear, even at this critical time, to have given vent to their ungovernable passions, by shedding their blood like water. A poor Hottentot, on his way to the small missionary village then established near the Sunday River, called at a boor's house in Langé Kloof, of the name of Van Roy (a relation of the man who shot the three deserters), to ask for a little milk for his wife and child, who were nearly exhausted with hunger. The unfeeling monster seized the man, and bringing a loaded musket, ordered a Hottentot in his service to kill him; upon his reiterated refusal, his exasperated master, seizing the gun, shot him dead upon the spot, and then caused the other Hottentot, with his wife and child, to be murdered!

This, and many other enormities, were made known to Governor Janssens by Van der Kemp; of these an instance, recorded by the governor's private secretary, is one of the most atrocious acts of savage brutality on record.—“As soon as the English had abandoned the Fort at Algoa Bay, a boor named Ferreira, of a Portuguese family, made himself master of it, and kept possession until a detachment of troops were sent thither by the Dutch. Meanwhile the Kafirs, considering that peace had been made between them and the European authorities, and being anxious to preserve it, sent the self-appointed commandant a bullock, to be slain in token of friendship. The Kafir messenger put himself under the guidance of a Hottentot; Ferreira (whether actuated by a vindictive desire to revenge some real or supposed injury, or solely by diabolical hatred towards the coloured race), laid hold of the Kafir and broiled him alive; bound the poor Hottentot to a tree, cut a piece out of his thigh, made him eat it raw, and then released him.”† The difficulty of procuring proof sufficient to convince a colonial jury of that day, of Ferreira's guilt, induced General Janssens, in this and other cases brought

* Lichtenstein, vol. i., pp. 378, '9.

† Barrow, vol. i., p. 383.

before him at the same time, to take the whole matter upon himself, lest by sending the offenders to Cape Town, they should, instead of receiving a more severe punishment, escape entirely. This, at least, is the reason given by Lichtenstein for the award of so insufficient a penalty as banishment from the immediate scene of his misdeeds, and a command to live under the eye and control of the Landdrost of Swellendam.

General Janssens, though personally well-disposed towards Dr. Van der Kemp, from the circumstance of their having been school-fellows and intimate friends in early life, appears to have been in no small degree prejudiced against the mission, by the fact of its being supported by British funds; neither was he ignorant of the strong feeling of gratitude inspired in the minds of both the Hottentots and their instructors, by the active protection of General Dundas; therefore, while refusing to countenance the persecution of the boors, he gave little support to the mission. As it was necessary they should remove from Fort Frederick, Dr. Van der Kemp requested the governor to grant them another place for their establishment, but could only succeed in obtaining a tract which, from the barrenness of its soil, and the bad quality of the water, was very ill-adapted for the purpose for which it was required. The boors, who had induced General Janssens to select it, subsequently avowed that they had done so, "that the Hottentots might not find any means of subsistence in the vicinity, excepting in the service of the farmers."* To obviate the objections of the missionaries, they were assured that it was only a temporary arrangement, until a more suitable location should be found; a promise which was not fulfilled.

After the site of the institution had been fixed upon, the governor requested Dr. Van der Kemp to give it a name, remarking that he exceedingly disliked appellations taken from the bible. Pausing a moment, the missionary, remembering that he had preached on the preceding Sabbath from Genesis xxxv., 2, 3, proposed calling it "Bethelsdorp." The governor approved, and the next day, on learning the derivation and meaning of the word, and the advantage taken of his ignorance of the scriptures by his old school-fellow, he readily forgave it, and joined in the laugh thus turned against him.

* Dr. Philip's *Researches*, vol. i., p. 93.

Governor Janssens also visited the Moravian settlement of Bavian's Kloof, the name of which was, at his suggestion, changed to Genadendal (Grace Vale). He had some intercourse with the Kafirs, belonging both to Zlambie and Gaika, but quite failed in his attempt to reconcile their differences; he likewise made presents, and granted land to Klaas Stuurman, the Hottentot chief, and his brothers, and showed especial kindness to certain of the Bushmen, for whose welfare he would probably have made some permanent provision, but for his hasty recall to the Cape by the rumoured invasion of the English.

On the renewal of war in Europe, which the treaty of Amiens had but temporarily interrupted, the British ministry determined to attempt the capture of the Cape, before it should be strongly reinforced by a French garrison and squadron, then about to proceed from Brest for the purpose, consisting of eleven sail of the line, some frigates and corvettes, under the orders of Admiral Villeaumez, with whom was associated Jerome Bonaparte, commanding the *Veteran*, of 74 guns, invested, it was said, with a commission as commander-in-chief of the French forces and possessions eastward of the Cape of Good Hope. Self-preservation imposed on England the necessity of averting the danger which thus threatened her maritime supremacy and East Indian territories; and with the promptitude, efficiency, and secrecy which marked the brilliant and patriotic administration of Mr. Pitt, an expedition was forthwith organised for the conquest of the Cape of Good Hope, which, though nominally under Dutch authority, might at any moment have been made available by Napoleon Bonaparte, in the prosecution of his gigantic designs against England.

The naval force consisted of the *Diadem*, *Raisonable*, and *Belliqueux*, each of 64 guns; *Diomedé*, 50; *Narcissus* and *Leda*, each 32 guns; and several transports under the command of Rear-admiral Sir Home Popham. The land-force comprised the 24th, 38th, 59th, 71st, 72nd, 83rd, and 98th regiments of foot; 20th light dragoons; artillery and engineers, 320; East India Company's recruits, 546; in all 6,654 rank and file. A part of these troops were about proceeding on the tour of regular service for India, and in the East India Company's outward-bound fleet, they were, therefore, immediately applicable for this service without inconvenience. As transports were then always kept in readiness at Cork,

victualled for six months, the troops in the south and west of Ireland were embarked in a few days, destined ostensibly for the Mediterranean, but with sealed orders to be opened in a certain latitude, which directed that they should join his majesty's ships and the East India Company's fleet at Madeira (the appointed rendezvous for the whole naval and military force), and depart thence for the Cape of Good Hope. His majesty's government were informed that the Cape did not contain more than 1,500 to 2,000 regular troops, and those not of the best description; and that the militia and inhabitants generally, looked with anxiety for the arrival of a British force. Whereas the garrison in reality consisted of a strong detachment of Batavian artillery, the 22nd Dutch regiment of the line, a German regiment of Waldecks, and a corps of Hottentots, disciplined to act as light infantry; there were several battalions of colonial militia, and a numerous cavalry, composed of boors, well mounted and armed with long guns, capable of throwing shot to a much greater distance than ordinary muskets. There was also an auxiliary battalion of seamen and marines belonging to the *Atalanta* frigate and *Napoleon* French corvette. The former had been stranded in Table Bay during a heavy gale, and the latter driven on shore in Hout's Bay by H.M.S. *Narcissus*, which had been despatched from Madeira to St. Helena for information respecting the strength of the Dutch garrison, and arrived off the Cape a few days before the remainder of the British fleet. The Dutch could bring into the field twenty-five pieces of cannon. The defences which cover Cape Town had been restored and increased by the English themselves, who found them in an almost ruinous condition in 1795; they comprised a chain of redoubts, connected by a parapet, with banquettes and a dry ditch, extending from the Devil's Berg, a lofty eminence about 800 or 900 yards to the sea. Along the face of the mountain, which advances into the plain, were various enclosed works, and open batteries constructed to flank the approach; the whole mounted with 150 pieces of heavy ordnance and howitzers. The scarped character of the mountains rendered the heights nearly inaccessible, and one battery, with its protecting block house, stood 130 feet above the level of the plain, along which troops must move to attack the lines. Behind these, at the distance of

about a mile, and immediately at the entrance of the town, was the Castle of Good Hope, a regular pentagon, with outworks of sufficient importance to require an assailing force to break ground and attack it regularly. The side of the town towards the bay was covered by heavy batteries. To attack these formidable works, there was a corps of infantry, which amounted only to about 4,000 effective men, and a few pieces of light artillery.

The command was entrusted to Major-general Sir David Baird, who had distinguished himself by his gallantry at the siege of Seringapatam, in May, 1799, and by skill and foresight, as an officer in command of the Anglo-Indian army, sent by the Marquis of Wellesley from India, to co-operate with the British troops for the expulsion of Napoleon Buonaparte from Egypt.

The instructions of Lord Castlereagh, bearing date, "Downing-street, 25th July, 1805," are full, clear, and precise. The General was directed to summon the garrison to surrender, and then by a vigorous and immediate attack to avail himself of the probable neglect of due vigilance and precaution on the part of the enemy. Too much time was not to be wasted in negotiations with the inhabitants or persons in authority, but such favourable terms of capitulation were to be conceded as might appear best calculated to ensure possession of the place in the most expeditious manner, and with the least loss or hazard to the ships and troops employed on the service. In the event of failure, the expedition was to retire to St. Helena, there to await further orders; and not receiving any, to proceed to Fayal, and thence home. The fleet reached Madeira on the 28th of September, and St. Salvador on the 10th of November, with the loss of the *King George* transport, and the *Britannia* East Indiaman, which were wrecked on a low sandy island, called Roccas, surrounded by rocks, and situated in 3° 53' S. lat., 33° 54' W. long. The hulls, stores, and cargoes were lost, and Brigadier-general Yorke, commandant of the artillery, was one of the three who perished during the shipwreck. At St. Salvador the troops were landed for review, refreshed, and some small horses procured for the 20th light dragoons. The fleet again put to sea on the 28th of November, and in the afternoon of the 4th of January, 1806, anchored off Table Bay, Cape of Good Hope, beyond the range of the town batteries. The evening

was spent in reconnoitring and taking soundings along the coast, which ought to have been done during the British possession of the settlement. Leopard's Cove, an indent of Table Bay, about sixteen miles to the north-east of Cape Town, was deemed the most favourable and accessible place for effecting a landing, and preparations were made to cover the debarkation by the ships of war. On the ensuing morning the surf was too great to permit the beaching of boats; it was resolved, therefore, to proceed to Saldanha Bay, and march down thence on Cape Town, although the route was seventy miles long, and lay over heavy sand, destitute of water. In conformity with this resolution, Major-general Beresford, with the 20th light dragoons, and 38th regiment, were sent on the evening of the 5th to effect a landing at Saldanha Bay, the remainder of the troops and fleet being under orders to follow them on the ensuing morning. During the night, however, there was a considerable abatement of the violence of the surf, and although the armament was weakened by the departure of the dragoons, and a regiment of 925 rank and file, Sir David, after a brief consultation with Sir Home Popham, who was associated with him as naval commander, resolved to endeavour to effect a landing at Leopard's Cove, without further delay. The Highland brigade, consisting of the 71st, the 72nd, and the 93rd regiments, first made the attempt, and reached the shore in safety, with the exception of one boat containing part of the 93rd regiment, which was upset, and thirty-five men of that corps drowned. Some light troops, placed among the sand-hills and brushwood adjoining the landing, were soon dispersed by Major Graham, of the 93rd, and the disembarkation proceeded without further molestation. By the morning of the 8th, Sir David was enabled to commence his march towards Cape Town with his small force, mustering about 4,000 strong (of course excepting that portion despatched to Saldanha Bay), taking with him four six-pounders and two howitzers, which were dragged through the heavy sand by a detachment of "blue jackets," with their wonted alacrity. No enemy appeared until the troops reached the Bauwe Berg, which forms part of the elevated ridge or chain of hills intersecting the road, about four miles from Leopard's Cove, when it was ascertained that General Janssens, who was well known to be an able and experienced officer,

was in force on the opposite side, with the design of preventing the further progress of the British. The latter were immediately formed into two parallel columns of brigades; the right consisting of the 24th, 59th, and 83rd regiments, under Lieutenant-colonel Baird; the left of the 71st, 92nd, and 93rd, under Brigadier-general Fergusson. On attaining the crest of the Bauwe Berg, after dislodging the enemy's light troops, the Batavian force was seen in battle array on the plain beneath; their infantry formed in two lines, supported by the burgher cavalry, and comprising about 5,000 men (the greater proportion of whom were mounted) and twenty-three pieces of cannon, which immediately opened their fire. The nature of the ground occupied by, and the disposition of the enemy's troops, evinced the intention of reserving their right flank, and with their left attempting to turn the right of the British. Sir David frustrated their design, by deploying his columns into line, and with the right keeping the Dutch cavalry in check, while he threw forward the left, composed of the Highland brigade, which, headed by the gallant Fergusson, marched forward with rapid but steady step, undeterred by volleys of round shot, grape, and musketry. The enemy stood the fire of the advancing brigade without flinching, but fled precipitately at the moment of their impetuous charge, leaving a very considerable number, amounting, it was reported, to about 700 men, killed and wounded on the field.

Had the Batavian artillery been well served, the loss of the British must likewise have been very severe; as it was, one captain, and fourteen rank and file were killed; and three field-officers, one captain, five subalterns, seven sergeants, three drummers, and 170 rank and file, wounded. The want of cavalry prevented pursuit, and enabled the defeated foe to carry away the guns, which had horses attached.

After a short halt on the field thus gallantly won, the victors again advanced; but General Janssens, instead of retiring upon Cape Town, as was expected, took the road towards the mountains of Hottentot's Holland, Stellenbosch, and the interior, with a view of carrying on a protracted warfare until reinforcements should arrive from Holland or France. Among other reasons assigned by the Dutch commander for this line of policy, he states that the Waldeck battalion had retreated at the first on-

slaught, in confusion; that the twenty-second battalion of the grenadiers and riflemen were also retreating, although still attending to orders; and that the French, the dragoons, and the artillery, alone kept the field until ordered to retire. He likewise stated that the useful remnant of his troops was very small, that Cape Town had scarcely any defenders but its own inhabitants, who had sufficient bread* for only two days, and consequently, could afford him no efficient support; that by retreating into the town, all kind of communication with the country might be immediately cut off, and an unconditional capitulation, by reason of hunger, be inevitable.

Sir D. Baird made no attempt to follow the Dutch general, but judiciously pushed forward for Cape Town. The deep, heavy, dry sand, covered with shrubs, and the total privation of water, together with the extreme fatigue previously undergone, rendered the march most trying to the troops, who with difficulty succeeded in reaching that night a government farming establishment at Riet Valley, where a scanty supply of water was procured, and whither some casks of salt provisions, which had been hauled on shore through the surf, were conveyed by Sir Home Popham and a party of seamen and marines.

The British general, from his previous residence at Cape Town, was well-acquainted with the strength of the works, from which he was scarcely a day's march distant, and was not aware of the scanty force by which they were manned. He also knew the strength of the position of Hottentot's Holland Kloof, occupied by his opponent, and the critical situation in which he might be placed with regard to supplies. No wonder, then, that in after times, Sir David Baird should have frequently declared the night spent at Riet Valley to have been one of the most anxious of his life.† On the following morning the British marched to within a short distance from the lines, and took up a position in the neighbourhood of a narrow inlet of the sea called the Salt River, whereby communication could be kept up with the fleet, on which they were entirely dependent for supplies, where also some additional guns, and a reinforcement of seamen and marines, might be

landed, to aid in the contemplated attack. The inhabitants were not disposed to await an assault; the commandant of Cape Town soon sent a flag of truce to the British head-quarters, and proposed an armistice for forty-eight hours, to give time to negotiate a capitulation. In reply to this overture, Sir D. Baird (feeling that every moment was rendered important by the uncertainty of his communication with the fleet), required possession of the lines or out-works of the town, within six hours; but offered a further suspension of arms for thirty-six hours, to arrange terms. These conditions were acceded to, and Fort de Knokke, the principal work on the lines, was immediately occupied by the 59th regiment. The capitulation was soon arranged; under it the burghers and other inhabitants were confirmed in their rights and privileges; those who had borne arms were allowed to return to their homes; the regular troops in garrison, together with the French seamen and marines, became prisoners of war (such officers as were domesticated in the town having liberty to remain there on *parole*); the paper-money, which formed the principal part of the circulating medium, was to remain current until the pleasure of the British sovereign should be known. Again the standard of England waved over the castle of Good Hope, and our fleet took up the usual anchorage inside the bay. The colonial militia was disarmed, and a corps of Hottentot infantry enrolled (13th January, 1806), to be paid and subsisted on the same footing as other infantry regiments. The civil officers and others in the service of the late Dutch government, and the principal inhabitants of the settlement, were required forthwith to take an oath of allegiance to his Britannic Majesty, and a proclamation was issued, announcing to the colonists generally the capture of Cape Town, assuring them of protection, if they demeaned themselves peaceably, reminding them of the uninterrupted prosperity previously experienced under the English administration, and warning them of the horrors and miseries of warfare, to which they would inevitably be exposed by joining or aiding General Janssens. Simultaneously with these and other measures for the speedy

* The two preceding wheat harvests had been very scanty, and so great was the consequent scarcity of bread, that each citizen of Cape Town was limited to a certain weekly allowance, according to the number

of his family, and at great entertainments the bread was wholly omitted, or else each guest brought his own with him.—Lichtenstein, vol. ii., p. 121.

† *Life of Sir David Baird*, in two volumes; 1832.

and bloodless subjection of the colony, Symond's Town at False Bay, Muysenberg and Wynberg were occupied by our troops; and on the 13th, Brigadier-general Beresford was ordered, with the 59th and 72nd regiments, and a detachment accompanied by four six-pounders and two howitzers, to Stellenbosch, twenty miles from Cape Town, by which means the country was kept open for the supply of provisions.

The Dutch commander, although much respected by the colonists for his bravery and kind-heartedness, soon found himself isolated; his little force (after the dismissal of the country militia and burgher cavalry), of about 1,200 regular troops, and twenty to thirty pieces of cannon, was daily lessened by desertion; and although his position at Hottentot's Holland Kloof was almost impregnable in front, it was assailable on the right by a circuitous route through the Roodezand (red sand) Kloof, and on the left by a force landing from False Bay. On the 11th of January, Sir D. Baird transmitted a letter to General Janssens, pointing out the fatal consequences of a fruitless contest with a superior force, by which misery and ruin would be entailed on the peaceable and well-disposed settlers, and appealing to his known humanity to stop a further effusion of blood, and the desolation of the country. This communication led to an armistice; the Dutch held a council of war, and deputed their general, on the 16th, to meet Brigadier-general Beresford, who demanded a surrender of arms; this was refused, and the leaders separated without coming to terms. Sir D. Baird then proceeded to the camp of Brigadier-general Beresford; the 59th and 72nd regiments were moved to Roodezand Kloof, the 83rd sailed on the 16th for Mossel Bay, to cut off the enemy from approaching Swellendam, and at four a.m., on the 17th, one Scotch regiment, with two pieces of artillery, and a battalion of the 20th dragoons, advanced to the out-posts, pitched their camp, and prepared for the assault. "The bitter draught," says General Janssens, in his despatch to the Dutch government, dated Cape Town, 27th January, 1806, "was now to be drunk, and a letter was forwarded to acquaint the British general, Beresford, that a capitulation would be entered into." Another conference took place between the

hostile commanders, at which Sir D. Baird refused to consent to any change in the conditions which he had originally proposed, and they were finally agreed to. By the second capitulation, the whole colony of the Cape of Good Hope and its dependencies, and all the rights and privileges held and exercised by the Batavian government, were surrendered to his Britannic majesty; the Batavian troops were to march from their camp, within three days, to Symond's Town (on the shores of False Bay), with guns, arms, and baggage, and the honours of war, retaining their private property, and the officers their swords and horses; but the arms of the troops, and public property of every description, including the cavalry and artillery horses, were to be given up. The troops, who had maintained their fidelity to General Janssens, in consequence of their gallant conduct, were to be sent direct to Holland, at the expense of the British government, without being considered prisoners of war, but under an engagement not to serve against the British sovereign, or his allies, until after landing in their own country. The Hottentots under arms were permitted either to return to their homes, or to enter his majesty's service; and all the inhabitants of the colony were to participate in the terms granted to the inhabitants of Cape Town.* As soon as the Dutch troops were removed, Sir D. Baird heard of the intended arrival of the French fleet before adverted to (p. 42). By this time the English naval and military force was much reduced, the troops and ships destined for the East Indies having proceeded thither, and the vessels in Table Bay consisting only of the aforesaid *Dia-dem* and *Diomède*, *Leda* and *Narcissus*, and a few gun-brigs. To meet the expected attack of six or seven large ships of the line, besides lesser vessels, this small fleet took up a defensive position, so that the heavy shore batteries commanding the anchorage might have a clear range for the red-hot shot, while the French would be exposed to a cross and raking fire. In order to prevent a scarcity of food in Cape Town, all duties were repealed on the importation of grain; the "grain commission," which had been entrusted under the Dutch with the duty of storing and preserving corn under arbitrary and ever-changing proclamations of the

* For fuller particulars as to the capture and subsequent events, see the *Biography of Sir D. Baird*, and the proclamations and orders drawn up by a dis-

tinguished officer, Captain (afterwards Sir James Carmichael) Smyth, of the Royal Engineers, whom Sir D. Baird appointed colonial-secretary.

legislature, was remodelled, and a new law made, providing that the government should receive into store, wheat of a certain quality at sixty rix-dollars per muid, and issue the same at the rate of eighty rix-dollars; such rates to be revised at intervals according to the circumstances of the colony, and the state of agriculture. Many farmers were thus induced to bring forward concealed stores of corn, prices fell, and the fear of famine was dissipated. Thus prepared, the British awaited with confidence the arrival of the French fleet, but Admiral Villeaumez having learned during his voyage the conquest of the settlement, altered his course and sailed for the West Indies.

The next important event in the history of the colony, was the abolition by Great Britain of the slave carrying trade as far as her own territories were concerned. During our former occupation of the Cape, from 1795 to 1802, some cargoes had been imported, although the traffic was then becoming viewed in its true light. Slaves were also landed in 1807, one year after the second capture, and one year previous to the abolition, which took place in 1808, and doubtless influenced the minds and manners of the inhabitants, though at that period no idea was entertained of the emancipation of the slaves then in the colony, whose numbers yearly increased, notwithstanding the diminution occasioned by death and manumission. Various ordinances were enacted by which their social condition was greatly ameliorated, and due provision made for the instruction of their children in the duties of religion. That the same care was not extended to the poor Hottentots, was a great error on the part of the local legislature. Judicious grants of land, of which if fairly distributed and properly cultivated, there was abundance for the agricultural and pastoral wants both of the original proprietors and colonists, might have done much to render the former a contented and valuable class of British subjects. But so far was this from being the case, that while the farms of the settlers varied in extent from 5,000 to 10,000 acres, the aborigine could not obtain a legal title to a single rood. Nor was this all: the disposal of his only property, the labour of his lands, was not under his own control. The old Dutch laws remained in force, and he, his wife, and children, were compelled to labour for a miserable pittance, often withheld from

them on some unjust pretext. The benevolent plans conceived during the former administration appear to have been quite unthought of; and the Hottentots, cruelly disappointed at the treatment they received, declared that the English were no longer the same people as under General Dundas. The boers having made peace with the government, resumed, at least to some extent, their previous oppressive and tyrannical conduct. The remonstrances of the missionaries, and the touching appeals of some Hottentots, who, escaping from the houses of their masters in the dead of night, succeeded in obtaining a hearing from the then governor, the courteous and benevolent Earl of Caledon, induced the sending of Colonel Collins in 1809, as commissioner, to examine into the condition of the country districts, with regard to the coloured races. The result proved most unfortunate to the people whom the visit was designed to benefit. Colonel Collins could not but perceive the necessity of extending legal protection to the Hottentots, but by a strange contradiction he appears to have solicited and followed the advice of those very local authorities—the Landdrost Cuyler and others—who had been long openly accused of oppressing them for their own purposes—as to the most efficient mode of benefiting them. The consequence of his report and suggestions to Lord Caledon was not to loosen their chains, but rather to rivet them more closely, by a proclamation which restricted them to fixed habitations, prohibited them from passing from place to place without a written permission granted for a limited time, failing which they would be liable to be treated as vagabonds or deserters if they attempted to travel about even in search of employment. Therefore, though some of the provisions of this proclamation were good, as for instance those which regulated the terms and period of their service to the farmers, yet so completely were they neutralized by others, and especially by the “law of passes” above referred to, that the practical working of the whole left the Hottentots no option but that of changing one service for another; afforded them no security for any small property they might acquire by their industry, and tacitly forbade their holding land, though it purported to deal with them as a free people.

At this period, one small Hottentot horde still retained its independence. It will be remembered that in 1803, General Janssens,

in consideration of the essential service rendered by Klaas Stuurman, in the pacification of his insurgent countrymen, had allotted to him, his three brothers, and their retainers, a tract of land on the Little Chamtoos or Gamtoos River, in the Uitenhage district. Klaas was killed shortly after by the explosion of his gun while hunting the buffalo, and was succeeded as chief of the kraal by his brother David. The boors, who had from the first objected most strongly to the existence of an independent Hottentot community, however small, watched their proceedings with most jealous scrutiny, and endeavoured by every possible means to have them dispersed and reduced to the same state of servitude as the rest of their nation. They filled the ears of Colonel Collins with calumnies, which he appears to have both received and repeated as truths, without examination; while he would scarcely listen to the testimony of Dr. Van der Kemp and other persons intimately acquainted with the facts of the case. At length the long desired opportunity arrived; two Hottentots belonging to the kraal, having served a farmer for a stipulated period, desired to return home, and on their master (as was too frequently the case) refusing his permission, they departed without it. The boor followed, and demanded them from Stuurman, who declined to deliver them up; he therefore appealed to the nearest field-cornet, who accompanied him the next day at the head of a party of armed colonists to take the fugitives by force. Stuurman, on the approach of this band, drew up his men, and warned the field-cornet that if he attempted to enter his kraal in arms he would fire upon him; and there the matter ended for a time. A report of his contumacious conduct was made to the Landdrost Cuyler, who peremptorily summoned the Hottentot chief to appear before him to answer for his conduct, which the latter, apprehensive probably for his personal safety, refused to do, and thus afforded a pretext for his arrest and the destruction of his kraal, which was effected by a most unworthy stratagem. A heemrad (member of the Heemraden or Landdrost's council), having acquired Stuurman's confidence, enticed him and some of his most trusty followers into his house, under pretence of needing their assistance to recover some cattle stolen by the Kafirs. They were made prisoners; their families and others of the kraal were distributed by the Landdrost asservants among the neigh-

bouring boors; but some fled into Kafirland, and a few, at the earnest request of Dr. Van der Kemp, were suffered to establish themselves at Bethelsdorp. A grant of the land was solicited and obtained by Cuyler himself, who moreover kept in his own employment, without any legal agreement, four of the children of the Stuurmans, until after the arrival of the commissioners of inquiry, in 1823. The chief, his brother, and two others, were tried at the Cape for resistance to the civil authorities of the district, and condemned to work in irons for life at Robben Island. From thence they escaped some years after, and made their way through the colony (a distance of above 600 miles) into Kafirland. Stuurman earnestly petitioned the Landdrost through Mr. Read, the missionary, to grant him permission to return to his family, but without avail. After waiting three years the unhappy chief ventured into the colony, was discovered, recaptured, and sent prisoner to Cape Town, whence, after having been kept in close confinement until 1823, he was finally transported to New South Wales. His mournful story having been made public by the good and gifted poet, Thomas Pringle, in 1826, attracted the notice of General Bourke, through whose intervention some improvement was made in the condition of poor Stuurman, and in 1831, the Colonial Office sanctioned his return to his native land; but the permission came too late, the banished chief had died in the hospital at Sydney a year before.

About a twelvemonth after the destruction of Stuurman's kraal, a letter written by Mr. Read containing an account of two or three flagrant instances of the barbarous oppression exercised by the boors over the Hottentots, and seriously involving the characters of the Landdrost (Major Cuyler,) and the field-cornet of Uitenhage, was published in England, and produced considerable excitement, which reacted on the colony, and induced Lord Caledon to summon Dr. Van der Kemp and Mr. Read from Bethelsdorp to Cape Town. They laid before him statements of "upwards of 100 murders, with very many cases of maltreatment,"* and instances of cattle and wages being wrongfully withheld; on hearing which his lordship appointed a special commission to investigate the alleged grievances. Before the time fixed, the chief witness, Dr. Van der

* *Vide* Evidence of the Rev. James Read, before the Aborigines Committee of 1836, p. 598.

Kemp, was seized with mortal sickness* and the Earl of Caledon was succeeded by Sir John Cradock. In Dr. Van der Kemp, the Hottentots sustained an irretrievable loss; his great abilities, uncompromising honesty, and zealous devotion, compelled even his most inveterate enemies to respect him. Soon after his death another proclamation was issued, which gave the farmers a legal right to claim any Hottentot child born upon their premises, on arriving at the age of eight years, as an "apprentice" for ten years longer, with or without the consent of the parents. At first sight this arrangement does not seem so cruel and arbitrary as it actually was, because some such measure might be thought almost necessary to indemnify the colonists for the support allowed to the children during their infancy, besides which the terms of the indentures would appear to have provided for their kind usage and proper instruction. But, with regard to the first of these points, it was well known that the little Hottentots cost the farmers scarcely anything, that they were seldom weaned until two years of age, that they were turned to some useful purpose almost as soon as they could crawl about, and that when residing in the huts of their parents they were chiefly if not wholly supported by them. The apparently stringent

instructions respecting the treatment of the apprentices became little better than a dead letter in most of the country districts, and even the expiration of the fixed time of their service was concealed from them, so that on one pretext or another they were forced or deluded into remaining many years beyond the allotted period. The colonists, with but few exceptions, were, in the words of Commissioner Bigge, "averse to their receiving moral or religious instruction of any kind," and the provincial functionaries being for the most part thoroughly imbued with the same feelings, suffered only a very limited number to join the missionary institutions; and in many cases, but more especially in the district of Uitenhage, continued to harass those institutions with so much interference and oppression as greatly to circumscribe their usefulness. Nevertheless the facts made known by Dr. Van der Kemp and Mr. Read had the good effect of inducing the immediate institution of judicial circuits: these consisted of deputations of members of the supreme court, appointed to proceed annually through the interior districts to investigate all complaints and abuses, and try all offences brought under their cognizance. Being usually composed of persons who shared the predominating colonial feelings in regard to the Hottentot

* This remarkable man was born in Germany, and educated at Leyden University. He attained an eminent rank among scholars, being able to read and write no less than sixteen different languages; Latin was as familiar to him as his vernacular tongue; and the criticisms he has left behind on the Greek and Hebrew text of the Scriptures, written in Greek and Hebrew, evidence careful study and extraordinary ability. Even when between fifty and sixty years of age, his facility for acquiring languages enabled him, during the few months he spent in Kafirland, to draw up a rough sketch of a Kafir grammar, and form a vocabulary of about eight hundred words. His literary were equalled by his scientific acquirements, and his knowledge of chemistry, natural history, comparative anatomy, and botany, would severally have entitled him to a professorship in any of the universities of Europe.

In early youth he chose the army as a profession, and passed sixteen years in the service of the Prince of Orange, with whom he was on intimate terms. Possessing considerable skill in mathematics, he was regarded as a man likely to improve the military tactics of that period. He had attained the rank of a captain of horse, and high promotion was in his reach, when a personal misunderstanding with the Prince induced him to resign his commission, study medicine in Edinburgh University, take a degree, and establish himself as a physician in his native country, where he speedily obtained a high reputation and extensive practice. All his talents and opportunities had, however, failed to guard him

from the infectious spirit of infidelity then so widely spread over France and Germany; from its delusions he was at length roused, by a sudden and complete bereavement. His wife and child were drowned by the upsetting of a boat, and his own life was by the same occurrence placed in imminent jeopardy. From that time may be dated an entire change in his sentiments and conduct—thus suddenly severed from all earthly ties, the desire to honour his Redeemer and serve his fellow-men by disseminating the doctrines he had long denied, became the ruling motive of his life. An address, published by the London Missionary Society, induced him, when advanced in years, and possessed of a good property, to resign the conveniences of civilized life and the enjoyment of literary leisure, for the arduous and self-denying labours of an African missionary. For thirteen years he never wavered, but through evil report and good report, remained the unwearied teacher, the staunch advocate of a poor and degraded people. One act, which has been much and very unfavourably commented upon, must not here be passed over in silence. Out of his private property he purchased the freedom of seven slaves; one of these, a very young girl, he, by the ceremonial of marriage, was led to make his wife. Dr. Philip, in alluding to the blame so freely lavished upon Dr. Van der Kemp for this procedure, says, that he was actuated by warm sympathy with this unfortunate class, and an earnest desire to elevate their condition; but adds, that he "lived to see and regret his mistake."—*Researches*, vol. i., p. 137.

race, their early verdicts were generally more remarkable for extreme leniency to white delinquents than for accordance with the claims of impartial justice. Most of the cases of murder brought to light by the missionaries had been committed under the former English or Batavian governments, and could not, it was considered, be legally punished; beside which, the Hottentots not being permitted to take an oath, were not allowed to give any evidence at all. Some instances of maltreatment being proved, the perpetrators were fined, and the Hottentots procured a number of cattle and a considerable amount of wages clearly proved to be due to them. Some recent murders were also investigated, and punished with a twelvemonth's imprisonment. One miscreant in the district of Swellendam, found guilty of shooting, in mere wanton wickedness, a Hottentot woman with a child in her arms, was sentenced to kneel down blind-folded, to have a naked sword passed over his neck by the executioner, and be banished the colony, under the penalty of becoming liable to a "severer punishment" if he should return: the latter part of the sentence, being merely intended to save appearances, was not enforced. This and other verdicts* were subsequently severely commented on by Sir John Cradock, and from that time a great change took place in the proceedings of the county courts, which by their publicity, and the facility they afforded for the reception of complaints from the country districts, thenceforth exercised a very beneficial effect in checking the perpetration of much cruelty.

It was not, however, with regard to the Hottentots alone, that serious faults were committed by the British authorities on re-assuming the reins of government. By a total want of anything like a systematic attempt to form equitable arrangements with the Kafir tribes within and without the colonial boundary, an opportunity was lost which, if wisely used, might have established peace on the most substantial basis, by rendering it the interest of both settlers and natives to maintain it. Certainly it would have been no easy matter to decide how far the claims of the Kafirs to the land included within the limits of the colony by the proclamations of Governors Plettenberg and Macartney were to be recognised, and being

recognised, how they were to be met; but the fact was clear enough that the aforesaid territory had been included without even the pretence of any purchase or permission, real or pretended, willing or compulsory, although the prospect of compensation had been clearly held out to them in 1789, when a special committee was appointed to establish peace with them, and "if necessary, to purchase the claim which they might pretend to have upon the colonists."† The people thus wrongly dispossessed of land which they had occupied the greater part of a century, and a portion of which they had duly purchased from its aboriginal inhabitants (the Ghonaqua-Hottentots), had gradually returned; some had taken by violence the farms of the boors who had before driven them away in a similar manner; others harassed the border colonists by frequent predatory incursions; but a considerable number lived quietly, engaged in cultivating the ground, and herding their flocks; and these, together with another class who had entered the service of the colonists at their request, would gladly have pledged their allegiance to the British crown, had the privileges of British subjects been offered and duly explained to them in return. The chiefs were daily becoming more sensible of the advantages to be gained by civilisation; and entreated that missionaries should be sent for the instruction of their young people. Under these circumstances there is little doubt a large body of Kafirs might, by legalizing their tenure of certain lands, and otherwise by judicious treatment, have been incorporated with, and rendered useful members of the community; others might have been bought out with far less expense than they could be driven out; and the really irreclaimable, when proved such, expelled with the consent of the chief and council of the sub-tribes to which they belonged. With the border tribes arrangements might have been made through the intervention of Hintza, the acknowledged sovereign or paramount chief of all the Amakosa Kafirs, with whom alone we had then any intercourse, and also of the several minor chiefs and their principal officers or counsellors. Instead of this or any similar line of policy, the local government, influenced by the exaggerated and often unfounded complaints of a certain party among the boors, of whom some had

* Pringle cites another equally striking case in illustration of the little importance attached to offences committed against the lives and limbs of

coloured people by the settlers.—*Narrative of a Residence in South Africa*, p. 255.

† Parl. Papers for 1836, p. 20.

really suffered from the aggressions of marauders, while others simply coveted the exclusive possession of the land—issued a proclamation, in which the Kafirs were described as “irreclaimable, barbarous, and perpetual enemies,” whilst the conduct of the colonists was set forth as unoffending towards “those faithless and unrelenting disturbers of the public peace,” and orders were forthwith issued for the utter expulsion of every Kafir beyond the Fish River. Many years before, Mr. Maynier had greatly increased his unpopularity by forcibly urging the manifest imprudence as well as cruel injustice of making war upon a whole people, and establishing as a permanent boundary to be crossed only at the hazard of life, a fordable river, bordered by dense jungle and deep recesses impenetrable to Europeans, but quite available to the natives as places of refuge and of ambush. He had also stated his conviction that peace might be preserved with the Kafirs “by fair means and with little trouble.” And in 1805, under the Dutch government, Captain Alberti, the Landdrost of Uitenhage, publicly vindicated the Kafirs from the charge of wholesale robbery brought against them by the boors, declaring that though some thefts of cattle had recently been committed, there was nothing to be feared from the bulk of the Kafir nation, the chiefs and the well disposed part thereof having strongly condemned the few plunderers, and assisted zealously to punish them and recover what was stolen.

In 1807 a law was made that all Kafirs detected in the act of carrying off cattle should be shot; of this severe measure the chiefs who had frequently expressed a wish that the government would aid them more in suppressing theft, highly approved; Zlambie in particular remarked that he was glad of it, because he and his people had been very often wrongfully accused without having power to exculpate themselves, whereas if men were captured or killed, it would be easy to ascertain to what tribe they belonged. In 1809, Colonel Collins, as we have before had occasion to remark, was deputed as commissioner for the settlement of the frontier. The same interested and prejudiced advisers who induced him to suggest the adoption of so harsh a policy towards the Hottentots, probably advocated yet more cruel injustice towards the Kafirs, and the result was his recommending the

expulsion of the tribes who had settled in the Zuurveld, and the severance of all connexion between them and the colonists, by compelling the dismissal of the Kafir and even of the Ghonaqua servants domiciliated in the families. And in 1811-12 the whole of this arbitrary proposition was carried into execution. A great commando, comprising a large force of military and burgher militia, was assembled under Colonel Graham; and though the Kafirs earnestly pleaded the cruelty of including the innocent and the guilty in the same condemnation, all were expelled with unrelenting severity. No warning was given, but they were forced to abandon their crops of maize and millet, then nearly ripe, and so extensive that the troops were employed for many weeks* in destroying their cultivations by trampling them down with large herds of cattle, and burning to the ground their huts and hamlets; and a much longer time before they succeeded in driving the whole of the people (Kafirs and Ghonaquas to the number of 20,000 souls,) over the Great Fish River. Had Gaika, and the border chiefs whose country lay on the other side of the colonial boundary, sided with Zlambie and Congo, affairs might have taken a very different turn; but the local authorities, availing themselves of the known hostility existing between Gaika and his uncle, despatched Mr. Stockenstrom, the Landdrost of Graaf Reynet, who had been five-and-twenty years in the public service of the colony, to assure Gaika that no ill was intended towards him or his associates; upon hearing which, the chief pledged himself that his people should take no advantage of the absence of the boors from their homes, but would remain in peace, and he faithfully kept his word. Soon after this successful attempt at mediation, the Landdrost, who had always placed great reliance on the generosity of the Kafir character, with which he had had long and intimate acquaintance, gave a last and fatal proof of his confidence, under the following circumstances. In December, 1811, the colonial troops entered the Zuurveld in three divisions; the right commanded by Major Cuyler; the centre by Captain Fraser, accompanied by the Commander-in-chief, Colonel Graham; and the left by the Landdrost (Stockenstrom), who, desiring an interview with Colonel Graham, left his camp, at the foot of the Zuurberg, in commando, before a committee of the House of Commons, appointed in 1836.

* *Vide* evidence of Captain (now Sir Andries) Stockenstrom, who was personally engaged in the

charge of his son, Ensign (now Sir Andries) Stockenstrom, and proceeded across the mountains, accompanied by about forty men. On approaching one of the kloofs, or passes, of the White River, the party beheld numerous bands of Kafirs assembling on both sides of the narrow ridge connecting two arms of the great mountain chain, along which lay their path. Relying on his great personal influence, and hoping to prevent bloodshed, by inducing the Kafirs to leave the country without further hostile operations, he rode straight up to them, and dismounted in the midst, followed by his trusty associates, the field-cornets Potgieter and Geyling, and several boors, who, having vainly striven to dissuade their leader from his daring enterprise, determined to share whatever hazard he might incur. The conference began, and continued for some time in the most amicable manner, the chiefs and their counsellors gathered round the venerable magistrate, and listened with deference to his arguments, until a messenger arrived with the intelligence that the right and centre divisions of the British troops had attacked the Kafirs, some of whose principal men had already fallen. The hope of striking a decisive blow, by the destruction of leaders so powerful as the Landdrost and field-cornets, combined, perhaps, with the desire for retaliation, was irresistible. A boor, standing close by Mr. Stockenstrom, remarked to him the agitated discussion which had suddenly arisen among a party of Kafirs who stood aloof in the thicket, but he replied, with a smile, that there was no danger. While yet speaking, his words received a fearful contradiction; the Kafir war-whoop rent the air, and was re-echoed by barbarian voices from hill and dale for many miles around. In a brief space the Landdrost and fourteen of his companions lay dead, pierced by innumerable wounds. The survivors, of whom several were wounded, availed themselves of the fleetness of their horses to

escape along the mountain ridge to the camp.

It is not known who were the principal chiefs present on this occasion. Zlambie was in the Zuurveld; and Congo, unable to move, lay sick of an incurable disease, in his hut on the Addo heights, where he was murdered a few days afterwards by a party of boors. The Rev. John Brownlee states, probably on Kafir testimony, that some of the Amandankæ, whose clan had been nearly extirpated by a bloody deed of colonial treachery, already recorded, (vide note to page 27), were the chief instigators of this fearful massacre; but the younger Stockenstrom, from the uniform accounts he had received from various eye-witnesses of the tragic scene, has since stated his conviction, that it was the result of a sudden impulse, and not of premeditated treachery.*

The death of the Landdrost and his companions, doubtless increased the animosity entertained towards the Kafirs, but the details of the commando, as quoted by Pringle from the journal of Lieutenant Hart, an officer actively engaged in it, are most disgraceful. According to this authority, "the Kafirs were shot indiscriminately, women as well as men, wherever found, and even though they offered no resistance;" the females, however, "were killed unintentionally, because the boors could not distinguish them from men among the bushes!"† Most distressing scenes took place between the farmers and their Kafir and Ghonaqua servants, when the cruel order came for their instant dismissal, after long and faithful service. A gentleman intimately acquainted with the facts of the case (Mr. Moodie,) describes these people as having forgot their savage habits, and even their language; the old men said, "we have been with you fifteen or twenty years; we are your friends; we have watched your cattle, when they were taken away by our countrymen; we have followed

* Ensign Stockenstrom was subsequently appointed Landdrost of Graaf-Reynet. He inherited the ability, the rectitude, and the humanity of his noble-minded parent, and in the midst of most trying circumstances, steered ever an honest and independent course, steadily fulfilling his duty to his countrymen, the boors; but never allowing his natural sympathy with them to warp his strict sense of allegiance towards the British government, or justice towards the coloured races. Many years after the death of his father he was charged with a special message to the Kafirs assembled at Wesleyville (a missionary station in Kafirland). Adverting briefly to the lamentable events of former days, he re-

marked, 'the Kafirs killed my father, and some of you were near at the time. The boors killed your father (Congo) and I was not far off when it happened. Those were bad doings; but now all is changed. You have received missionaries; you have now the same word of God that we have. The only difference between us is the colour of our skins; but though you are black and we are white, yet God has made of one blood all nations of the earth.' The conference being ended, captain Stockenstrom dined at the mission-house in company with the chiefs.—*Vide Kay's Travels and Researches in Caffraria*, p. 254.

† Pringle, p. 291.

them, reclaimed them from the captors, and brought them back; our wives have cultivated your gardens; our children and yours speak the same language." The young men prayed at least to remain until they could earn cattle enough to purchase themselves wives; and asked where now they could procure their tobacco, their iron, their beads, or a bit of bread.* Mrs. Gardner, a resident in the Uitenhage district, from the year 1793 to 1825, gave much valuable evidence respecting the Kafirs, declaring that her father had continued to occupy his farm in the Zuurveld after the return of Zlambie, Congo, and other tribes; that he had lived surrounded by nine different kraals, and that when he or the other farmers lost cattle, they applied to the chief of the kraal to which the depredators were traced; and when the cattle were discovered, they were restored by the chief, but if they had been killed, an equivalent was given, either from the stock of the plunderer, or his family. The same witness added, that the men were the best herdsmen to be obtained, and the women were disposed to work very hard, from being accustomed to it.†

The bodies of armed militia, called out from all the districts, were not finally disbanded until 1815; although troops (mounted dragoons) were constantly employed in patrolling the thickets, and guarding the passes by which the Kafirs might enter the newly acquired country. All Kafirs found on the right bank of the Fish River, on refusing "to deliver themselves up when discovered, were to be followed up and shot." Nor was this an empty threat, for many were killed in this manner. Very severe penalties of flogging, and even of death, were enacted against such of the colonists as should be found on the left bank of the Great Fish River without a pass, or engaged in any description of traffic with the Kafirs; but these were never attempted to be carried out, the severest punishment for the European transgressor being a few months' imprisonment.‡ A line of posts was established by Colonel Graham along the frontier; and a commanding position selected for the headquarters of the military force, and named Graham's Town. A corps of Hottentot infantry was raised, the expense of which was partly defrayed by levying an annual

tax on the inhabitants of the interior districts, as a commutation for their services when not required in the commandos; but the settlers of the frontier districts (Uitenhage and Graaf Reynet,) were exempted, as being at all times liable to be called on for this service.

In 1815, the peace of the colony was disturbed by a fresh outbreak of the same spirit of causeless disaffection which had actuated the "patriots" of 1798. A Hottentot, named Booy, having been grossly ill-treated by his master, a boor, named Bezuidenhout, complained to the Landdrost of Cradock, that although the term of his contract had expired, he was forbidden either to depart, or to remove what little property he had on the place. Finding his statements correct, the magistrate sent the field-cornet to see him righted, upon which Bezuidenhout openly defied any attempt at interference on the part of the civil authorities, and after admitting the truth of the facts alleged by Booy, he fell upon him in the presence of the field-cornet, gave him a severe beating, and threatened to do the same to any person who should dare to come upon his grounds to claim the property of a Hottentot. Legal proceedings were forthwith instituted, and the boor having refused to make his appearance after having been repeatedly summoned, was sentenced to imprisonment for contempt of court. On seeing the approach of the under-sheriff, and the military escort despatched to arrest him, Bezuidenhout left his house, and betook himself to a cave in a huge rock overhanging the river, into which he had previously conveyed a large quantity of powder and ball, together with a supply of provisions, to enable him to stand a siege, and aided by two young men who lived with him, he opened a brisk fire upon his assailants. Refusing to listen to a parley, he continued to shoot deliberately at every man who came within reach of his "roer" (long-barrelled elephant gun,) until at length, in his eagerness to take sure aim at the besiegers, who were striving to shelter themselves among the stony ledges around his retreat, his own person became so much exposed, that a ball fired by one of the Hottentot soldiers took effect, and killed him on the spot, upon which his two companions immediately surrendered.

This affair produced much excitement

* Parl. Papers, 1835; Part i., p. 176.

† *Ibid.*, p. 174.

‡ *Vide* Evidence of Major Dundas. Committee of 1836, pp. 133-4.

throughout the country; the settlers too generally considering any efficient protection extended to the Hottentots, in the light of tyrannical oppression towards themselves. The "patriots," instigated greatly by a man named Prinslo, entered into a conspiracy to bring about a general insurrection, and despatched a deputation to wait upon Gaika, to request his co-operation in expelling the English from the eastern parts of the colony, offering, in the event of success, to vacate the Zuurveld and other territory from which the Kafirs had recently been driven, and confine themselves between the Kat and Koonap streams. Gaika, however, was not to be thus easily cajoled by his old antagonists. He positively refused their alliance, telling the messengers, that if the proposal was really made in sincerity, and not with the intention of decoying him and his followers into the open plains for the purpose of destroying them, it was, at least, a very foolish one, as they had no prospect of success; and that moreover, in any case, he would not take a part in the quarrel, having no inclination to place himself, like a silly deer, between a lion on one side, and a wolf on the other (the English and the Dutch). A seditious letter drawn up at a meeting of the boors by an outlaw named Bothma, who had been banished the colony for forgery, fell into the hands of the local authorities, and Prinslo, who had signed it, was instantly arrested by a party of dragoons. Thus disappointed in their hope of obtaining assistance from Gaika, deprived of their leader, and thwarted by the premature discovery of their designs, the greater part of the insurgents, on being appealed to by their loyal countryman, the Landdrost Stockenstrom, renounced their rebellious project; but about sixty formed themselves into a band and took possession of a mountain pass at the eastern extremity of the Boschberg range, where they were met by a detachment of British troops accompanied by a body of burgher militia. As this force advanced up the hill called Slaghter's-nek, on the brow of which the rebels were posted, the latter were seen shaking hands together, as a mutual pledge to stand together to the last. They then levelled their long guns at the leaders of the party, and were about to fire, when Captain (now Colonel) Fraser, ordering his men to halt, advanced alone, and addressing the leaders, many of whom he knew personally, entreated them with much energy

not by a fruitless resistance to shut out all hope of mercy. One man took deliberate aim at the generous mediator, but the weapon was struck to the ground by another boor, and after a brief consultation they all surrendered, with the exception of a few of the most deeply implicated, who vainly endeavoured to escape, but were either killed or taken prisoners after desperate resistance.

A special commission was despatched to Uitenhage to try the prisoners, of whom five were executed on the 9th of March, 1816, at Van Aard's Post, where they had first appeared in open rebellion; the rest were condemned to witness the death of their own comrades, after which some were set at liberty, and others punished by fine, imprisonment, or banishment.

After this severe lesson the frontier became somewhat tranquillized. The agricultural capabilities of the colony, on whose development its welfare materially depended, were strongly stimulated by the considerable amount of provisions of all kinds, corn, cattle, wine, and other articles required for the supply of Napoleon Buonaparte, his suite, and the considerable military and naval guard stationed at St. Helena during his detention, that is, from 1815, until his death in 1821. An urgent demand for their produce, was, however, an advantage from which too many of the inland farmers could reap but little benefit, owing to the impracticable nature of the country, and the general want of roads and bridges. In this respect the government exercised a false economy. A tithe of the money lavished in keeping under the Kafirs and Hottentots by force of arms, judiciously expended in encouraging the poorer class of His Majesty's South African subjects, whether white or coloured, to labour for the internal improvement of the country by opening up its resources (opportunities being at the same time offered for their own education, and that of their families,) would have rendered them, with few exceptions, peaceable and orderly, by providing them with food and employment.

Unhappily, the then governor, Lord Charles Somerset, entertained extremely despotic ideas; and in the exercise of the almost irresponsible authority entrusted to him, seems to have systematically preferred a narrow and compulsory, to a liberal and conciliatory policy in his dealings, whether individually or collectively, with the people

over whom he ruled for nearly fourteen years. Most disastrous consequences attended his arbitrary interference in the internal affairs of the Kafirs, and his obstinate confirmation of the former error of treating Gaika as the sole and responsible sovereign of his whole nation; notwithstanding the reiterated and public denial with which the chief had met this assertion, in the presence of Mr. Barrow and his companions in 1798, and of Colonel Collins and Landdrost Stockenstrom, in 1809; on which latter occasion he had acknowledged that Hintza was superior to him in rank.* But it suited the views of Lord Charles to "thrust greatness" upon Gaika, and in April, 1817, a message was forwarded to him, through Mr. Williams, a missionary connected with the London Society, who had in the previous year obtained the long-withheld permission to preach Christianity to the Kafirs. He had been very cordially received both by Zlambie and young Congo, and also by Gaika, who, after several refusals, was with difficulty prevailed upon to meet the governor at the Kat River.

The arbitrary character of Lord Charles Somerset, and his imperious bearing towards English settlers, impart strong probability to the accounts given by the Kafirs of this memorable interview. The formidable appearance of the troops, six hundred strong, drawn up in martial array, of the cannon and other warlike preparations, were doubtless sufficient to induce Gaika to assent to any terms which might insure him immediate deliverance from his critical position, although one condition should have been the assertion of his exclusive dominion over all Africa, with Europe, Asia, and America to boot.† The chief topics entered into by the governor were the depredations committed on the colony, to remedy which it was enacted that Gaika should in future be considered by the Cape government as the sole head of Kafirland; that his agents should be allowed to barter at Graham's Town; but that all other Kafirs found within the colony should be treated as enemies. It was also decided for the first time, that whenever cattle should be stolen from the colonists by Kafirs, a military patrol should follow the traces into Kafirland, and seize from the first kraal or

small village the number of cattle taken, or said to have been taken, from the colonists. Here a great door to irregularities was opened. Subsequent experience proved that in nine cases out of ten it was impossible to find the guilty party, and therefore the innocent generally suffered. Being extremely attached to their cattle, they naturally resisted their being carried away, and any unscrupulous leader who chose to construe their resistance into a hostile feeling, could proceed to the last extremity in the execution of his orders, and deprive them of life for striving to preserve their chief means of supporting it. Thus constant irritation was kept up between the borderers on either side, which a fresh act of impolitic interference on the part of the government soon fanned into open war. In 1818, Gaika, by forcibly seizing the wife of one of Zlambie's principal counsellors, and by other aggressive acts, excited the anger of his superior chief Hintza, and also of Zlambie, Jaluhsa, Habana, Congo, and a remarkable man named Makanna, who, though of humble origin, had, by the force of talent, energy, and eloquence, raised himself to something more than an equality with the leading hereditary chiefs of his country. He adopted the tone of a religious reformer, as well as of a patriot and a warrior, and boldly reprobated the vices of his countrymen, inculcating a stricter morality. Assuming the title of a prophet sent from above, for the purpose of raising the social and political condition of his nation, he declared himself endowed with the supernatural gifts necessary for the performance of his mission. Makanna, or *Lynx*, as he was commonly called, was the chief inciter of the powerful confederacy by whose combined forces Gaika, after a fierce battle fought between the Buffalo River and the Debe, was defeated with great slaughter. Upon this Gaika appealed to Lord Charles Somerset to assist him, not in bringing about a reconciliation, but in making war upon his enemies, amongst whom, it should be borne in mind, was Hintza, who, by his own public admission, was the paramount chief of the whole country. In compliance with his request, a powerful force, consisting of regular troops and armed colonists, to the number of 3,352 *the same compliment from himself.*" Gaika had certainly equal reason for addressing Lord Charles as monarch of Great Britain; as had Lord Charles to consider Gaika sole chief of Kafirland.—*Vide the Account of Mr Williams, and Wrongs of the Caffre Nation*, p. 72.

* Aborigines' Committee of 1836; p. 156.

† When Mr. Williams informed Gaika of Lord Somerset's intention with regard to him, he replied that "he was much obliged to his lordship for conferring on him the honour and title of chief of his nation, and begged that his excellency would accept

men, was despatched under Colonel Brereton, into the territory of the united chiefs, who strongly protested against this invasion, declaring that it was an international quarrel, in which the governor of the Cape colony could have no right to interfere, as they desired to remain at peace with the settlers, but would not submit to the yoke of Gaika. All their arguments were in vain; the inhabitants of the villages were either slaughtered or driven into the woods, and the commando returned from Kafirland, leaving multitudes who had with difficulty escaped death by the sword, to perish under the more cruel pangs of famine, but enriched with a spoil of more than 30,000 head of cattle, of which about 21,000 of the finest were divided among the colonists, and about 9,000 given to Gaika. As a natural consequence, the plundered tribes, rendered desperate by famine, crossed the Fish River in numerous bodies, drove in the small military posts, and compelled the border colonists to abandon their dwellings, most of which were destroyed; and when resisted, they did not hesitate to shed blood. Some few successful attempts at resistance were, however, made by insulated parties of the inhabitants, and especially by about a hundred Hottentots, settled at the Missionary Institution of Theopolis, in Albany, and at the Moravian Institution, near Uitenhage, by whom the Kafirs were triumphantly repelled, and an important pass into the colony secured. Additional troops were sent to the frontier, and a plan was formed for the re-invasion of Kafirland; but before it could be carried into execution, the Kafirs, to the number of 9,000, led by Makanna, and Dushani the son of Zlambie, attacked Graham's Town. Had the advance been made by night, it could scarcely have failed of success, but Makanna delayed it, apparently for the purpose of sending overnight (in conformity with a custom held in repute among the heroes of his country) a message of defiance to Colonel Willshire, the British commandant, announcing "that he would breakfast with him the next morning." Accordingly at break of day he assembled his troops on the neighbouring mountains, addressed them in an animating speech, to which they responded with their wild war-cries, and advanced to the assault of the little garrison, which consisted of only about 350 European troops, and a small corps of disciplined Hottentots. The Kafirs poured down in dense disorderly masses, flinging

showers of assagays, which, however, fell miserably ineffective, compared with the destructive fire of musketry opened upon them by the troops, of which every shot was deadly. Still they came forward courageously, their chiefs cheering them on almost to the muzzles of the British guns; and many of the foremost warriors were seen, by the direction of Makanna, breaking short their last assagay to render it a stabbing weapon, in order to rush in upon the troops, and decide the battle in single combat. At the very moment when their overwhelming superiority of numbers, and great bodily strength, seemed about to ensure them the victory, the old Hottentot captain, Boczak, and his followers, to whom most of the Kafir leaders were personally known, singling out the boldest of those who, now in advance, were cheering on their men to the final onset, took fatal aim, and levelled in a few minutes a number of the boldest warriors. A momentary confusion ensued, and the field-pieces, just then brought to bear, poured a destructive fire on the front ranks; those behind recoiled, wild panic succeeded, and Makanna, after vainly attempting a rally, accompanied their flight through broken ravines, where pursuit was impracticable. The slaughter was great for so brief a conflict, 1,400 Kafirs being left dead on the field, and many more perished of their wounds before reaching their own country.*

To punish the invasion injustice had provoked, all the disposable force in the colony was concentrated upon the frontier, and Colonel Willshire, at the head of the British and Hottentot troops advanced into the enemy's country in one direction, while Landdrost Stockenstrom, with a burgher commando of a thousand horsemen, swept it in another, inflicting a fearful amount of misery; everywhere carrying off cattle, burning huts, and destroying cultivations. The leading chiefs, Zlambie, Congo, and Habana, were denounced as outlaws, and large rewards offered for their capture, dead or alive; yet among the starving multitudes, not one man or woman could be induced to betray their countrymen, even to save their own lives and those of their children.

At length Makanna freely surrendered himself into the hands of the British, hoping by this means to obtain better terms for his people; but in this he utterly

* Pringle, p. 301.

failed. He was detained a prisoner, sent to Cape Town, and finally transported to Robben Island, with others of his unfortunate countrymen, there to work in irons in the slate quarries with convicted felons, rebellious slaves, and other malefactors. About a year afterwards, aided by a few Kafirs and slaves, over whom, even in their common bondage, he had established his characteristic ascendancy; he rose upon the guard, overpowered and disarmed them. Then seizing a boat he placed his adherents in it, and quitted the island in safety; but in attempting to gain the iron-bound coast of the mainland, the overloaded pinnace, in which he had been the last to embark, was upset. The ill-fated African leader clung for some time to a rock, whence his deep sonorous voice was heard cheering on those who were struggling, some of them successfully, with the billows, until he was swept off and engulfed by the raging surf.*

During the time of the commando against Makanna, the life of the most efficient and most dreaded of the British officers had been spared, and his personal liberty preserved without condition or ransom, under very peculiar circumstances.† Our treatment of Kafir chiefs and warriors unhappily affords no such instance of magnanimity; on the contrary, it would seem as if the colonial government of that day had taken a peculiar pleasure in trampling upon the strongest prejudices of their opponents, by doing everything in their power to degrade their rulers and lower all to the same standard, making Gaika the nominal head of his nation, only for the sake of using him as a tool wherewith to oppress and impoverish the Kafirs. Thus, when it became evident that the Fish River was a perfectly untenable boundary between a starving people on the one side, and isolated groups of settlers enriched with their spoil, on the other—the governor proceeded to the frontier, had a second interview with Gaika, and entered into another verbal treaty, in accordance with which all the Kafirs, friends and foes, were to retire beyond the Keiskamma and Chumie Rivers, leaving nearly 3,000 square miles of fertile

and well-watered country to be added to the already overgrown colony, while they themselves were driven back upon territory fully occupied by native inhabitants, whose pursuits being chiefly pastoral, required additional rather than diminished space. The whole territory of the tribe belonging to the brothers Congo and Pato, over whom Gaika had never pretended to exercise authority, lay within the newly enacted boundary: consequently from 7,000 to 10,000 souls were at once deprived of their land, by a so-called convention between two persons; and there were other tribes whose case was scarcely less cruel and unjust. The boundaries of the country of which the Kafirs were thus dispossessed were very loosely defined, no map being traced, nor even so much as an imaginary line laid down in writing, for their guidance, extending between close and well-known landmarks; and a fresh series of disputes eventually arose from this omission. It was at first specifically stated that the whole of the valuable tract in question was to be held as neutral; it was to become a waste land without inhabitants, or, in the words of Captain Stockenstrom, who acted as interpreter, "the waters of the Koonap, Keiskamma, and the Kat Rivers, were to run in future undisturbed to the sea, and neither Kafirs nor whites were to inhabit the territory." Lord C. Somerset likewise officially declared that the colonial government had no desire to pass "the known boundary of its settlement, the Great Fish River;" but that on the contrary, it rigidly prohibited its subjects from crossing that line of demarcation. Strong permanent posts were, however, established within it, containing each "a force sufficient for aggression, by which means," writes Lord C. Somerset to Colonel Wade, the commandant on the frontier, "it is not to be doubted but that Gaika and his subordinate chiefs may be controlled." The same communication directs Colonel Wade to inform Gaika that it was from him, as the recognised and responsible head of his country, that the colonial government would exact satisfaction for all depredations committed on the

naked. In about an hour he returned, accompanied by a mounted boor, and a led horse. He then resumed his ingubo and assagays, and disappeared in the woods, while the Landdrost rode to rejoin his party. After peace was concluded, Captain Stockenstrom made every effort to discover and reward his generous deliverer, but without success.—Pringle, p. 306.

* Pringle, p. 307.

† Captain Stockenstrom, while walking alone in the rear of his men, was taken suddenly ill, and left behind unable to move, and ignorant of the way. In this situation he was surprised by an armed Kafir, one of Zlambie's warriors, who, after ascertaining his case, laid down his ingubo (cloak) and his arms, at the feet of his now helpless enemy, and darted off

colony; that troops would be at hand to enforce the orders of the governor on this head; that therefore it would not avail him to say that his inferior chiefs would not attend to his injunctions, but that "he must control them, and point out the depredators, who would be punished with exemplary severity."*

At the request of Gaika, a missionary instructor was again appointed to reside with him,† who, however, was most injudiciously expected to act likewise as a political agent, and correspond closely with the colonial government.

Shortly after the return of Lord Charles from the Cape frontier, intelligence arrived at Cape Town that a large increase of population might soon be expected, and, in fact, the sum of £50,000 was voted by the House of Commons for the conveyance and settlement of about 4,000 persons, men, women, and children (principally from Scotland), who reached Table Bay in the months of March and April, 1820. This gave a new turn to affairs; a few months before, his lordship had publicly stated that no enlargement of the colony was desired, but rather deprecated; now he became anxious to appropriate to the use of the immigrants the neutral, or *ceded* territory, as it was found more convenient to term it. Being then on the point of visiting England, Lord Charles left Sir Rufane Donkin as acting governor, with the understanding that he would be perfectly justified in locating settlers on the tract in question; but the remonstrances of the colonial secretary, Colonel Bird, and of Landdrost Stockenström, so far prevailed, as to induce Sir R. Donkin, before taking further proceedings, to ask the consent of Gaika to the

proposed measure; the rights of the other proprietary chiefs, Zlambie and Dushani, Eno, Habana, Congo, Pato, Botman, and many others, who nine months before had been hunted over the new border, being, in this as in previous instances, totally disregarded. Gaika, who had himself been expelled from the neutral ground, passively acquiesced, and a proclamation was forthwith issued, annexing the "newly acquired territory" to the Zuurveld or Albany district. Grants of this land were then made to some of the English settlers; but Lord Charles, on his return to the Cape, disapproving of this, as of every other act, good or bad, done by the acting governor on his behalf,‡ withdrew the proclamation, resumed all the grants, except such as had been legally confirmed, and called back the colonists within the previous limits of the colony, not, it would appear, from any lingering feeling of respect to his own engagements, as he soon afterwards appropriated part of it to his own use,§ and gave farms of immense extent to various frontier boers, the nature of whose claims upon him reflect little credit on either party. It is worthy of remark, that the fathers of these men had attempted to obtain possession of this very ground, thirty years before, but their petition had been firmly and indignantly rejected by Sir James Craig (see p. 32).

The band of British settlers,|| many of whom had embarked, filled with most unreasonable expectations, raised by statements circulated in pamphlets and speeches, of a soil and climate known only in romance, had their difficulties increased ten-fold by the arbitrary waywardness of the governor in reversing the various measures taken by

* Aborigines' Committee of 1836. Evidence of Col. Wade, p. 404.

† As the successor of the excellent Mr. Williams, who had died of fever, to the deep grief of the Kafirs, who would scarcely permit his widow and her two infant children to leave them, so sensible had many of them become of the benefit of missionary teaching.

‡ *Vide* Parl. Papers for 1827, and pamphlets by Sir Rufane Donkin and Col. Bird, on the government of the Cape, published in 1827.

§ *Vide* Pringle, pp. 315-317.

|| Among their number was the gifted poet Thomas Pringle, who emigrated with his immediate family and connexions. In consequence of his endeavours to establish a free press at the Cape, he was compelled by the intolerance of Lord Charles Somerset to resign his situation as public librarian, which he had obtained through the intervention of Sir Walter Scott with Mr. Goulburn, the then colonial secretary,

and eventually obliged to return to England, where he was enabled to become a fellow-worker in a noble cause, by being selected as Secretary to the Society for the Abolition of Slavery. Mr. Fairbairn, his able coadjutor in the publication of the *South African Commercial Advertiser*, manfully held his ground, and at length, after pleading in person at Downing-street, the injustice of suppressing a paper against which neither sedition, libel, nor immorality of any kind could be justly pleaded, but which on the contrary had adopted from the first a temperate and conciliatory tone that many other colonial journals might do well to imitate, the press was restored, and placed on the safe and sound footing of legal responsibility. From the time of its re-establishment in 1828 to the present day, Mr. Fairbairn has maintained the sole editorship of the paper which, though commenced under such ungenial auspices, has continued ever since to reflect credit both on him and on its supporters in the colony.

Sir Rufane Donkin on their behalf. The total inadequacy of the lands in the first instance assigned to them, rendered prompt exertion necessary to save them from utter ruin, and the important and multifarious duties of Landdrost were taken from a popular and courteous magistrate (Major Jones), and entrusted "to a person who neglected the interests of the settlers, and who aggravated the feelings of the governor by attributing the dissatisfaction that undoubtedly did from this cause prevail, to a spirit of turbulence, and disaffection towards the government."* The newly-formed village of Bathurst was ruined, and the hasty withdrawal of the military guard from the Fredericksburg settlement, compelled its abandonment† by the half-pay officers and their families, who had been placed there as an advanced post to cover the Zuurveld. The necessary enlargement of the locations was refused, or obtained with great difficulty; while, as we have seen, lavish grants were given to numbers of the frontier boors of the worst class. Successive failures of the corn crops and of potatoes, fell under these circumstances, with crushing weight upon the unfortunate settlers, whose grievances and misfortunes were, however, eventually, to a considerable extent, redressed or compensated: the former by the measures which resulted from the Special Report of the Commissioners of Inquiry, dated May, 1825; the latter by the liberal subscriptions raised in their behalf, about £7,000 being remitted from India and England, and about £3,000 collected in the colony. The distribution of this fund, according to a scheme very judiciously framed from data carefully collected on the spot, did much to restore a numerous and respectable class of people to comfort and independence, and give a renewed impulse to the settlement, which from that time steadily advanced, notwithstanding the partial continuance of blight in the wheat crops for several years.

Meanwhile the condition of the Hottentots, whose valour and fidelity had been so remarkably manifested during the late warfare, was growing worse and worse. Dr.

* Report of Commissioners of Inquiry. Parl. Papers, 1827; p. 91.

† *Ibid.*

‡ *Researches in South Africa*, vol. i., pp. 201, 202.

§ In a despatch addressed to the Commissioners of Inquiry, dated September, 1824, Lord Charles peremptorily denied all knowledge of this transaction. "The seizure of Gaika," he writes, "I never

Philip, who was sent from England in 1818 by the directors of the London Missionary Society, to examine into and report upon the condition of their missions, gave a deplorable account of the systematic oppression, of which Dr. Van der Kemp had previously complained so bitterly, as exercised towards the Hottentot race throughout the colony. He described the Bethelsdorp institution as having been virtually converted into a slave-lodge, and the people called out to labour at Uitenhage, to work on the public roads, to cultivate the lands of the local authorities, or to serve their friends, or the colonial government, receiving for these labours never more than a trifling remuneration, and very frequently none at all. In addition to the daily oppressions exercised upon this people, "we found," says Dr. Philip, "that seventy of the men had been employed for six months in the Kafir war. For this service they received nothing but rations for themselves; nothing in the shape of wages was allowed to their families; and the women, to keep themselves and children from starving, were under the necessity of contracting debts among the farmers, to be liquidated by the personal service of the husbands on their return from Kafirland."‡

In addition to this heavy list of sufferings must be added, that long after the boors were dismissed from the commandoes, the poor Hottentots were still detained from their homes. It would occupy too much space to set forth all their grievances; enough has been already said to show that every class of H.M. subjects within the colony were suffering from gross misgovernment. Meanwhile the frontier tribes, Kafirs, Bushmen, and even the more favoured Griquas, of whom we shall have occasion to speak at greater length in a subsequent page, were all kept in a state of constant irritation. The Kafirs especially were again outraged by an attempt to seize the person of Gaika during a time of peace, which was frustrated by his disguising himself in the mantle of one of his wives, and pretending to be occupied in some feminine occupation. What cause of offence or suspicion Gaika§

heard of until I read it in this tissue of falsehoods," alluding to the statements made by the Albany settlers to the commissioners. A letter in his lordship's own handwriting, directing the attack upon Gaika, was, however, subsequently found at Graham's Town, upon which he boldly defended the measure, and only expressed his regret that it had not succeeded! (See Parl. Papers for 1827, No. 371, pp. 39, 40, 43, 92; and No. 444, p. 13.) The pamphlets

might have given does not appear, but the natural results of this attempt, and "of the irregular incursions of the boors into the Kafir country,"* were renewed depredations on the part of the provoked and goaded Kafirs. These were speedily followed by a retaliatory expedition, consisting of a strong force of military and burgher militia, headed by Major Somerset (the son of the governor, and the newly-appointed commandant on the frontier), of which the following is the official account printed in the *Cape Government Gazette* of December 20th, 1823, where the whole affair is described as a very gallant and meritorious exploit:—

"At day-break on the 5th, Major Somerset, having collected his force, passed with celerity along the ridge, and at daylight had the satisfaction of pouring into the centre of Macomo's kraal, with a rapidity that at once astonished and completely overset the Caffers. A few assagais were thrown, but the attack was made with such vigour that little resistance could be made. As many Caffers having been destroyed as it was thought would evince our superiority and power, Major Somerset stopped the slaughter, and secured the cattle to the amount of 7,000 head, and had them driven to Fort Beaufort, where kraals had been previously prepared for them."

After the frontier boors had received a liberal share of these cattle, as an indemnity for their real or pretended losses, the "surplus" is stated in the *Gazette* to have been returned to Macomo (the son of Gaika) to save the women and children of his tribe from want. But what the surplus was, or how many Kafirs had been killed to "evince our superiority," is not mentioned; we are only informed that not a single man of the colonial force was hurt.

The following account, given by Dr. Philip, of the state in which he found the unfortunate Bushmen, proves that the treatment to which they were subjected was even worse than that endured by the Kafirs, and their condition at this period was certainly discreditable in the highest degree to those whose covetousness brought about, or whose apathy tacitly permitted proceedings attended with such frightful results:—

"In no period of equal length, in the history of the colony of the Cape of Good Hope, has the work of death and slavery been carried on with the same degree of success which has attended it in the interim between 1817 and 1825. In 1816, we had 1,600 people belonging to our Bushman stations of Toverberg and Hephzibah; and the Bushmen, though reduced and harassed by the commandoes which had been sent against them, were still the nominal possession of Col. Bird and Sir Rufane Donkin prove that the whole of this affair was actually planned by Lord C. Somerset, and they likewise expose other most disgraceful intrigues.

sessors of the Bushman country south of the Orange river, and were to be seen existing in separate and distinct kraals, in different parts of the country. But in 1825, when I visited their country, those kraals had disappeared; the missionary stations had all been put down; the country was then in the possession of the farmers; and the poor Bushmen still residing in it, were either in their service, or living like fugitives among the rocks, afraid to appear by daylight, lest they should be shot at like wild beasts."—Vol. ii., p. 269.

At length the general feeling of dissatisfaction and insecurity throughout the colony became felt at home, and a commission of inquiry was despatched to the Cape to investigate its government, and its social condition. The commissioners, Mr. Bigge and Sir William Colcl Brooke, were happily men of unimpeachable honesty, and notwithstanding the extreme difficulty of obtaining information, owing to the tyrannical despotism exercised by the governor, his great power, and the fear inspired by the system of espionage† by which he had surrounded, or at least permitted himself to be surrounded; they ascertained sufficient facts to enable them to frame a report which speedily produced an important change of policy towards the settlers, and in some degree ameliorated the position of the Kafirs. The result of the inquiry with respect to the Hottentots was a grave exposure of the injustice they had so long endured, and a full vindication of the missionary institutions, from the ungrounded charges brought against them by some of the colonists, who sought to suppress them on the ground of their encouraging the Hottentots in idleness, whereas the real objection to these institutions was, as it ever had been, that they helped the labourer to stand firm on his demand for reasonable wages. The commissioners reported strongly in their favour. To this report, to the unremitting labours of Dr. Philip, and the enlightened zeal of Sir Richard Bourke, who in 1828 succeeded Lord Charles Somerset as governor of the colony, may be attributed the passing of a local law which was immediately confirmed in England, and which has justly been called the Magna Charta of the Hottentots. This was the fiftieth ordinance which simply placed these people on an equality with Europeans. It repealed all former enactments affecting the Hottentots, and other free persons of colour lawfully

* Report of Commissioners. Parl. Papers, 1827; p. 92.

† See Letter of Sir Rufane Donkin. Parl. Papers, 1827; p. 45.

residing within the colony, excepting so far as related to existing contracts, and provided that all grants, purchases, and transfer of land, or other property whatsoever, made to or by any Hottentot, &c., should be of full force and effect, and authorized such persons, on procuring deeds of burgership, to obtain and possess by grant, purchase, or other equitable means, any land or property in the colony.* From and after the passing of this ordinance, the Hottentots were no longer subject to any compulsory service, to which other classes of his Majesty's subjects were not liable; nor to any hindrance, molestation, fine, imprisonment, or punishment of any kind whatsoever, under the pretence that such person had been guilty of vagrancy or any other offence, unless after trial in due course of law, "any custom or usage to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding." In order to protect the ignorant and unwary from improvident contracts, engagements for hiring or service were not generally to exceed one month in duration, or they might be renewed from month to month; but in the event of a contract being made for a longer period, of which twelve months was the extreme limit, master and servant were to appear before the superintendant of police, or district magistrate, and sign an agreement which was to be duly filed and registered. Wages were no longer to be paid in liquor or tobacco: women and children were to have separate contracts from the husband and parent: proof of payment of wages was required, and penalties were enacted for detaining children without contracts, or beyond the time stipulated in existing engagements. At the age of eighteen years the Hottentots, and other free people of colour, were to be considered competent to enter into contracts: notice of births and deaths to be given by employers to the field-cornets of their district, and half-yearly returns to be made by the field-cornets to commissioners. In the event of ill-usage, Hottentots, &c., who should bring a reasonable complaint against their masters, if unable to bear the expense, were to have a summons free of charge issued on their behalf. There are other useful provisions in this ordinance. The Hottentots attested their sense of its importance by attaching printed copies of it to their bibles. It is true that no law had previously existed, declaring them incapable of holding land; but the government had habitually abstained from mak-

ing them grants, though aware that their wages were far too low to enable them to become purchasers. Thus the parliamentary returns of 1822 and 1824, show that in ten years 200 acres had been granted to six Hottentot families; and this in a country where a European would consider himself ill-used if his farm were under 2,000; while the amount granted in previous years to the boors greatly exceeded this latter quantity. These petty grants had been obtained by the Hottentots under circumstances highly creditable to the humanity of the private individuals whose disinterested exertions had wrung them from the local government. One instance deserves to be recorded in letters of gold. Among the settlers of 1820 was a Mr. Parker, an Irishman, who came to South Africa as head or leader of a considerable party of immigrants. On arriving at the tract of country allotted to him, he found to his surprise, that it was already in the possession of a Hottentot family. The senior Hottentot, Abraham Lwartz, offered no resistance; he only said that it was a hard case, after his having laboured there, under the instructions of the missionaries, for fifty years, that he, his children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren, who were all Christians, should be thus dispossessed of their lands and houses (of which there were about fourteen built comfortably, in the English style); but, he added, opening a large bible that lay on the table, and turning to the thirteenth chapter of Romans, "pursuant to these instructions, which I consider divine, I will yield to the powers that be." Mr. Parker states that several of the settlers who accompanied him were extremely anxious to get possession of these lands, which in beauty of cultivation exceeded anything he had seen in the colony; but he considered that he should ill discharge his duty as a man and a Christian, in accepting Varkens' Fountain: he therefore assured the aged Hottentot that neither he nor any of his party of colonists should disturb him. He kept his word, and although his decision was met by the local authorities with "very strong expressions of indignation," he nevertheless persevered until he succeeded in obtaining for Abraham Lwartz the legal title to the land which his industry and perseverance so justly deserved.

Before proceeding further with the general history, it is necessary to notice the

* Parl. Papers, 18th March, 1835; p. 169.

proceedings of the race called Bastaards, or Griquas, the offspring of the original Dutch settlers and the female aborigines. Being driven out of the colony by the oppressions of the farmers, they established themselves, under the guidance of their missionary instructors, near the banks of the Orange River, and called their principal station Griqua Town, where a patriarchal government was created, without reference to the colonial laws. They were, however, considered as dependent on the British authorities at the Cape, and two chiefs, named Adam Kok and Barend Barends, were appointed by the Earl of Caledon, during his administration. Disturbances having arisen among them, Landdrost Stockenström was sent to restore order. He recommended the appointment of a resident British agent, and in 1822, Mr. Melville, of the London Missionary Society, was appointed government agent at Griqua Town, with instructions to interfere as little as possible with the customs of the people, to encourage their attendance on Christian instruction, to restrict their intercourse with the colony to the fairs established at Beaufort, and to furnish statistical details and reports as to their condition, &c. All traffic in arms and gunpowder with the borderers was strictly forbidden; but an illicit traffic was largely carried on, the boors selling gunpowder to the Griquas, as onion seed.

In 1821, previous to the arrival of Mr. Melville, the Griquas, owing to internal dissensions, had separated into three parties; Waterboer, who, although by extraction a Bushman, had been created a chief by the election of the people, remained at Griqua Town; Adam Kok and his followers located themselves at Campbell Town; and B. Barends, at Daniel's Kuil: the whole territory extended along both banks of the Orange River, nearly from 28° to 30° S. lat., and from 22° to 25° E. long. The remissness and neglect of the old chiefs, Adam Kok and Barends, caused the Griqua community to fall into a disorderly condition, and a few deserters from the body, named Hendricks, Goegman, and others, established a separate township near the Hart River. They subsequently removed to the hills, were joined by others and by Corannas, and were termed Bergenaars, or mountaineers. Being provided with fire-arms and horses, well-acquainted with the country, excellent sharpshooters, inured to

hardship, and despising danger, they soon became a terror to the Bechuanas, Mantatees, and other yet more barbarous tribes, whose territories they occasionally entered in marauding parties, which, in turn, induced incursions to be made on our exposed northern frontier. Happily, Mr. Melville, and subsequently, Mr. Wright, a "very intelligent missionary from the London institution,"* obtained considerable influence over the mind of the chief, Andreas Waterboer, whose son, at fourteen years of age, became one of the under-teachers in the mission-school at Griqua Town.

Mr. Wright induced Waterboer and his son to pay a visit to the governor at Cape Town, where they were well received, and a treaty was signed† by Sir B. D'Urban and Waterboer, under which the latter engaged to be the faithful friend and ally of the colony; to restrain and punish any attempt to violate the peace of the frontier by any people living within his country; to protect that portion of the colonial border opposite to his own, against all enemies or marauders from the interior, who might attempt to pass through his territory; to assist the colonial authorities in any enterprise which they might undertake for the recovering of property or the apprehension of banditti; to seize and send back criminals or fugitives from the colony; to inform the British government of any intended predatory or hostile attempts which might come to his knowledge, and to co-operate cordially and in all good faith with the Cape authorities, in preserving peace and extending civilization among the native tribes. The governor, on his part, engaged to pay the chief the sum of £100 per annum, to defray the expenses which the execution of the aforesaid engagements might incur; to supply him with 200 muskets, and a proportionate quantity of ammunition, and more of the latter, as occasion might require. Fifty pounds were likewise to be annually placed in the hands of the missionary stationed at Griqua Town, in aid of the school for the education of the children, and especially for their instruction in the English language. To encourage the observance of these engagements, and to secure the benefits which they were intended to afford to both parties, an agent (Mr. Wright) was appointed to reside at Griqua Town, whom the chief agreed to receive and protect, and with whom he was

* Words of Sir B. D'Urban.

† 11th December, 1834.

to communicate confidentially upon all matters mutually concerning his territory and the colony. This treaty was immediately confirmed in England; the Earl of Aberdeen, then his majesty's secretary of state for the colonies, in a despatch dated April, 1835, writes,—“I not only approve in the fullest manner of the object and the terms of this agreement, but I am desirous of expressing the high satisfaction which it has afforded to H.M. government to learn that you have, even in one instance, succeeded so completely to realize the views which the king's government entertain of the only policy which it becomes this country to observe and steadfastly to pursue, in regard to the native tribes by which the colony under your government is in a great measure surrounded.”* It is indeed extraordinary, that the treaty with Waterboer should be the only one before or since carried out effectually with any native chief by the governors of the Cape of Good Hope.

In no colony of the Crown has there been greater administrative difficulty; this has arisen almost unavoidably from the neighbourhood of various barbarous tribes; but this disadvantage has been increased beyond calculation by the almost entire absence of any system, and by vacillating and indeterminate policy. If the destruction of the aboriginal African races had been resolved on, the measure, however atrocious, might, in all human probability, long ere this have been accomplished. If, on the other hand, a due regard to Christian responsibility—social advantage, and native rights, had been the guiding motives of our conduct, the Kafirs might now have been like the New Zealanders, a peaceful and prosperous people, with extensive herds and flocks, cultivating large tracts of lands, and consuming a considerable amount of British manufactures. The Hottentots and Bushmen would, under a similar civilizing procedure, have supplied the demand for labour within the colony,

* Parl. Papers, June, 1835; p. 117.

† Ordinance of 14th July, 1838.

‡ During the years 1825–6, numerous commandoes and patrols were sent from the Graaf Reynet and Somerset districts against the miserable Bushmen, which were not inferior in barbarity to those carried on under the Dutch administration. In one instance (2nd April, 1825) a commando murdered thirteen Bushmen at the Brak River; in another, at Baviana's River (22nd August, 1825), two Bushmen chiefs and one woman were slain, one woman and one child were wounded, and one woman and three children were taken prisoners. On this occasion, Field-cornet

and prevented the necessity of admitting the Mantatees and other savage and foreign tribes into our territory.†

The colonial government oscillated between the two courses, and thus not only left public opinion unsettled, but subjected the Kafirs to the evil influence of the prevailing inimical spirit on their European frontier, while the absence of any penetrating ray of civilization among the Zoolu and other savage tribes on the western and north-western boundaries of Kafirland, caused frequent irruptions and attacks, which not only prevented the Kafirs settling down into peaceable habits, but almost necessitated the maintenance of a belligerent attitude by the colonists, and seemed to justify the continuance of the pernicious system of commandoes against the border tribes, under the authority of the Landdrosts of the several districts, as established by the Dutch government, which was continued in full force on our occupation of the Cape. Earl Macartney, in May, 1797, issued an ordinance requiring all persons to “pay immediate and cheerful obedience” to the commands of the Landdrost when ordered on these expeditions; and Sir Lowry Cole, in June, 1833, thirty-six years after, enforced obedience by enacting penalties of fine and imprisonment against those who refused to obey the summons to service.‡ The commandoes were first objected to by the Right Honourable E. G. Stanley, now Earl of Derby, then H.M. secretary of state for the colonies, who, in a despatch to Governor Sir L. Cole, dated 13th November, 1833, writes—“These expeditions have been represented as a system of military execution inflicted upon the natives, sometimes to prevent or to punish their hostile incursions into the territory wrested from them by the European settlers, but more frequently as a means of gratifying the cupidity or the vengeance of the Dutch or English farmers; and further, as being marked by the most atrocious disregard of C. F. Van der Nest, as usual, fired on the inhabitants of the kraal at daybreak, while its inmates were all asleep, killing or wounding indiscriminately all within its boundaries. [Parl. Papers, January, 1835; pp. 6, 7, 8.] What idea of Christianity could these unhappy beings entertain, when they found its nominal professors perpetrating such wholesale murders? or how could the colonists expect the blessing of peace within their borders? or anything but punishment, sooner or later, from Him in whose sight the life of the humblest of His creatures is as sacred as that of the monarch of the greatest throne on earth, and who says, “*Vengeance is mine,—I will repay.*”

human life, and by cruelties alike disgraceful to those who sanctioned, and destructive to those who endured them." Mr. Stanley was therefore far from being prepared to approve the recent ordinance of Sir Lowry Cole, as affording permanent rules for the habitual conduct of the magistracy, though he might appreciate it as a temporary provision against an extreme emergency; he therefore requested further information on the subject.* Sir L. Cole, in reply, upheld the system of commandoes as the only available means of defending the frontier; stating that—

"During the last four or five years some wandering hordes on the north frontier of the colony have become not merely troublesome, but have organized a system of murder and depredation to an extent that has seldom or never been equalled in past times; whole families have been attacked and butchered by these hordes, composed of the outcasts and refuse of the colony and native tribes; their houses burnt down, and the whole of their live stock and every article belonging to them either carried off or destroyed. The approach of these barbarians can neither be foreseen nor provided against beforehand. They come suddenly and in great force from the deserts, and are generally far advanced on their return thither before any sufficient force can be mustered, either for punishing their crimes or rescuing the plunder from their grasp. On the several points to the north and north-east, the colonists are most liable to the attacks of wandering tribes, and considering the abject poverty as well as the extreme ferocity of these people (who are frequently engaged among themselves in wars of plunder and extermination, the stronger against the weaker, some of the latter have even been reduced to the practice of cannibalism), whose only riches consist of bows and poisoned arrows, it cannot be supposed that the colonists are moved by cupidity in endeavouring to repel their attacks, or follow up their retreat. The desire of vengeance and punishment is only natural, but even this is more frequently defeated than gratified. * * * The atrocities imputed to the colonists are now of rare occurrence, and seldom fail to bring down punishment on their heads, where the guilty individuals can be traced."

Notwithstanding these arguments, Mr. Stanley, after carefully reviewing the whole subject, while fully admitting the difficulties of the case, announced his majesty's disallowance of the commando ordinance; stating, among other just and humane reasons, that by its practical working the sword might be "drawn against whole bodies of people at the bidding of a provisional constable;" and they might be rendered liable to military execution, "though not found in the actual commission of outrages so violent as to be repelled only by force."†

* Parl. Papers, 1st June, 1835; p. 62.

† Parl. Papers, 1st June, 1835; p. 65. Despatch to Sir B. D'Urban, 27th November, 1833.

It was not, however, by the provincial authorities only, that the commando system was carried on, without regard to the claims of justice and humanity; the officer placed in command of the troops on the frontier cannot be exempted from the same censure. One instance of reckless blundering was forcibly represented by certain of the Albany settlers, as calculated to produce disastrous results. To understand this fully, we must bear in mind the unusually peaceful state of the frontier at the time. One of the most successful measures of Sir Rufane Donkin, had been the promotion of an equitable barter between the colonists and Kafirs by means of fairs or markets held at Fort Willshire, on the Keiskamma River, every Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday, throughout the year. No fire-arms, ammunition, or fermented liquors, were allowed to be sold. These fairs were sanctioned, in July, 1824, by Lord Charles Somerset. The Kafirs attended them in large numbers, bringing for sale ivory, ox hides, skins, corn, gum, mats, &c., and purchasing, in return, woollens, cottons, agricultural and other implements, beads, bread, &c. To such an extent was this civilizing traffic carried, that among other articles, 50,441 lbs. of ivory were bought from the Kafirs by about 200 British traders, between the 18th of August, 1824, and the 12th of March, 1825, at a price of from 2s. to 3s. per pound. The Commissioners of Inquiry, in their report dated the 25th of May, 1825, when referring to the unsuccessful attempt to establish tranquillity on the frontier, by compelling the Kafirs to retire beyond the Fish River, which had "entailed expenses upon the government, and sacrifices upon the people, in no degree compensated by the acquirement of the territory which was the object of it," notice the great success that had attended the establishment of fairs on the boundary of the neutral territory; as an important fact to be borne in mind in considering the means of civilizing the Kafirs and permanently establishing the tranquillity of the border. But no scheme that promised peaceful intercourse was allowed a fair chance of permanent success. Some information, perhaps false, and certainly exaggerated, was conveyed in 1825 to Lieutenant-colonel Somerset, the commandant, respecting certain horses and cattle which had been stolen from the colony, or had else strayed over the border,

and were alleged to be detained at the kraal of a native named Neuka. No inquiry appears to have been instituted into the truth of the story, neither was any complaint or appeal made to the leading chiefs, although one of them (Botman) had some time before sent into Fort Willshire a Kafir concerned in the murder of a herdbooy (Isaac Williams), and Gaika, by the peremptory command of Lieut.-colonel Scott, had caused the offender to be strangled. Without even adopting any sufficient measures for the protection of the European traders at Fort Willshire, Lieutenant-colonel Somerset planned a secret and sudden expedition. Accompanied by about 200 men of the Cape mounted cavalry and a party of boors, he proceeded from Graham's Town, intending to attack the kraal of Neuka. By some strange mistake, the onslaught was made on the village of Botman, the very chief who had previously given a marked proof of his desire to keep peace with the colony; several women and children were killed, and Botman himself would have fallen, had he not been recognised by a member of the expedition. The commander, on discovering his mistake, returned the cattle he had just captured, and marched off again in search of Neuka. Unwarned by his past fatal indiscretion, he actually repeated the same outrage by assaulting a kraal occupied by a Gaika tribe, some of whom were likewise fired upon and killed before their innocence was ascertained. On the remonstrance of the chief, a portion of the cattle seized, was restored, and for the third time the commando started afresh after the alleged offender, who, having learned what was going on, had retreated to the woods with all his people and their property, so that he sustained no loss, although upwards of 500 head of cattle were brought into the colony by this murdering and marauding expedition. The military employed, estimated the number of Kafirs, men, women, and children, destroyed, at about twenty. These were all slain at the kraals of Gaika and Botman, from whence also the 500 head of cattle were procured.

Mr. H. Huntley, a settler who had resided eleven years on or near the frontier, in a letter addressed to the Commissioners of Inquiry, dated, Uitenhage, January 17, 1826, says:—

"The enlightened policy of permitting an intercourse and entering into trade with our former ene-

mies, had nearly put a stop to the system of plunder and bloodshed which had so long prevailed. Murder was unheard of, and plunder (save in a very few instances, and to a very small extent) had ceased. In the midst of this long wished-for peace (which had only occasionally been interrupted by such petty depredations as must always be expected from a nation totally uncivilized) when mutual confidence began to be felt, when the trade of the colony was likely to derive the greatest benefit from this new channel, and when the intercourse between a civilized and savage nation promised the happiest results, a wanton, cruel, unprovoked, and treacherous attack was made on the kraals of the very chief whose alliance we had courted, and who considered himself under the particular protection of the colonial government. * * * Is it possible, gentlemen, to expect that the Kafir nation will tamely submit to such galling injustice—to such violation of faith and breach of treaties? Will they not revenge themselves on the inhabitants of this colony? will they not shed blood for blood? and will they not at least attempt to recover their stolen property? Severely will the British settlers, who are just beginning to recover from their losses and other miseries, suffer for this wanton aggression on the part of the colonial government."

EXPULSION OF MACOMO FROM THE KAT RIVER.—Gaika died in 1829, aged fifty-six years. The habits of intemperance which accelerated his death, had for some years before so greatly impaired his faculties, as to render him of little political importance. Unhappily the same brutalizing vice obtained considerable hold upon the mind of his son Macomo, who exercised the chief authority for some time before his father's decease, and afterwards acted as regent during the minority of the young heir Sandilli, the son of Sutu, a Tambookie woman, and Gaika's head wife. Notwithstanding this serious drawback, Macomo was no ordinary character, but possessed much ability and energy. He seems to have been at this time deeply impressed with the necessity of maintaining amicable relations with the colony, and having been permitted by the governor, in 1822, to return and reoccupy a portion of the neutral or ceded territory on the Kat River, he evinced his good-will to the settlers on various occasions by sending to Fort Hare sheep and cattle recaptured by him from other Kafirs. Captain Somerset bore witness in 1828 that Macomo and his people had become very quiet, and even afforded considerable assistance in preventing depredations.† This state of things was interrupted by the breaking out of hostilities between Macomo and the Tambookie or

* Statements laid before the Commissioners of Inquiry, January, 1826, and published in the Parl. Papers of 18th March, 1835; pp. 183—4.

† Parl. Papers, August, 1836; p. 82.

Amatembu Kafirs, under Chalala, who while living, so far as the colonists were concerned, in peace on the borders of the Tarka district, were attacked by him, and being overpowered, fled into the colony for protection; Macomo overtook, plundered, and slew several of them. This breach of the peace he vindicated on the plea of his having acted as the auxiliary of his father-in-law, Powana, himself a Tambookie chief, whose rightful authority Chalala had thrown off. In obedience to the command of the government, he restored his own share of the captured cattle (380 head), and was collecting the remainder from among his followers, when the order arrived for his expulsion from the Kat River.* He remonstrated forcibly, but offered no resistance, and he and his people were removed without bloodshed, the military executing their stern mission with as much lenity as possible. The expelled chief made no immediate attempt to recover the land from which he had been driven, well knowing that he could not expect the co-operation of other Kafir leaders. His brother Tyalic was still suffered to remain within the neutral territory; the sons of Congo,—Pato, Kama, and Cobus, were residing among the colonists, and an alliance had been voluntarily formed by the government with Hintza, the Great Chief of Kafirland, to whose assistance Major Dundas had proceeded, when the Zoolus, sent by their ferocious leader Chaka, (instigated, it is alleged, by some evil disposed persons resident at Natal),† threatened to invade his territories. The primary object of the embassy despatched by General Bourke was the promotion of peace. It was hoped that its leader would be able to act as mediator between Chaka and Hintza, though, on account of the friendly dispositions manifested by the latter towards the colony, he was to be assured of the resolve of the British government to uphold and co-operate with him, in the event of its being found impossible to prevent hostilities. No collision took place with Chaka, who perished miserably shortly after by the hands of his own counsellors, but the mission was nevertheless attended with fatal results. Major

* Evidence of Major Dundas and Dr. Philip, Parl. Papers, 1836; pp. 632—3.

† Much confusion has arisen from the application of the terms *king*, *paramount* or *sovereign chief*, to Hintza, as his actual position was thereby ill-expressed. He was viewed with superstitious reverence, as the lineal descendant of an elder branch of the ruling

Dundas, though expressly sent to act as mediator or defender in an extreme case, allowed the small expedition under his command to be employed for a less worthy purpose. On arriving among the Tambookies, he found their chief, Voosani, suffering from the plundering incursions of the Monguanas, a section of a people commonly called Mantatees, (or, when on warlike expeditions, Fitcani,) who, having been bereft of their country by the rapacity of Chaka, incited by their wants and injuries, had gone forth in turn to plunder and devour. Without any attempt at friendly intervention, the officer, to quote his own words, did not hesitate to avail himself of the opportunity of giving the marauders a lesson. Recommending to Voosani the immediate adoption of hostile measures, he attacked and fired upon a party of 150 to 200 Monguanas, who, he acknowledges, made "little or no attempt at resistance," killed from sixty to seventy of them, and took from twenty to thirty thousand head of cattle, which were distributed among the Tambookies, who declared them to be their property, and therewith returned to their homes in great triumph.§ In a few days, however, Matuwana, the chief of the defeated natives, sent down an overwhelming force, recaptured the cattle, and threatened to come himself at an unlooked-for moment, when "the assistance of white men and guns would not be obtainable." The whole of Kafirland was thrown into confusion, the colony itself was supposed to be in danger, and in about a month after the above-mentioned skirmish, it was deemed necessary to despatch a strong military and burgher force to the distance of nearly 300 miles from the colonial boundary. Delighted at obtaining so powerful an auxiliary, an immense host of Kafirs joined the commando, and pointed out the temporary huts erected in the vale where Matuwana and his men were lying. On the evening of Sunday, the 26th of August, 1828, the troops arrived within a few hours' march of the spot, and after halting for an hour or two, again proceeded, with the view of taking them by surprise at dawn of day the following morning. In this they succeeded.

family, and consulted upon all points of ancient customs or ceremonies, but he exercised no control over any of the other feudal and independent chiefs, all of whom were more or less allied to him by blood.

† Parl. Papers, June, 1835; part ii., p. 25: and Parl. Papers, August, 1836; p. 282.

§ Parl. Papers, 1835; part ii, p. 26.

The greater part of the wretched people were still sleeping when the soldiers galloped in among the huts, and opened a destructive fire upon them as they rushed out. The men, seizing their spears, vainly attempted to defend themselves against the balls and rockets of their assailants; hundreds quickly fell, and the rest fled to the mountains. The troops pursued them, and on their return found their Kafir allies, who, probably from the want of fire-arms, had hung back, and taken little or no share in the engagement, now busily employed in driving off cattle and slaying women and children.* Previous to the attack being made, strict orders had indeed been given by the Commander-in-chief, prohibiting the cruelties common to barbarian warfare; but, after witnessing the ruthless destruction inflicted by British troops upon a people who had never harmed a British subject, it is scarcely to be supposed that they would be restrained by an injunction, the sincerity of which they might possibly have doubted. A writer who has recorded the painful details of these proceedings, states that an officer whom duty required to be on the spot, declared the whole of this sanguinary affair to have been "one of the most disgraceful and cold-blooded acts to which the English soldier had ever been rendered accessory;†" and Captain Stockenstrom publicly declared that this expedition had "brought such indelible disgrace upon us, that any attempt to prevent a repetition may be deemed supererogatory."‡ The colonial government, disgusted by the atrocities committed by the Kafirs, caused it to be notified to them that they were not to expect protection on any future occasion,§ but nevertheless founded upon this most unsatisfactory interference a claim to the lasting gratitude of Hintza and his people, who, it is asserted, as well as the Tambo-

* Colonel Somerset states, "after a continued fire from six o'clock to about half-past one, the enemy was driven from all points, and I found by reports from the rear, that, during these operations, the Kafirs, who, I regret to say, did not attempt to render me the least assistance against the enemy, had employed themselves in the work of destruction, by slaying and wounding the women and children whom they found in the huts along the mountain, and in the rear."—Parl. Papers, June, 1837; p. 51. Thus, while the warriors of the offending tribe were pursued and fired upon for the space of seven hours and-a-half, their wretched wives and infants were perishing also. No estimate states the number of lives destroyed, though it must have been very large; the amount of suffering inflicted is, of course, quite

incalculable, but perhaps it may be well to remember that rockets thrown by British soldiers among groups of naked and fugitive Kafirs, may occasion agony quite as acute as that inflicted by the savage who wreaks his vengeance upon the helpless family of his foe, in a manner far more painful to the beholder or the reader, but possibly not more torturing to the sufferer. It does not appear that the attacking party sustained any loss whatever.

SETTLEMENT OF HOTTENTOTS ON THE KAT RIVER.—The use to which a portion of the territory taken from Macomo was applied, made some amends for, though it could not justify, the manner in which it had been obtained. The government, wishing to give effect to the provisions of the 50th ordinance, felt the necessity of opening a field for the industry of the class in whose behalf it had been framed, and accordingly resolved upon allotting certain lands for their use. The governor, Sir Lowry Cole, and Captain Stockenstrom, who had been recently appointed commissioner-general of the eastern frontier, took an especial interest in the project, and the latter went to the mission stations, villages, and towns, inviting Hottentots of good character to settle with their families on the branches of the Kat River.

This measure would, it was hoped, prove beneficial in many ways. While it afforded some compensation to the natives for the loss of the extensive country possessed by their forefathers, and some reward for the faithful services of many past years, especially during the war; it was likewise expected to ensure an efficient bulwark to the most exposed part of the frontier.

The Hottentots gladly responded to the call, and assembled by hundreds at the appointed rendezvous. Some came on pack-oxen, some on sledges, some in carts, and all who could in waggons, either of their own, or borrowed from the missionary institutions. They could scarcely believe their senses, or realize their freedom and their heritage. The Commissioner-general was on the spot to welcome the new burghers, and impress upon them the duties of their altered position. He then formed

incalculable, but perhaps it may be well to remember that rockets thrown by British soldiers among groups of naked and fugitive Kafirs, may occasion agony quite as acute as that inflicted by the savage who wreaks his vengeance upon the helpless family of his foe, in a manner far more painful to the beholder or the reader, but possibly not more torturing to the sufferer. It does not appear that the attacking party sustained any loss whatever.

† Kay's *Caffrarian Researches*, p. 331.

‡ Aborigines' Committee, 1836; p. 119.

§ Evidence of Acting-governor Wade, Aborigines' Committee, August, 1836; p. 282.

|| The situations of landdrost were abolished in 1828, and civil commissioners substituted in their stead.

them into parties, under separate heads, to whom was entrusted the duty of selecting spots of certain extent, and dividing them into "erven" or building allotments. Of these erven, diagrams were promised to be given; but this was never done, and, consequently, the people became simply occupiers of land on sufferance, as members of the Hottentot nation, and not proprietors as individuals, which could not but have an injurious effect on individual exertion. For a long while they waited patiently, and their fortitude and perseverance during the early years of their settlement were beyond all praise. It was feared that the ejected Kafirs would attack the new settlers, and the latter were therefore provided with fire-arms for their defence. Upon this a large number of the colonists declared that the assaigais of the Kafirs were less dangerous than a congregation of almost starving Hottentots, with muskets in their hands, surrounded on all sides by numberless flocks. Even the originators of the scheme began to doubt whether they had not acted too rashly; but the conduct of the people under these peculiarly trying circumstances amply justified the confidence placed in them. They were told, "show yourselves worthy of freedom, and your further improvement is in your own power." Thus encouraged, they bravely set to work; those who had no other means of their own, lived upon the natural products of the country, bulbs, berries, &c., technically called "*veldt kos*," *field provisions*, or worked for those who had something, while the latter were obliged to economise, to support their families, until in a few months they had an abundance of pumpkins, Indian corn, peas, beans, &c. In a very short time, dams, sloods, and aqueducts appeared, cut through rock and indurated soil with the most miserable instruments. They early showed great anxiety to have schools established among them, regularly travelled great distances to attend divine service, and petitioned the government that their grants might contain a prohibition against the establishment of canteens or brandy-houses. In June, 1833, the settlement contained a population of 2,185 men, women, and children, permanently fixed in the district, under fifty-two heads of parties. These were, for the most part, comfortably lodged, and possessed of

2,444 head of cattle, and 4,966 sheep; they had reaped 2,300 muids of wheat and barley, and completed three-and-twenty miles of water-course for the purpose of irrigation.* Meanwhile they had cost the government nothing beyond the salary of their minister, from fifteen to twenty muids of Indian corn, a few more of oats, given them for seed the first year (1829), and the loan of muskets, together with a little ammunition, as much for the protection of the colony as for their own. They cheerfully paid every tax, too glad to be at length placed on an equality with their European fellow-subjects; to be treated like whom was their first desire—any difference, however trifling, being viewed with suspicious distrust. And trusty defenders they proved to this the most troubled portion of the frontier, defending themselves manfully against the incursions of the Kafirs, who, naturally jealous and displeased at their position, frequently molested them.†

After his expulsion from the Kat River, Macomo retired to the banks of the Chumie; but so far from instigating his people to plunder the colony, he appears rather to have done his utmost to restrain them. Thus we find Colonel Somerset, in August, 1831, acknowledging the material assistance he had received from Macomo's Kafirs, in tracing the murderer of a Hottentot boy,‡ and recovering stolen cattle. Later in the same year, Commissioner-general Stockenstrom writes that Macomo and his brother, Tyalie, had sent forty horses back into the colony, which they had exerted themselves to find in Kafirland, and adds, "any difficulty towards a considerable reduction of our military force, is attributable to the ferment we keep up among the Kafirs, by depriving them of the means of subsistence."§

Notwithstanding this testimony, Sir Lowry Cole, before leaving the colony, in 1833, gave orders for the expulsion of Tyalie from the Mankazana, beyond the colonial boundary. The command was obeyed, and the chief placed beyond a small periodical stream called the Gaga, or Kaga. Colonel Wade, on succeeding Sir Lowry Cole as acting-governor, being informed by Lieutenant Pettin-gal, the engineer officer originally engaged in determining the boundary, that the Gaga, instead of being beyond, was within the colonial frontier, without consulting the

* Parl. Papers, June, 1835: part ii., p. 73.

† Parl. Papers, 1836; p. 154.

‡ Aborigines' Committee, Parl. Papers, 1836; p. 114.

§ *Idem*, pp. 294—5.

frontier authorities, gave orders for the further removal of Tyalie, Botman, and Macomo, beyond the Chumie. Colonel Somerset, the commandant of the frontier, was absent on leave: Colonel England, the officer appointed in his stead, after consulting Captain Aitchison, who had been named by the colonial government to the ungracious task of removing the chiefs, wrote back suggesting a few months' delay, as an act of charity towards the Kafirs, on account of the forward state of their corn and pumpkins. By return of post, however, a peremptory repetition of the former instructions arrived. The force entrusted to Captain Aitchison was quite inadequate to effect its purpose by violence.* He sent for Macomo and Botman, both of whom he had known for years, and explained the case to them. The former was very much irritated, said that they could bear witness at Fort Willshire to his good conduct, and asked what was the cause of his removal. Captain Aitchison could not tell him, having heard nothing, no reason having been assigned to him. Being, moreover, asked by a boor who lived near to Macomo, the same question, he could only reply that he was obeying orders; upon which the farmer said, "I am very sorry for it, for I have never lost, so long as they have been here, a single beast; they have even recovered beasts for me." After many hours' discussion, during which Macomo told Captain Aitchison he knew very well he could not force him; he was persuaded to go quietly, on being assured that his good behaviour should be represented to Colonel Somerset and the new governor, Sir Benjamin D'Urban, both of whom might be expected on the frontier very shortly. In two days the territory in question was evacuated. In reliance upon the prospect of redress held forth by a man who "had never deceived them in any way whatever," the tribes left their cultivations, and removed in a time of severe drought to a country much inferior in quality, and already thickly inhabited. They took Captain Aitchison over the country which they were to inhabit, and there was not a morsel of grass upon it; "it was as bare as a parade."† This occurred in November, 1833.‡

* *Vide* Captain Aitchison's evidence before the Aborigines Committee of 1836; p. 8.

† *Idem*, p. 9.

‡ At this very time it was admitted by the leading authorities, in an official communication, that the

Colonel Somerset, on his return from England, seeing the very lamentable state of distress into which Macomo, Tyalie, and their people had been thrown, by their expulsion from a space of upwards of forty square miles, their cattle being actually dying of starvation, besought the governor to permit their temporary reoccupation of a portion of the lands as an act of mercy. He specially urged the "most exemplary" conduct of Macomo, attested by Colonel England and all the field-cornets.§ In consequence of this appeal the Gaikas were again allowed to cross the Keiskamma; but the late acting-governor (Colonel Wade), and the civil commissioner, Captain Campbell, remonstrated so strongly with the governor against the consideration thus evinced to them, as being equally "extraordinary as injudicious,"|| that they were again expelled by return of post.

In the same year they were allowed to resettle themselves,—and again removed. This last ejection took place on the 21st October, 1834. Colonel Wade, who witnessed it, says, "at this time they had been returned about a month, had built their huts, established their cattle-kraals, and commenced the cultivation of their gardens." He states, that, together with Colonel Somerset, he made a visit to Macomo and Botman's kraals, across the Keiskamma, and that Macomo rode back with them to the Ombobina, a tributary of the Chumie, where a fearful scene awaited them.

"These valleys were swarming with Kafirs, as was the whole country in our front, as far as the Gaga; the people were all in motion, carrying off their effects, and driving away their cattle towards the drifts of the river; and, to my utter amazement, the whole country around and before us was in a blaze. Presently we came up with a strong patrol of the mounted rifle-corps, which had, it appeared, come out from Fort Beaufort that morning: the soldiers were busily employed in burning the huts, and driving the Kafirs towards the frontier. * * * I rode with Macomo some time, who was evidently sorely vexed at the work that was going on around us. He complained of the Kafirs being so often permitted to enter the colony, and again thrust out, without any apparent cause for their removal; that they had remained for the last five weeks unmolested, and were again burnt out, when there was no cause of complaint against them. He asked me, emphatically, 'When am I to have my country again?' In the evening we [i.e. Colonels Somerset and Wade] proceeded to Fort Beaufort, and, on

Kafirs had "good grounds for complaining of aggressions on the part of the colonists."—*Parl. Papers*, July, 1837; p. 102.

§ Letter to Sir B. D'Urban.—*Vide Parl. Papers*, July, 1837; p. 103. || *Idem*, p. 109.

the following morning, breakfasted at the Chumie, within three miles of Tyalie's kraal. In compliance with Colonel Somerset's request, he had assembled his warriors for a sham fight; he was, however, evidently out of humour, and conversed but little. After the fight, I told him I would visit him on the following day at his own kraal, which I did, in company with Captain Armstrong; but he was still in a sulky state, and talked but little."—Evidence of Colonel Wade before the Aborigines Committee of 1836; p. 315.

The sight of burning villages, ruined cultivations, and people driven away like wild beasts before the sword, might well render the chief "sulky," that is, too full of sorrow and anger to be inclined for friendly conversation with those who, however unwillingly, were the chief actors in this scene of havoc and destruction. That British officers, under such circumstances, should request the diversion of a "sham fight," is passing strange. The proud Kafirs, in whose breasts an insult rankles when an injury might be forgotten, in complying, possibly solaced themselves with the hope that ere long they would take the initiative in a real fight in which the spectators should bear their part.*

SECONDARY CAUSES OF THE WAR OF 1834-'5.—The extension of the colony, not by right but by might, and the consequent expulsion of Macomo and Tyalie from the territory each regarded as peculiarly his own, was beyond doubt the leading cause of the war; but there were many minor ones. The frontier system can scarcely be classed among these; it was in itself sufficient to have produced the most fearful results. Stockenstrom, from whose appointment in 1828, as commissioner-general of the eastern division, so much had been expected, had found himself quite powerless to follow out his view of giving protection to both sides, to the colonists, the Kafirs, and the other native tribes. The tacit opposition of the colonial government, evinced

* One of Macomo's Kafirs, named Goobie, having raised his hand to oppose the burning of his hut, built on the Gaga, in which (according to the statement made by the Kafirs to Dr. Philip) his sick wife and child then were; was taken to Graham's Town, and sentenced by the magistrate to be imprisoned for two months, and receive fifty lashes, for resisting a serjeant in the execution of his duty. Goobie, when released, went through Kafirland, showing his wounded back, and calling upon his countrymen to avenge a wrong which, according to their notions of honour, was an unpardonable affront to them as a nation, and far worse than death to him, no other Kafir having ever been subjected to so degrading a punishment.—Aborigines Committee: evidence of Capt. Bradford, p. 161; Dr. Philip, p. 552.

chiefly by all communications being held with the inferior officers of his department, instead of with or through their head; and the difference of opinion existing between himself and the military commandant, Colonel Somerset, respecting the defence of the frontier, induced him to come to England and explain the utter inutility of his office to the secretary of state, who abolished it in December, 1833.

The commissioner-general considered the great source of misfortune on the frontier to be the reprisal system, namely, the taking Kafir cattle by patrols, and he gave the following reasons for his opinion:

"If Kafirs steal cattle, very seldom the real perpetrators can be found, unless the man losing the cattle has been on his guard, and sees the robbery actually perpetrated, so that he can immediately collect a force and pursue the plunderers; if the cattle be once out of sight of the plundered party, there is seldom any getting them again; our patrols are then entirely at the mercy of the statements made by the farmers, and they may pretend that they are leading them on the trace of the stolen cattle, which may be the trace of any cattle in the world. On coming up to the first Kafir kraal, the Kafir, knowing the purpose for which the patrol comes, immediately drives his cattle out of sight; we then use force, and collect those cattle, and take the number said to be stolen, or more;† this the Kafirs naturally, and as it always appeared to me, justly resist; they have nothing else to live on; and if the cows be taken away, the calves perish, and it is a miserable condition in which the Kafir women and children are left: that resistance is usually construed into hostility, and it is almost impossible to prevent innocent bloodshed. * * * There have been instances where the farmers have gone into Kafirland with a patrol, pretending to be on the spoor of stolen cattle, and where cattle were taken from the Kafirs on the strength of this supposed theft, and on returning home he has found his cattle in another direction,‡ or found them destroyed by wolves, or, through his own neglect, entirely strayed away; and thus men, not losing cattle at all, but coveting Kafir cattle, have nothing more to do but to lead the patrol to a kraal, and commit the outrages above described. The Kafirs have frequently told me—'We do not care how many Kafirs you shoot, if they come into your

† The regulations varied greatly in this respect, as in most others; sometimes the number stolen was to be restored four-fold; at others twice as many were to be taken; and again, only an equal number to that lost; but these rules varied every three or four months. With regard to the taking of life by patrols, our system was equally vacillating.—Aborigines Committee of 1836; pp. 6 to 37.

‡ Captain Aitchison stated that he had known boors come and report the loss of certain cattle, and the patrol, sent in consequence, had found them in the little jungles near the farm. The same witness declared that patrolling expeditions were the sole business of the corps, and that the junior officers had been out as often as four times a week.—*Iidem*, pp. 6, 7.

country, and you catch them stealing; but for every cow you take from our country you make a thief. This I know to be the case, and though I am aware that this is an unpopular view of the question, I must persist that as long as Kafir cattle be taken, peace on the frontier is utterly impossible."*

To remedy these evils, the commissioner-general proposed that, in granting land within the ceded or neutral territory, one condition should be the support in each location of a certain number of armed men to take care of the flocks; and that where it should be proved, that a man had left his cattle unguarded, or had not seen them for the space of four-and-twenty hours, no patrol should cross the frontier in search of them. He declared that nine-tenths of the losses so much complained of happened through the negligence of the colonists, and that while commandoes were actually assembling in consequence of alleged depredations, flocks were scattered through the thickest part of the bush, both day and night, unguarded, which was a sufficient temptation for barbarians to steal them. During his tenure of office, if unable to effect the good he desired, Stockenstrom at least prevented the commission of much evil, and more than once prevented the outbreak of war by deprecating the assembling of unnecessary commandoes, though clamorously demanded by a certain class among the farmers. Unhappily his representations were often disregarded, and expeditions, such as that against the Kafirs in 1831, were sent out in direct opposition to them; while in other cases his authority was wilfully ignored both by the Cape and frontier authorities, as in the instance of the Bushman commando in 1830, of which he became aware only by accidentally hearing of the ammunition furnished by government on that occasion. Even his most forcible statements respecting individual cases of wrong and aggression, which were goading the Kafirs to madness, were suffered to remain wholly unnoticed. A striking illustration of this is furnished by the circumstances attending the death of the aged Kafir chief, Zeco, the uncle of Gaika. At the requisition of Somerset, Stockenstrom, in June, 1830, had been induced to sanction and accompany a commando against the Kafirs. As usual, the expedition was to be carried out in divisions. The general

order given by Stockenstrom was that only cattle which could be sworn to as stolen from the colony, should be seized, under pain of prosecution for theft and perjury, unless the Kafirs should offer forcible resistance, in which case the cattle of the offending kraals were to be confiscated. This he desired to be made known to the Kafirs as an inducement to them to remain quiet, and he gave most explicit directions in writing to Field-cornet Erasmus, who commanded the Dutch burgher force, which he himself enforced on them by word of mouth when on the eve of starting.

Other and opposite directions would, however, seem to have been given on the same occasion; for Colonel Somerset, when appealed to some six years after, declared that under any circumstances he intended all the cattle of Zeco and several minor chiefs to be taken to Fort Willshire, where, after all the colonial cattle had been selected, a portion of that belonging to the Kafirs would be retained as an equivalent for the losses of the settlers.† So great a misunderstanding between the leaders of the expedition could scarcely fail to impress the Kafirs with an idea of deliberate bad faith, when they found some portions of the commando making distinct promises on the part of their leaders, and others violating them on the same authority.‡

When the various divisions united in Kafirland, Erasmus reported that his party had had a severe fight with the Kafirs, who had resisted his attempt to seize the colonial cattle; that his people were obliged to fire on them in self-defence, had killed several, and borne away their cattle. The two commanders believing this account of the matter, retained most of the captured cattle and distributed them among the colonists. Not long after, on again visiting the frontier, the commissioner-general was informed that the report of Erasmus was untrue, and that Zeco had been shot even unarmed. He forthwith proceeded into Kafirland, and instituted a searching inquiry, collecting all possible information, both from the Kafirs and from the Hottentots who had accompanied the boors. The result led him to arrive without doubt at the following conclusion. That the Kafirs, on seeing their cattle assembled, had besought Erasmus to leave them at least the milch cows; that he

* Evidence before the Ab. Com., 1836; p. 83.

† *Vide* deposition of Colonel Somerset, written in 1836, published in the Minutes of Ab. Com., p. 384.

‡ Macomo long afterwards continued to cite this commando, its broken promises, and fatal results, as having been peculiarly grievous to his people.

had left them a portion, and that they had followed him upon his saying that they might come and demand their cattle of the commandant and commissioner, provided they left their assagais behind, which they did, and that they were assisting in driving their cattle through the bush when they were fired upon.* Zeco and six of his people were killed, and another Kafir was dangerously wounded; the evident inducement for this brutal conduct being to have a plea for the confiscation of the cattle. Stockenstrom immediately acquainted the governor with the statements he had received, expecting that the whole case would be publicly investigated. He admitted that he had not been able clearly to prove that Erasmus had actually given the order to fire, but he urged that the confidence previously placed in him rendered his false report the more unpardonable, and recommended his dismissal as a very necessary example.

Before addressing the governor, or even obtaining full evidence on the subject, the commissioner-general wrote to Erasmus, advising him to come and hear what was alleged by the Kafirs respecting the death of Zeco, in order that he might defend himself.† No notice was taken of either of these communications, and Stockenstrom's remonstrances on other important frontier questions were equally unheeded. His opinions and those of Colonel Somerset were utterly at variance; Stockenstrom warmly deprecated the evils of the patrol system, pleaded the immense majority of cases in which the innocent would suffer, and condemned reprisals under any circumstances, except where upon the authority of government, a regular commando was sent out under proper responsible commanders.

* One account of this melancholy affair, and certainly not an improbable one, is, that the owners of certain of the cattle, on seeing their property carried away, uttered from a distance the peculiar whistle, on hearing which, the cattle are trained to wheel round, and set off at full speed. The backward movement among the herd, caused by this signal, induced the boors to fire a loose charge among them, with the intention of preventing their escape, and Zeco and his men fell in the confusion. But the statements are so various and so contradictory, that it is now hopeless to arrive at a satisfactory conclusion.

† Aborigines Committee, 1836; pp. 85, 115, 231, 236, 303, 322. In 1836, six years after the death of Zeco, in consequence of the evidence given by Stockenstrom before the parliamentary committee, the depositions of several individuals were taken, and sent to England, on behalf of Erasmus and his

This he considered as different as possible from any man pretending to have lost cattle going in and taking Kafir cattle; the one being necessary and legitimate protection, the other making every man judge and avenger in his own cause. The military commandant, on the contrary, vindicated the patrol system, and went so far as to suggest as a mode of intimidating the Kafirs, that patrols should be directed to fire upon the people of any kraal to which the spoor of cattle might be traced.‡ It was quite evident that two officers equal in rank, with each distinct responsibility, yet differing so widely in their views, could not conscientiously act together on matters imperatively demanding perfect unity. The governor, Sir Lowry Cole, probably felt this when he threw the affairs of the frontier almost wholly in the hands of the military commandant, and so greatly superseded the functions of the civil commissioner-general as to induce the latter to leave the colony. After his departure matters grew from bad to worse; patrols became more and more frequent, until their occasional cessation became necessary, because the horses of the military were so harassed. Other circumstances combined to hurry on a crisis. The Kafirs regard their chiefs with extreme veneration, and they all agreed in numbering among their grievances the ill treatment these had received; citing especially the fate of Zeco, and others of inferior rank, who fell not in time of open and declared war, but during the forays made into their country. The seizure of Macomo, while attending as an invited and honoured guest, a missionary meeting at the Kat River settlement, performed as it was in a peculiarly insulting manner,§ is an instance of the fickle and

companions. Colonel Somerset bore witness to having known Erasmus for many years, and "considered him a humane man, and discreet in his intercourse with the Kafir people." Be this as it may, the guilt or innocence of Erasmus affords no justification for the neglect with which so serious a charge, made by so high an authority, was treated in the colony.—*Idem*, p. 385.

‡ Colonel Somerset to Colonel Wade, August, 1831.

§ Macomo had come at the request of the missionaries belonging to the Glasgow society, who were not aware that any frontier regulation required him first to obtain a pass to enter the colony. He had, however, asked for one, and been refused (why, or by whom, does not appear); but probably thinking the object of his visit—and especially coming alone and unarmed—a sufficient justification, he ventured to come. After addressing the meeting

uncertain conduct observed towards the haughty chiefs, who at one time received marked courtesy from the highest men in the colony, while at another they were subjected to the most gross insults. The wounding of Xoxo, the brother of Macomo and Tyalie, (on 10th December, 1834), while defending the cattle of the latter chief; his calling out to his followers on partially recovering from the fainting fit in which he had fallen, to "fight away!"* and the determined spirit evinced in consequence, doubtless had its effect on the Kafir people, who had long been kept tranquil by repeated promises that the governor would soon visit the frontier and do them justice. About a week before the wounding of Xoxo, a patrol under the command of an ensign aged eighteen, sent out for the recovery of some horses alleged to have been stolen, had seized cattle instead; resistance was made, and the young leader slightly wounded by an assagai. A fine of 300 head of cattle was demanded, and paid by Eno; not that stolen property had been found in the kraals of his people, but because they had wounded an officer in resisting the carrying off of their own. The Kafirs, therefore, asked why so high a value was set upon the blood of the youngest and most inferior European leader, when that of their own highest and hereditary chiefs was so lightly regarded?

These things, and such as these, had fanned the flame of discontent in minds where it had been long smouldering. Macomo and Tyalie were still disposed to wait the promised coming of the governor to hear and redress their grievances; but in an excellent speech, favouring the missionary cause, he was about to depart, when some horsemen were seen riding furiously down the hill into the village. The serjeant who led them, if not intoxicated, was at least coarse and unmannerly in the extreme. He threatened to pinion the chief upon the slightest show of resistance, though none was offered, or even practicable, and loaded his firelock in his face, putting a ball cartridge in both barrels. When they were going off, Macomo said, "I cannot go with this man; this man will shoot me on the way: one of you missionaries had better accompany me, and see what is done to me; for this man will shoot me, and then say I wanted to escape; and therefore some of you had better go with me to see me to the post." The military station alluded to was eighteen miles distant, over a hilly and bad road; but the elder Mr. Read, (the former companion of Van der Kemp), though then advanced in years, and already fatigued with the exertions of the day, went himself with Macomo, and, according to Colonel Wade (Aborigines Committee, p. 420), "begged very hard" for the chief, who was accord-

their people were no longer governable. The disturbed state of the colony had likewise probably its share in urging on the Kafirs, for there is reason to suppose that they were well acquainted with the disaffection prevalent among the boors, and likewise knew the anxieties rife in the minds of the Hottentots, whose support, on condition of being allowed to remain possessed of the Kat River, they are said to have confidently expected. The discontent of the former sprung from various causes, among which may be named the deprivation of compulsory labour, occasioned by the emancipation of the Hottentots, and now about to be followed by the total abolition of slavery. This aggravated their ill-feeling towards the colonial government, of whose frontier policy they made many and bitter complaints. The chief cause which led the Kafirs to look for the co-operation of the Hottentots, was the state of dread and uneasiness which had been kept up among them by the frequent discussion of the vagrancy question, both in the Cape councils and in the public journals. The old Dutch law against vagrancy, by whose provisions the first offence was punishable by whipping, the second by whipping and banishment from the district, and the third by branding and banishment from the country, had been annulled by the fiftieth ordinance, which ordinance having been confirmed at home by an order of the queen in council, could be set aside only by another act of the supreme authority. The apprenticeship of the slaves, by which their complete manumission was heralded, being about to commence, the subject of a vagrancy ingly liberated after a severe reproof.—*Vide* account published by Mr. Barker, one of the missionaries present on this occasion, and cited in the Report of Committee of 1836, p. 421. See also the evidence of the younger Mr. Read, pp. 593-4. At this very time there were about 200 traders, with their wives and families, residing in Kafirland, many of them under the special protection of Macomo. Captain Bradford, of the East India Company's service, who spent eight months of the year 1834 in Kafirland, declared, that a friend of his asked the wives of some of these men if they were not alarmed when their husbands left them to go into the colony. They replied, they were as safe as if residing in Graham's Town; for their huts were seldom or never robbed, although they contained the things esteemed most precious by the Kafirs.—*Idem*, p. 160.

* Evidence before the Aborigines Committee of Jan Tzatzoe, the Christian chief of a tribe numbering about 2,000 souls, who sided with the colonists, pp. 563-4-7. See Lieutenant Sutton's account of the affair, Parliamentary Papers, June, 1835; Part II., p. 121.

law was again mooted, its promoters either forgetting or wilfully overlooking the cruelty of such a measure in a country where there were no poor laws, and consequently no public provision for the relief of the really indigent and incapable, who would thus be subjected to the penalties designed for the idle and disorderly. One great proof that the Hottentots had used their freedom well, was that they had brought no burden upon the colony. Contrary to the general opinion, that their excessive indolence would incapacitate them for earning their own livelihood except when under stringent and systematic coercion, many of them not only contrived to provide the necessaries of life for themselves, but also for their infirm and aged relatives, who had no "parochial aid" to look to in the hour of necessity. Unquestionably there was an increase of vagrancy, that is to say, the Hottentot, in many cases, gave way to the indolent habits induced by a fine climate, the ability to maintain life upon the poorest and cheapest diet, and above all by the absence of any sufficient motive for exertion. Still, however, there was clearly no sufficient cause to justify the proceedings of the majority of the colonial legislature, by whom a vagrancy law was passed, and sent to England, notwithstanding the energetic protest of some of the most eminent men in the colony,* including the governor (Sir B. D'Urban), who declared himself to have arrived at the conviction, from his own investigation and the opinion of competent authorities, that the existing laws were sufficient for holding a proper check upon vagrancy. He, moreover, dissented from the bill on the grounds of its containing several clauses so fraught with danger to the liberties of H. M. colonial subjects, and especially to one large class of them, that while he felt sure that they would never be allowed by the king in council, he feared the having enacted them would essentially prejudice the colony in the opinion, not only of the government, but of the English nation.†

The governor had foreseen rightly; the proposed measure was decisively rejected by the home authorities; but meanwhile so much anxiety and doubt had been excited among the Hottentots, as to lead the Kafirs to hope for their co-operation against the

colony, of whom, however, the result proved them brave and loyal members.

WAR OF 1834-'5.—The wounding of Xoxo occurred about the 15th of December, 1834. It was immediately followed by the assumption, on the part of Tyalie's people, of a most threatening and determined aspect. The chief himself proceeded to the mission-station established on the western side of the Chumie. Mr. Chalmers was absent in the colony, having left his wife and family as usual under the sole protection of the Kafirs. Tyalie desired Mrs. Chalmers to write and inquire why the military at Fort Beaufort had wounded his brother; but she induced him to remain quiet until the arrival of her husband, when the chief returned, attended by a number of his counsellors, who all appeared exceedingly infuriated, declared that the white men were determined to ruin them, that the soldiers had unjustly taken their country, burned their houses, killed their chiefs, and seized their cattle; they knew not what to do—they sought vengeance. Tyalie declared, "every year a commando comes, every week a patrol comes, every day farmers come, and seize our cattle." Mr. Chalmers pressed him to go to the military post, and there ask redress, assuring him that he would be safe; but his counsellors said, "No, do you wish our chief to be killed, like the son of Eno and Zeco?"‡

A message was sent to Hintza, who lived to the eastward, over the Kei River, about ninety miles distant from Tyalie's kraal; but without waiting his answer, the border clans at once commenced making incursions into the neutral territory, driving their own cattle into the interior, slaying the goats, avowedly because they could not run from the white men, whom they expected shortly to invade their country, and ordering the English traders residing among them to quit immediately.

Notwithstanding all this, the authorities on the frontier, up to the last moment, appear to have had little dread of anything worse than what may be termed Kafir patrols, and were quite unprepared for the desolating inroad made on the 23rd, when an overpowering body§ of native warriors, led by Tyalie and the wounded Xoxo,|| burst into the districts of Albany and Somerset,

* *Vide* opinions of Chief Justice Wyld and Justice Burton.—Parl. Papers, June, 1837; pp. 170—181.

† Parl. Papers, June, 1837; p. 102.

‡ *Vide* Parl. Papers, July, 1837; p. 82.

§ According to Sir B. D'Urban they probably numbered 20,000; but, from later evidence, 5,000 would be probably much nearer the truth.

|| There is reason to believe that Macomo never

and swept along the whole frontier line from the Winterberg to the sea (90 to 100 miles in extent), massacring the farmers, burning their dwellings, and carrying off the live stock, but sparing universally the women* and children.

The horrors of war were now felt at Graham's Town—all was alarm and uncertainty. Such military preparations were made as the emergency would permit; the town was divided into five wards; the males capable of bearing arms, numbering perhaps from 400 to 600 men, were enrolled, and all the spirit-shops were immediately closed. Colonel Somerset, fettered by the want of men and ammunition, continued to make demands on the few troops stationed at Graham's Town, whither the ruined farmers and their families poured in from all quarters, each bringing some new tale of rapine and bloodshed. On the 25th of December the Kafirs ravaged the farms within twenty miles of the town; and during the first week of January, 1835, had penetrated in straggling parties to the eastward, even beyond the Sunday River, spreading the panic to Port Elizabeth, in Algoa Bay, whither many inhabitants of Albany and Uitenhage had fled with their live stock and effects.† Fort Willshire, on the Keiskamma, (a square of barracks, store-houses, and stables, with four small bastions at the angles, and a couple of guns,) was taken possession of by the Kafirs, and in part burnt. The open post at Kafir Drift, and the "wattle and daub post" at Kat River, shared the same fate. Between the outbreak on the 23rd of December and the 1st of January, 40 farmers had been murdered, 450 farm-houses were burned, and 4,000 horses, above 100,000 head of cattle,

entered the colony, but remained in the mountains during the whole of the war.—Parl. Papers, August, 1836; p. 606.

* One woman was killed, but it was not intentionally; many were specially protected. More than one instance occurred of Kafirs, not only carefully guarding little children who had fallen into their hands, but even travelling many miles through the disturbed country to restore them to their mothers.—Parl. Papers, July, 1837; p. 300.

† *Idem*, p. 131.

‡ Parl. Papers, July, 1837; p. 47. The damage done was estimated at above £288,000, but this statement was probably greatly exaggerated.—*Idem*, p. 329.

§ Parl. Papers, August, 1836; p. 364.

|| Macomo, Tyalie, and others, had for years been promised by official authorities, that "the Governor" of the time being, would come to hear and redress their wrongs. It was the more imperative upon

and above 150,000 sheep and goats, were carried off.‡ Meanwhile the messengers sent to the powerful Hintza returned, bearing a very laconic reply, "Hintza sends his word to you, and says, you must not fight, for I do not fight."§ Some of the chiefs obeyed this mandate; but the majority gave way to the fury of their people, who persisted in entering the colony in heavy columns, though generally under leaders of inferior rank. For the colonists, however, efficient succour was near at hand. The governor, on hearing the fearful news from the frontier, acted with a promptitude and energy which contrasted painfully with his previous delay;|| Colonel (now Sir Harry) Smith was sent off to the eastern frontier to take the command of the army, which he assumed on the 7th of January, having performed the journey from Cape Town to Graham's Town, a distance of 600 miles, on horseback, in six days. Troops and stores were forwarded on the 2nd of January, disembarked on the 11th at Algoa Bay, and sent forward to Graham's Town as quickly as the difficult route and the tedious means of conveyance by ox-waggons over bad roads would permit. The governor proclaimed martial law to be in force within the districts of Albany, Somerset, Uitenhage, Graaf Reynet, George, and Beaufort, for all cases and in all matters connected with the combined forces of the burghers in the eastern division and H.M. forces. In communicating the tidings of the invasion to H.M. government, he stated that the Kafirs were "no longer the sort of enemy they were in 1819, either in the nature of their arms, or in their military skill and arrangements; they have now many muskets¶ among them, and their movements are all directed with

Sir B. D'Urban to have fulfilled this promise, since he had not scrupled to declare his conviction that "a complete and effectual reformation of our system of proceeding with the native tribes—if that could be called a system, which seems to have been guided by no fixed rules, certainly by no just one—had become absolutely necessary." He likewise admitted that "a spirit of retribution" combined with other causes to excite the marauding incursions of the Kafirs.—*Vide* Despatch, dated 28th October, 1834. Parl. Papers, June, 1835; part ii, p. 103.

¶ The extensive importation of gunpowder and fire-arms into the Cape colony, and thence into Kafirland, had previously attracted the attention of Acting-governor Lieut.-colonel T. Wade, who, in January, 1834, pointed out, in an official despatch, the danger to which the colonists were thereby exposed. Even the partial change of assagais for muskets would, he rightly predicted, make the defence of the frontier a very different thing from what

no ordinary military combination."* Sir Benjamin then hastened to the frontier, whither he arrived on the 20th, and immediately took command of the troops. His "disposable bayonets" he then reckoned at 1,200, beside which, he proceeded to organize 3,000 men of all descriptions, reckoning much, and with good reason, on the services of the Hottentots, whom he designated "excellent men, and rapidly trained to war, whether on foot or on horseback." Shortly before this (31st December), Tyalie and a band of armed Kafirs had again compelled Mr. Chalmers to be the unwilling medium of conveying a statement of their wrongs to Colonel Somerset and the governor. They dictated a graphic, and, it is to be feared, only too truthful account of their wrongs and sufferings, stating in the following terms their chief grievances:—

"That there were three things which were great in Kafirland:—1st, It is a great thing to kill a chief or to wound him; 2nd, It is a great thing to take land from the Kafirs; 3rd, It is a great thing to seize the real cattle of a chief.

"That the Kafirs cannot say that their chief's cattle were beyond the boundary line, as they consider that the lawful boundary line is the Great Fish River.

"That they (the Kafirs) request payment for the killing and wounding of their chiefs, in the same way as Colonel Somerset made Eno pay 200 head of cattle for the wounding of a British officer."

The communication terminated with overtures of peace,† which Colonel Smith as commanding officer decidedly rejected (as also a similar proposal made by Macomo) through Mr. Chalmers, who conveyed the intimation to Tyalie, on the 15th of January, some days after the kraals of the chief had been destroyed by the troops.

Mr. Chalmers says—"I read the communication of the commander twice to the chief, and after I had finished, he appeared haughtier than ever I saw him. He abused the white people, and tracing back a period of eleven years, he particularized times when herds of cattle were taken from him, and requested me to ask the governor, 'Where is the payment of all

these cattle taken by commandoes? I do not mention small herds seized by patrols. As to restitution, I have no power to make it; but if the governor is desirous of restitution, he must come and take it where he can find it. In the mean time, I order all my people and the other Kafirs to slaughter and eat, slaughter and eat; and to-day I have no desire for corn or milk, but flesh meat alone.'"‡ Soon after this the various missionaries stationed in Kaffraria fled to the colony. Notwithstanding the excited state of the people, not one of them received the slightest injury, some being especially protected by Macomo and Tyalie, others by Sutu, the "great widow" of Gaika, who exerted herself most strongly on their behalf. The Kafir chiefs, Pato, Congo, and Kama, who had been suffered to remain within the colony, evinced their loyalty by escorting thither the missionaries stationed at Wesleyville (about twenty miles beyond the Keiskamma), together with the traders who had fled thither for refuge, to the number of 100 persons. This they accomplished at the express request of the governor, and at considerable risk to themselves. Sutu likewise laboured for the protection of the traders, and so successfully that although upwards of 200 were scattered far and wide over the country of the infuriated Kafirs, only two lives were lost. Several of their converts followed the missionaries into the colony; among others, two sons of Gaika (Matua and Teuta). Jan Tzatzoe, a chief of the Gaika family, who had been in early youth the pupil of Van der Kemp, with his people, including about 400 fighting men, took part with the English. Harassing guerilla warfare continued between the troops and the Kafirs, who took refuge in the dense bush bordering the Fish River, until in the early part of February Colonel Somerset drove the invaders over that stream, and Colonel Smith expelled other parties stationed in the woody fastnesses between it and the Keiskamma. On the 19th, Captain Armstrong's

it had hitherto been. The total annual importation of gunpowder had increased from 29,379 lbs. in 1825, to 67,148 lbs. in 1833, of which large quantities were carried into the interior. Under the Dutch government, gunpowder could be imported only by the authorities at Cape Town. It was then sold at prime cost, on payment of a fee, varying according to circumstances. Earl Macartney confirmed these regulations; but in 1832 an order in council permitted the importation by private individuals, a practice which had been for some time previously in opera-

tion. Colonel Wade and his council proposed restrictions on the importation and sale, by licenses and stamps, and proper supervision: the ordinance was, however, disallowed by the home secretary, in June, 1834, and another substituted in its place, which proved totally ineffective.

* Parl. Papers, June, 1835; p. 130; and 30th May, 1836; p. 4.

† These overtures were suspected by Mr. Chalmers to be merely a *ruse* to gain time.

‡ Parl. Papers, July, 1837.

post on the Kat River was attacked in great force, but without success. It was not until the latter end of March that Sir Benjamin D'Urban having completed his preparations, and disposed commissariat and ordnance stores for a month's consumption, proceeded to invade Kafirland, at the head of 3,000 men, leaving 2,000 for the defence of the frontier, expecting to finish his operations within the period named. No such speedy termination, however, awaited this most unsatisfactory war; the Kafirs, though proverbially fearless of death, were too good tacticians to allow their foe the opportunity of destroying them by thousands in an open field; since chance of what is termed "fair fighting" there could be none between practised riflemen, such as the troops, boors, and Hottentots all were, and naked barbarians, armed for the most part only with assagais. Thus, though a fearful loss of life was sustained* by the Kafirs, it was taken by means most distressing to the manly feelings of British soldiers. For instance, Colonel Smith writes to Sir Benjamin D'Urban so early as the 18th of January—"The savage enemy has already, since the 8th of January, when I acted on the offensive, sustained a loss of 400 warriors killed, and the number of the wounded must be considerable, as the burghers fire with remarkable precision, and use the large shot, which they call *lopers*. I have, besides invading his own territory, driven Eno from his kraal (he himself only escaped by stratagem), killing two of his brothers, one of his sons, and thirty of his warriors, of whom many had fire-arms. Tyalie's kraals have also been destroyed." The attack upon Eno's kraal was made by surprise; all found were shot, the leader of the attack (Colonel Cox) having no discretionary power, but simply orders "to inflict as much punishment upon the Kafirs as possible." Eno escaped in the dress of his daughter, who, taking her father's place at the head of his men, was wounded in the shoulder, and made prisoner.†

To enter into further details of so unequal a contest would be worse than useless; it is sufficient to record its results, and a few of its most striking incidents. The movements of

* The amount of life lost during the war is, however, now believed to have been greatly overstated.

† Her wound was carefully attended to, and she was eventually restored to her father.

‡ Despatch to Lord Glenelg, 19th June, 1835; Parl. Papers, May, 1836; p. 15.

§ Parl. Papers, June, 1837; p. 78.

the army, including the hastily formed levies, were many of them well planned, and executed with a precision and rapidity worthy a better cause than a mission of rapine and desolation. The attacks upon Kafir kraals, and the carrying off immense heads of cattle, afford very monotonous reading; but the leading feature of the war stands out in painful prominence, quite apart from these.

HISTORY AND DEATH OF HINTZA.—It is necessary to go back a little, rightly to appreciate the circumstances that rendered the death of this great Chief an event which even Sir Benjamin D'Urban reluctantly admitted he "would rather, perhaps, had not occurred thus."‡ From the time of the threatened irruption of Chaca, in 1827 and 1828, Hintza had been on the most friendly terms with the colony. So early as December, 1826, the London Missionary Society had requested and obtained the permission of the chief to establish a station within his territories, which they had accordingly done (Butterworth); and although Hintza himself neither was nor pretended to be a convert to Christianity, the pleadings of the missionary nevertheless frequently prevailed with him, to the prevention of war, and were clearly instrumental in producing a partial but decided change for the better among his people.§ For instance, the survivors of the wreck of the *Eole*, a French ship, cast ashore in 1830, near the Bashee River, were so humanely treated by the Kafirs, that Sir Lowry Cole in grateful acknowledgment, forwarded a number of useful presents, which were formally presented by the Rev. Stephen Kay to Hintza. The commando sent into Kaffraria in the same year, and the death of Zeco, however, naturally excited alarm and suspicion in the mind of the Chief; but these feelings were in great measure allayed by the special assurances of good-will made him by the colonial authorities. Doubtless the various seizures of the territory of the Gaikas had renewed his distrust, yet when appealed to at the commencement of the war, 1834-'5, we find him refusing to take part, and even clearly forbidding it. In the middle of March, Sir Benjamin D'Urban states that the tribes in open and avowed hostility to the colony, and who had joined in its invasion, were those of Tyalie, Macomo, Botman, Dushani, Umhala, Zlambie, and some minor ones. In this list he does not include Hintza, but he accuses him of having re-

ceived the plundered cattle into his territory, and of being very desirous of holding off to await the result of the war, and act accordingly. He concludes by a tolerably explicit intimation that hostile proceedings will be adopted against him so soon as the border clans shall have been "disposed of."*

With regard to the first charge brought against Hintza, it must be remembered that he ruled over a very extensive tract of country, reaching from the mouth of the Kei to its sources in the Stormberg mountains, and between it eastwards and the Bashee. Drove of cattle might easily, without his knowledge, have passed a boundary which, according to military men, 3,000 soldiers would be insufficient to guard, or he might very possibly have permitted his brother chiefs to place their property, or what they represented to be such, in a place of safety. That he should be "very desirous of holding off," is reasonable enough. He had no cause of quarrel with the colony, but he knew that his countrymen had; and since he was not sufficiently powerful to act as a mediator between the contending parties, his policy was clearly to maintain a strict neutrality, though he could not be supposed to look on without deep interest at the encroachments of the colonists, between whom and himself the sole barrier seemed about to be levelled.† Hintza's neutrality, whether real or alleged, was very displeasing to the governor, who, left to his own resources, listened, it is to be feared only too readily, to the statements of the war party among the colonists, to whom the fertile country of this chief, rich in cattle, offered a powerful motive for trading him.‡

On the 15th Sir Benjamin D'Urban crossed the Kei, and entered Hintza's territory. On the 17th he encamped on the Gona, near the ordinary residence of the chief, who had retired up the country, and sent a message desiring him to come to the camp within five days, or hostilities would be commenced against him. Hintza not making his appearance within the stated time, war was formally declared, and on the 24th and 25th Colonel Smith penetrated into the mountains, captured two of Hintza's

brothers, very nearly surprised the great chief himself, and carried off about 10,000 head of "beautiful cattle."§ The presence of a powerful force in the heart of his country, and the rapidly extending capture of the cattle, probably forced upon Hintza a conviction of the necessity of coming to terms with the governor, from whom he had received an assurance of safe conduct for himself, and an intimation that no other person would be admitted to treat for him. On the 29th of April he came into the camp with his ordinary retinue of fifty followers, and had an immediate interview with his excellency, who demanded him "to restore" 50,000|| head of cattle and 1,000 horses, half of the so-called restoration to be made immediately, and half a year afterwards; and also to pay a fine of 600 good cattle for the two English traders murdered at the commencement of the war. The "acknowledged chief of Kafirland"¶ was also to lay "his imperative commands, and cause them to be obeyed, upon the chiefs Tyalie, Macomo," &c., instantly to cease hostilities, and deliver up to the troops all the fire-arms they might possess.

Any one acquainted with the laws and customs inherent in every feudal system, whether among Kafirs in the present century, or Celts in a former one, will see at once the injustice of the demands made upon Hintza, and understand how utterly unable he must have been to control the actions, and compel the submission of such chiefs as Macomo and Tyalie.** Nevertheless, he acquiesced, and even appears to have received in silence a peculiarly galling piece of intelligence conveyed to him at the same time. The remnants of certain tribes driven from their country by Chaca, and called F'ingoes, a word signifying beggars or outcasts, had sought refuge in the territories of Hintza, and settled as servants among his people. The Kafirs considered them as their inferiors, called them "dogs," an epithet which the chiefs frequently apply to their own people. They did not treat them as slaves—for slavery, as we understand the word, does not exist among the Kafirs; but they behaved to them with so much harshness, that the F'ingoes, many

* Despatch, dated 19th March, 1835.

† Hintza was much in the position of a man watching the burning of his neighbours' houses, and fearing that his own turn will come next.

‡ Parl. Papers, May, 1836; p. 67. § *Idem*, p. 32.

|| No less than 20,000 head of cattle had been captured in Hintza's territory, during the five days which preceded this interview.

¶ Thus termed in Parl. Papers, May, 1836; p. 35.

** *Vide* note to p. 66.

of whom had heard at the mission-stations favourable accounts of the British nation, came in large bodies to the governor when he encamped on the Gona, and requested to be received into the colony. Their request was granted without hesitation by Sir Benjamin D'Urban, who considered that receiving them would obviously assist his measures in the present war, and would provide the farmers with "a plentiful supply of excellent hired servants," while their subsistence would bring no burden on the colony, as they brought with them between 20,000 and 30,000 head of cattle, many herds of goats, with corn and other food, and might at once be placed upon and commence the cultivation of the country between the Fish River and the lower Keiskamma.* Thus nearly 17,000 of Hintza's most valuable subjects were to be taken from him, together with any amount of Kafir property they might contrive to carry away; and further to reward their theft and treachery, they were to be placed on the territory wrenched from the Kafirs, against whom they were "moreover well disposed to fight." Hintza and his people, Sir Benjamin D'Urban considered, had well merited this privation, "in addition to the other chastisements prepared for them."

The motives which induced Hintza to acquiesce in the terms dictated to him, were probably much the same as those that led Gaika, sixteen years before, to form another so-called treaty with Lord Charles Somerset. Each chief was, for the purpose of the time being, assumed to possess powers quite foreign to his actual position, and required to exercise them whether he would or not. The chief remained in the British camp as a hostage for the performance of the conditions stipulated, and was joined by his principal son Kreili, and his brother Bookoo. Up to the third day of his sojourn, Hintza's stay was perfectly voluntary, he being expressly told that he was free to depart; but in the course of that day's march news arrived that the Kafirs were massacring the Fingoes. This the governor presumed to be instigated in some mode or other by Hintza, who was forthwith informed, that having broken the treaty, he had altered his position, and that he and all who had accompanied him, were to be held responsible "until every Fingo

was out of their country. Under this impression of personal fear, Hintza despatched speedy messengers to his people to cease further violence against the Fingoes, which were immediately obeyed."†

Two days after this, Hintza was compelled to lay his commands on all the belligerent chiefs, to cease hostilities; but in spite of the previous threat of Sir Benjamin D'Urban in the Fingo affair, that "if he found any subterfuge in the message they sent, he would hang Hintza and Bookoo themselves on the tree under which they were sitting,"‡ the former privately added to his ostensible communication the laconic hint, "Tell Macomo and Tyalie to take care of themselves, for I am fast."§ Five days had been the time given for the payment of the amount of cattle required; this time having elapsed, Hintza was told that certain conditions of the treaty were yet unfulfilled, and that he would be held responsible. He replied that his people had not yet obeyed him, but that they would do so if he appeared among them supported by British troops. Whether he made this proposal in the hope of finding some means of escape, or whether the idea subsequently suggested itself to him, it is now impossible to discover. The governor thought fit to comply with it, and on the 10th of May, Hintza, accompanied by Colonel Smith and a strong detachment, and leaving his son and brother as hostages in the camp, proceeded towards the River Bashce, leading the party to the recent track of numerous cattle. At 12 o'clock on the night of the 11th, they recommenced their march, and continued till eight o'clock next morning, it being evident that the road suggested by Hintza was really that by which the cattle from all the kraals in the neighbourhood had been driven away. At this time the chief began to manifest great anxiety, and at breakfast said to Colonel Smith, "What have the cattle done that you want them? or why must I see my subjects deprived of them?" On reaching the mouth of the Kebaka, the track of the cattle divided, some having been driven up a "stupendous mountain," the other up a very high, abrupt, steep, woody hill. Hintza advised Colonel Smith to follow the track up the hill, which was accordingly done, and the party advanced

* Parl. Papers, May, 1836; pp. 31, 37.

† *Idem*, p. 18.

‡ *Vide* Letter of Dr. Murray, who accompanied

Sir Benjamin D'Urban. — *Commercial Advertiser*, February 20th, 1836.

§ Parl. Papers, July, 1837; p. 33.

by a narrow path, occasionally passing through the cleft of the rock. When they had nearly accomplished the ascent, Hintza, who was well mounted, attempted to escape by riding off at full gallop, down a gradual descent of land to the river. The guards called out, "Look, Colonel, he is off!" Colonel Smith spurred on his horse at full speed to overtake the fugitive, and coming near him snapped two pistols without effect. Twice during this fearful chase his pursuer succeeded in striking Hintza on the head, first with the butt-end of his pistol, and afterwards by flinging it at him. At length, after a hard gallop of nearly a mile-and-a-half, Colonel Smith gained upon the chief sufficiently to seize him by the kaross (Kafir cloak), unhorse him, and endeavoured to ride over him before he could disengage an assagai from his bundle; but this intention was frustrated by his inability to govern his horse, which rode away with him, while Hintza rose and ran off with great speed, closely followed by one of the guides, to whom Colonel Smith called out, "Fire on him, Southey." The order was obeyed, Southey wounded the chief slightly in the leg, and afterwards shot him through the back. Hintza fell headlong forward, but springing up again, he precipitated himself down a kloof by the Kebaka, where he was followed by Lieutenant Balfour, Colonel Smith's aid-de-camp, and Southey, who again fired, and this time with full effect, for the greatest chief in Kafirland fell down dead into the Kebaka. Nor does this illustration of the horrors of civilized warfare in the nineteenth century end here. Hintza's dead body was lifted out of the water to be—not buried—but *mutilated*; the corpse was flung down again, as if it had been the carcase of a wild-beast, and the ears carried away, and *salted** as glorious trophies. The slaying of a man already desperately and repeatedly wounded, is defended on the ground of his endeavour to throw an assagai, his refusal to surrender, and the danger of an attempt at a rescue by the Kafirs. Colonel Smith dwells strongly on the necessity that had existed for preventing the escape of Hintza, and writing to Sir Benjamin D'Urban, says, "suppose he had escaped from me, what was I to have said to your excellency? the mark of disgrace and dishonour would have been stamped on a brow where heretofore it had not dared to sit." The indignities

* Parl. Papers, March, 1851; p. 13.

committed on the body, and the leaving it a prey to carrion, he passes over in silence.

The above particulars are chiefly taken from Colonel Smith's account of the matter; the actual deathstroke he did not arrive in time to witness; those who did, described it very differently, and the communications made on the subject to the colonial secretary, Lord Glenelg, were so unsatisfactory as to draw from him the following remarks. After commenting on the peculiar position of Hintza, his lordship says—

"I will not pause to inquire whether Hintza was justly detained in your camp as a prisoner, or whether he was really liable to pay with his life the penalty of attempting to escape from the detachment which accompanied him. All this being conceded, there yet remains the question, not hitherto solved, nor, as far as I can perceive, even discussed. He was slain when he had no longer the means of resistance, but covered with wounds, and vainly attempting to conceal his person in the water, into which he had plunged as a refuge from his pursuers. Why the last wound was inflicted, and why this unhappy man, regarded with an attachment almost idolatrous by his people, was not seized by the numerous armed men, who had reached his place of concealment, has never yet been explained. * * * It is said that Hintza refused to surrender, but if the fact be so, of what importance was the refusal of a wounded, helpless, isolated man?"

"It is stated to me, however, on evidence which it is impossible to receive without serious attention, that Hintza repeatedly cried for mercy; that the Hottentots present granted the boon, and abstained from killing him; that this office was then undertaken by Mr. Southey, and that then the dead body of the fallen chief was basely and inhumanly mutilated."—Parl. Papers, May, 1836; p. 67.

At the desire of the secretary of state an inquiry was instituted in the colony, into the circumstances connected with the death of Hintza. The evidence adduced was not made public, but its results are stated by Lord Glenelg to have led him to consider Hintza as having been, if not the fomentor of the invasion, at least engaged in a secret confederacy with its authors, and therefore responsible for the calamity in which he and his people had been involved. "The mutilation of the body," he adds, "is indeed too clearly proved, but the fact has not been brought home to any person."† Concluding this painful episode, we return to the history of the war itself, still far from its termination, notwithstanding the proclamation issued by the governor on the 10th of May, in which, after setting forth the *unprovoked* invasion of the colony, and the alleged defeat, chastisement, and dispersion of the belligerent chiefs and their

† Parl. Papers, July, 1837; p. 270.

tribes, he announces his intention of "removing these treacherous and irreclaimable savages to a safer distance," by extending the eastern boundary of the colony to the right bank of the river Kei, for ever expelling Macomo and his allies from their native land, and treating them as enemies whenever they should be found therein.

The numerous erroneous statements contained in this proclamation are sufficiently glaring. At this very time Sir Benjamin D'Urban was anxiously desiring to make peace with Macomo and Tyalie, and to gain their consent to their banishment across the Kei. Colonel Cox was instructed to endeavour to obtain an interview with the brothers, but they had received Hintza's warning, and positively refused to come to the British camp. Having been eight years on the frontier, Colonel Cox knew Macomo and Tyalie too well to fear treachery on their part; he, therefore, did not scruple to obtain the desired meeting by placing himself entirely in their power.

The gallant officer was well received by the chiefs, who came forward and shook hands with him in the most friendly manner possible, said they were very thankful for the confidence he had reposed in them, and the pains he had taken to make peace, but that they could not accept it on the terms offered. The people would not allow it; they had resolved to die in their own country.

Thus terminated this conference; Colonel Cox, with his single European, and two Hottentot companions, departed from the presence of the chiefs, and about 100 armed Kafirs, all of whom must have been well aware of the importance of taking possession of the person of a British officer of high rank. Yet, though he offered them peace only on conditions to which they thought death preferable, not a threat, not a word of insult escaped these "treacherous and irreclaimable savages." They treated him with the respect and courtesy his trust in them deserved, both parties being in happy ignorance of the miserable scene enacted some few hours before on the banks of the distant Kebaka.

After the death of Hintza, Colonel Smith marched rapidly across the Bashee, to the Umtata River, seized some thousands of fine cattle, and carried them off, together with about 1,000 Fingoes, to the British camp. Sir Benjamin D'Urban, after forming another treaty with Kreili, nearly similar

to that entered into with his father, suffered the chief to depart, and, after much solicitation, his uncle, Bookoo, was likewise released. The governor then returned to Cape Town, leaving Colonels Smith and Somerset to terminate the war as best they might.

Weeks dragged on to months, an enormous daily expenditure was incurred by the British, but poorly compensated by the seizure of oxen, and the wholesale destruction of villages. Still Macomo, sheltered amid the fastnesses of the beautiful Amatola mountains, showed no sign of submission, but continued to maintain a guerilla warfare with the troops, until their horses, crippled with fatigue, became daily less capable of combating a foe to whom a night's march of sixty miles was little more than healthful and accustomed exercise. The proclamation declared the Kafirs for ever banished from Kafirland; but, so far from this, they kept up frequent marauding expeditions along the old colonial boundary, and, during one of the numerous skirmishes which took place, they cut off to a man a detachment under Lieutenant Baillie. The months of July and August passed away, until at length the governor perceiving that the British were losing ground, desired Colonel Cox to seek another conference with the Kafir chiefs, and explain to them the modified terms it was now found necessary to offer them, their expulsion beyond the Kei being manifestly impracticable.

The chiefs who, before the death of Hintza, had been restrained by their people from trusting to the assurances of safety held forth to induce them to come in person to the British camp, were not likely to evince increased confidence three months afterwards; once more, therefore, Colonel Cox, with two or three attendants, went to meet Macomo, who received him at the head of 6,000 warriors. During the long conference which ensued, Macomo repeated very significantly, "Who made the war? We did not begin the war." Colonel Cox considering this a very irritating question, did not discuss it; his object was to bring about peace. In this he succeeded, and on the 17th of September, 1835, a treaty was signed, by which the chiefs and their people agreed to become subjects of the king of Great Britain, and to deliver up all the muskets in their possession; the governor on his part promising to grant certain accurately defined territories to the chiefs. The minor details of the treaty, and the various

contradictory enactments involved therein, need not be dwelt upon, as the British government annulled the whole arrangement in time to prevent the evils that must inevitably have resulted from a system calculated to annihilate the authority of the chiefs, without substituting any sufficient government in its stead.

Before the reversal of the steps taken by Sir Benjamin D'Urban, the confederate chiefs had, however, sworn allegiance to the crown of Britain, within the newly-annexed territory, called the Adelaide Province. The ceremony is represented as having been a very impressive one. Colonel Smith appeared in military pomp, accompanied by several ladies and numerous spectators; Macomo came attended by upwards of twelve hundred cavalry, and his manly bearing, together with the fine person of his brother Tyalie, did not pass unacknowledged even by the naturally prejudiced beholders. Colonel Smith, in addressing the elder chief, said, "Macomo, I have admired your character as a soldier in the bush; you have been a bold and determined enemy, and I have every confidence in the sincerity of your attachment to my king and governor."*

Thus terminated a bloody, costly, and most unsatisfactory war; Sir Benjamin D'Urban, writing to Lord Glenelg, summed up its chief results very briefly:—"In the course of the commissioners' progress in the census of the tribes of Gaika and Zlambie, they have ascertained that their loss during our operations against them, has amounted to 4,000† of their warriors (or fighting men), and among these many captains; ours, fortunately, has not in the whole amounted to 100,‡ and of these, only two officers. There have been taken from them also, besides the conquest and alienation of their country, about 60,000 head of cattle, almost all their goats, their habitations everywhere destroyed, and their gardens and corn-fields laid waste. They have been, therefore, chastised, not extremely, but perhaps sufficiently."§ In this cold, hard summary of a fearful amount of suffering, the number of women and children shot by the troops in mistake for men, and of those who perished of sheer fatigue and hunger, is not mentioned, indeed it would be vain to attempt estimating it; yet, without this addition, the misery

inflicted upon the unhappy frontier settlers, during the ten days' ravage of the frontier, was surely repaid a hundred fold. It is not that the sufferings of the Albany and Somerset settlers can or ought to be lightly regarded. The plain unvarnished, but most pathetic statements contained in the official documents, of a large and fertile tract of country desolated in little more than a week, as if by a locust cloud, and of women rendered widowed and homeless by the fury of barbarians, cannot be read without deep emotion, the more so because these very people had been comparatively innocent of the wrongs which had occasioned the war. I speak advisedly in saying comparatively innocent, for they cannot be acquitted of blame in taking possession of territory to which no government could give them an equitable, though it might a legal title. The right of conquest, let its military advocates say what they will in its favour, is simply the law of the strongest, "they may take who have the power, and they may keep who can." The question of how the Kafirs themselves first acquired possession, is not to the point; we found them in quiet and undisputed occupation, and the allegation of their having previously driven away the Hottentots to lands, afterwards wrenched from these latter by European aggression, is no more excuse for our punishing the present generation of Kafirs for the sins of their forefathers, by driving them back among other tribes, as fierce marauders or miserable fugitives (fingoes), than there would be for their avenging the wrongs committed by our predecessors on the Hottentots, by the total destruction of the colony.

Fair purchase is the only honest mode of acquiring territory; in the end it will prove the cheapest. There is need even when this principle is admitted (which unhappily is yet far from being the case) of much stanch integrity on the part of the buyer. A civilized people purchasing land from a barbarous one, stands precisely in the position of a man bargaining for property with a child who is but partially acquainted with its value; and it therefore behoves the older and wiser party to hold so evenly the balance, that the child, when come to years of discretion, shall acknowledge that he has been justly dealt with.

* Colonel Cox, when questioned by the Committee of the House of Commons, in 1836, concurred in this opinion.—Parl. Papers, August, 1836; p. 348.

† According to Sir A. Stockenström, the actual

number did not exceed 200!—Parl. Papers, March, 1851; p. 13.

‡ Including the colonists who perished during the December invasion. § Parl. Papers, May, 1836; p. 89

No such reasoning as this appears to have had any weight with the majority of the colonial authorities of that day. The few scruples that might have been entertained were easily subdued by the desire of including within the limits of the colony the beautiful and fertile regions of Kafirland, in which it was deemed there would be abundant room for European farmers, notwithstanding the tracts which it was found necessary to reserve for the Kafirs, whose unconquerable determination to die if need be where they were born, had defeated Sir Benjamin D'Urban's first intention of expelling them beyond the Kei. Thus a war, which had cost the imperial treasury nearly £250,000; interrupted a newly-created but rapidly increasing trade, in European commodities, of £30,000 per annum,* broken up all the mission stations, formed with so much labour and cost in the Kafir country; and which a committee of the House of Commons had pronounced, after a protracted and most laborious investigation, to have originated in a systematic disregard of native rights, was to terminate in a fresh seizure of native territory. Nor was it only the border chiefs who were to be mulcted of their finest possessions. Kreili being quite unable to furnish the amount of cattle required by the treaty of May, 1835, in consequence of the number carried away by the Fingoes and the troops, and likewise of an extraordinary mortality which had subsequently occurred among the herds of his people, was compelled, in December, to enter into an arrangement with the governor to forfeit instead a large and very valuable tract of country considerably beyond the Kei.†

REVERSAL OF THE D'URBAN SYSTEM, AND RESTORATION OF THE TERRITORY CEDED BY THE GAIKAS AND KREILI.—The colonists, or at least the majority of them, applauded the governor's proceedings to the skies. The home authorities, and the English public in general, took a different view of the matter, and saw loss and disgrace, where the despatches held forth nothing but gain and glory.

The colonial secretary (Lord Glenelg)‡ on learning from Sir Benjamin D'Urban

the first tidings of the war, the exterminating spirit in which it had been carried on, and the new province acquired by it, required full details as to the causes which had led to the invasion of the colony, before deciding upon the retention or restoration of Kafirland, in which, meanwhile, he specially forbade the granting of farms, or the construction of works of any description. At length, after vainly waiting in the hope of receiving from the governor the desired information, Lord Glenelg, in a despatch, dated 26th of December, 1835, declared that the governor had omitted to supply any clear and comprehensive explanation of the causes which had provoked the irruption of the Kafirs into the colony; and that, deeming a correct understanding of the relations between the colonists and the Kafirs for several years past absolutely indispensable, in order to form a right judgment on the events of the year then closing, he had been led to the study of a large mass of documents, of which some were accessible to the public at large, and others had been brought under his inspection by the voluntary zeal of individuals. The result of these inquiries is thus stated—

"The conclusion, though exhibited in a few general terms, is the fruit of a long and extensive investigation. I abide by it with the greater confidence, because it has been forced upon me by proofs, of which I would gladly have resisted the pressure, but yielding to the conviction which has thus been impressed on my mind, I am constrained to admit that in the conduct which was pursued towards the Kafir nation by the colonists and the public authorities of the colony, through a long series of years, * * * the Kafirs had an ample justification of the war into which they rushed, with such fatal imprudence, at the close of the last year. This justification rests on two distinct grounds:—First, The Kafirs had to resent, and endeavoured justly though impotently to avenge, a series of encroachments upon them, which had terminated in the assumption by Great Britain, first of the dominion, and then of the exclusive possession of all the country between the Great Fish River and the Keiskamma.

"To effect this object we commenced by ascribing to the chieftain Gaika an authority which he did not possess, and then proceeded to punish him for not exercising that imaginary power for our benefit. We held him responsible for the acts of his and our common enemy, and exacted from him and his people a forfeiture of their land, as a penalty for the retaliation made by the chief Zlambie, after the invasion of his country by Gaika and ourselves. We forced on our

private character, were distinguished by rectitude, humanity, and a just appreciation of the rights of the coloured races, whether actual subjects of the British crown, or merely by position brought into contact and collision with European colonists in the transmarine portions of the empire.

* Parl. Papers, June, 1837; p. 74.

† Parl. Papers, July, 1837; p. 15.

‡ Lord Glenelg became secretary of state for the colonies in the year 1835. As Mr. Charles Grant, he had become favourably known from his administration of East India affairs; his public life, as well as

ally a treaty, which, according to the usages of the Kafir nation, he had no authority to conclude, and proceeding on that treaty, we ejected the other Kafir chiefs, who were no parties to it, from their country. The compact thus made was on our side repeatedly infringed. Of the country of which the dominion was acquired, in order that it might be placed as a barrier between the two nations, and which, with that avowed object, had been specially devoted to be thenceforward a neutral and uncultivated waste, extensive tracts were speedily occupied, partly by British and partly by Hottentot settlements.* The Kafirs, imitating our example, endeavoured to resume the possession of some part of their lost country. They were at times driven back at the point of the bayonet, and either shot or flogged if captured to the westward of the Keiskamma. At other times their residence within that frontier was permitted, if not encouraged. But as often as the fluctuating policy of the colonial government led to the disapproval of this indulgence, they were again driven back in large bodies into their remaining lands, with all the rigour of military execution against their persons and property. Harassed by this long series of aggressions, and the victims of successive changes in the opinions and conduct of the local authorities, the immediate motives of their invasion, in December, 1834, would not seem very difficult to be discovered. * * * The Kafirs were stimulated to this war by the belief that they had been unjustly despoiled of their country, and by the hope of regaining possession of it. I am compelled to conclude that they wanted nothing to the completeness of their right except the power to render the assertion of it effectual."

Lord Glenelg considered that the frontier system afforded the Kafirs a second apology for their irruption into the colony.

"They may indeed have been, nor can I doubt that they were, accustomed to harass the inhabitants with their depredations; but driven, as they had been, from their ancient and lawful possessions [so far as the British were concerned], confined within a comparatively narrow space, where pasturage for their cattle could not be readily found, and urged to revenge and desperation by the systematic injustice of which they had been the victims, I am compelled to embrace, however reluctantly, the conclusion, that they had a perfect right to hazard the experiment, however hopeless, of extorting by force that redress which they could not expect otherwise to obtain. * * * I am further constrained to record my dissent from the unfavourable estimate which you have formed of the Kafir character.† Referring to the great mass of evidence which it has been my duty to examine, I find it replete with proofs of a directly opposite tendency. I learn that among this proscribed race, Christian missionaries have passed many

years respected, honoured, and secure. It is placed beyond dispute, that at the very moment when the countrymen of those missionaries were harassing Kafirland with incessant patrols and commandoes, the teachers of religion, relying implicitly on the honour and good faith of the tribes, continued to receive kindness and protection.

"In the midst of all the calamities incident to their situation in our immediate neighbourhood, the Kafirs, under the guidance of their Christian ministers, have built places of public worship; have formed various congregations of proselytes, or of learners; have erected school-houses, and sent their children thither for instruction. In the meanwhile no inconsiderable advance has been made in agriculture, and in commerce. A trade, variously estimated, but not amounting to less than £30,000 per annum, in the purchase of European commodities, had been established on the frontier; and as many as 200 British traders were living far beyond the boundaries of the colony, protected only by the integrity and humanity of the uncivilized natives.

"To such a people the character of 'irreclaimable savages' cannot, with justice, be assigned. Nor indeed, even if well founded, would this reproach come with a good grace from us, unless it can be asserted that we have, as a government, fairly brought to the test of experiment, whether they can or cannot be reclaimed."

Adverting to the spirit in which the hostilities against the Kafirs had been conducted, Lord Glenelg writes:—

"Amongst many passages illustrative of the manner in which the war was conducted by the British troops, I select for illustration the following, from a letter addressed by Colonel Smith to yourself on the 11th of June. 'The enemy, although his traces were numerous, fled so rapidly, that few were killed, and only three shots fired at the troops. The whole of the country has been most thoroughly traversed; upwards of 1,200 huts, new and old, have been burnt; immense stores of corn in every direction destroyed; 215 head of cattle of all sorts captured; several horses, and nearly 2,000 goats, have fallen into our hands. The women were very numerous; and I therefore caused them to be amply supplied with beef and biscuit, and dismissed them with the assurance that the atrocities of their husbands had made them forfeit their homes, and that they must move over the Kye. They all stated that they were anxious to do so. It is most gratifying to know that the savages, being the unprovoked aggressors, have brought down all the misery with which they are now visited upon the heads of themselves and their families; and that the great day of retribution, and the punishment of the unprovoked atrocities committed by these murderous savages on our colonists, had arrived.'

"Reading these statements at this distance from

* In May, 1831, Viscount Goderich, then H.M. secretary of state, considered it advisable that the neutral, or so-called "ceded" territory, should be opened for settlement by Englishmen and Hottentots only; that no inland grants should be made until the whole line of frontier, from the sea to the northern extremity, shall have been allocated, and that the lands should be sold at a given sum for the acre, with a peremptory reservation of forfeiture in case of the introduction of *slave* or compulsory labour. His lordship hoped that such measures would "tend to

the greater security of the colony against the future inroads of the Kafir tribes, and contribute also, under judicious arrangements, to the civilization of those people."—Parl. Papers, June, 1835; p. 57.

† *Vide* proclamation of 10th of May, 1836, cited at p. 80; and Sir B. D'Urban's despatch of 19th of June, 1836, in which he likens the Kafirs to wolves, that when caught young may be brought to an appearance of tameness, to be thrown off so soon as their "instinctive thirst" for blood and ravage should be brought into play.

the scene of action, I must own that I am affected by them in a manner the most remote from that which the writer contemplated. In the civilized warfare of Europe, this desolation of an enemy's country, not in aid of any military operations, nor for the security of the invading force, but simply and confessedly as an act of vengeance, has rarely occurred, and the occurrence of it has been invariably followed by universal reprobation. I doubt, indeed, whether the history of modern Europe affords an example even of a single case, in which, without some better pretext than that of mere retribution, any invaded people were ever subjected to the calamities which Colonel Smith here describes: the loss of their food, the spoiling of their cattle, the burning of their dwellings, the expulsion of their wives and families from their homes, the confiscation of their property, and the forfeiture of their native country. I am, of course, aware that the laws of civilized nations cannot be rigidly applied in our contests with barbarous men; for those laws presuppose a reciprocity, which cannot subsist between parties of whom the one is ignorant of the usages, maxims, and religion of the other. But the great principles of morality are of immutable and universal obligation, and from them are deduced the laws of war. Of these laws the first and cardinal rule relating to a state of hostility is, that the belligerent must inflict no injury on his enemy which is not indispensably requisite to ensure the safety of him by whom it is inflicted, or to promote the attainment of the legitimate ends of the warfare. Whether we contend with a civilized or a barbarous enemy, the gratuitous aggravation of the horrors of war, on the plea of vengeance or retribution, or on any similar grounds, is alike indefensible. Now I must confess my inability to discover what danger could be averted, or what useful object could be attained, by the desolation of the Kafir country, which Colonel Smith has described. The inhabitants had been taught the utter hopelessness of a contest with the British force. They had learnt that, for their injuries, whatever they might be, the redress was not in their own power. As the conviction of their helplessness was thus forced upon them, forbearance in the use of our irresistible means of destruction became still more clearly the paramount duty of the leaders of H.M. forces."

His lordship proceeds to explain the course which H.M. government had resolved upon taking, under the peculiarly difficult position in which they had been placed by the extreme measures of the colonial authorities:—

"First, For the reasons already given, I cannot admit that the British sovereignty over the country between the Fish River and the Keiskamma rests on any solid foundation of international law or justice; yet the relinquishment of that dominion is surrounded by difficulties so many and inextricable, as entirely to forbid such a surrender. It is needless to enumerate or to describe these impediments. The restitution of invaded rights in this, as in many other cases, would involve injuries more formidable than it could remedy.

"Secondly, The claim of sovereignty over the new province, bounded by the Keiskamma and the Kye [or Kei], must be renounced. It rests upon a conquest resulting from a war, in which, as far as I am at present enabled to judge, the original

justice is on the side of the conquered, not of the victorious party. Even if there were the most powerful motives of apparent expediency to recommend this extension of H.M. dominions, which I cannot allow, yet his Majesty would never consent to consult expediency at the expense of justice. You will, therefore, prepare the public mind in the Cape colony for the relinquishment of the newly-acquired province, by announcing that the British occupation of it is temporary and provisional only, and will be resigned by the end of the year 1836. I fix that date, as it will afford a sufficient interval for making those arrangements which will be necessary to enable the colony to recede with safety from the limits assigned to it by your proclamation.

"I place this resolution on the ground of justice, because I should be most unwilling to appear to act on such an occasion on any subordinate motive. But if the conquest could be maintained with indisputable right, I should hold the impolicy of abiding by it equally clear. In this I have the misfortune to differ from you, and I must, therefore, distinctly explain the grounds of that difference.

"You state that this accession of territory will be some indemnity against the expenses of the war. To the assumption involved in this statement, that an enlargement of the British dominion in Southern Africa is a national advantage, I feel myself unable to assent. The territory of the Kafirs, I am well aware, is in itself a fertile and salubrious region, contrasting but too favourably with the prevailing sterility of our own possessions. But the great evil of the Cape colony consists in its magnitude; in the vast space for which it encroaches upon the continent, and the consequent extent of its boundary. We are thus brought into contact with tribes numerous and warlike, and a scale of establishment is required, both civil and military, extensive beyond all proportion to the number and wealth of the inhabitants. In a country containing more square miles than the whole of the British Islands, we have a population of about 150,000 souls. To connect these dispersed settlers by roads, and other communications, to bring them under the protection of magistrates and officers of police, to afford them the benefit of prompt administration of justice, and to shield them by military defence, are duties incumbent on the government, but duties which cannot be performed without imposts so heavy as to excite universal and apparently just complaints, and which, even with such imposts, have never been performed but most defectively. Whence the necessary revenues for defraying the additional establishments, civil and military, are to be extracted, is a question to which your consideration does not appear to have yet been given, and to which I have directed my own in vain."

"But it is said that the defence of the new frontier will be more economical than that of the Keiskamma. Much as I am disposed to rely upon your professional judgment, I must own that upon that point I feel no little hesitation in acquiescing in the accuracy of your calculations. I shall not scruple to explain unreservedly the nature of my difficulties, convinced that you will estimate them with candour, and that you will afford me the benefit of your

* Sir B. D'Urban had in a previous despatch proposed a civil establishment for the newly conquered country, which alone involved an outlay of £16,000 per annum.

experience and professional skill for the more full elucidation of the subject.

"It is evident that the new frontier, being much more distant, is therefore less accessible from the interior than the old. It embraces a larger area, and would therefore seem to demand a longer line of defences. In the absence of any exact military survey of both, the general presumption must seem to be, that in proportion as the frontier is protracted it becomes more readily assailable. Pushing further forward into Afriac, the new line of defences would bring us into contact with new tribes of uncivilized men. Amongst these the exiled Kafirs must be received as intruders, and will form a band of desperate adventurers, at one time seeking subsistence by plunder in the colony, at another provoking war on its borders. Thus we shall again be brought into contact on a new line with African warfare in all its ferocity. New enemies will be acquired; new contests must be achieved; a new frontier must be sought, and we should be engaged in a series of conquests desolating to Africa and ruinous to ourselves. It would be a melancholy acquisition to exchange the neighbourhood of men who have been taught to fear our power, and in some degree to practise our social arts, and to adopt our religion, for that of fresh hordes of barbarians, who, however inaccessible to the arts of peace, may yet prove no unapt scholars under our tuition in the art of war. Nor is it possible to contemplate without emotion, the extinction of the churches which had been planted in Africa, and of the prospects of diffusing Christianity and the other blessings of civilized life in that portion of the globe.

"You state, however, that for the defence of the Keiskamma frontier, the regular troops must be augmented to about 3,000 rank and file, while the increase might be considerably less if the Kye be taken as the boundary.

"Now, even if on a careful and complete survey it should be established, in a military sense, that the Kye is a better boundary than the Keiskamma, still this argument of comparative ease and cheapness of defence may be open to question. Of two lines of defence, the one may by nature be stronger than the other, and consequently, if regarded simply in that view, without reference to other circumstances, may be pronounced the less expensive. But other circumstances may far more than counterbalance the difference. If the stronger frontier comprehend the larger extent of territory; if it be the more remote from the main strength and body of the colony; more remote from the resources on which it must, in case of attack, rely for supplies of all kinds; for men, for provisions, for munitions of war; if in all these respects, therefore, it be in fact the weaker of the two, and if at the same time it be more exposed to attack; if, for example, it should gather and dam up along its whole line a raging mass of savages, tormented by the narrowness of their limits, by famine, and by revenge, and threatening every moment to break over the mound; if these should be the relative circumstances of the two defences, it is very easy to perceive, that with all its natural advantages, the stronger may at the same time prove not only the more costly, but also the more difficult to maintain, and, therefore, be less secure. In truth, however, this argument of comparative expense proceeds on the assumption that the security of the

colony can be assured only by having a force of regular troops, numerically large enough to man the whole frontier. But this, whatever line of defence be chosen, is obviously impossible. The army of England would not suffice to man, in the proper sense of the word, our colonial frontier from sea to sea. For the defence of such a frontier some regular troops are necessary, and the number already supplied is probably all that in justice to the people of this country, and to the great demands of the empire, ought to be allowed for that object. The further military defence must be sought in the enrolment of a local militia force. But even this force in its best state, and in conjunction with a sufficient number of regulars, can never be our exclusive reliance. The surest of all defences, or rather the only sure defence, is to be found in a wise system of border policy. Without this the strongest frontier that nature or art can supply is miserably weak, and with it the Keiskamma is as secure as the Kye. It cannot be too often or too importunately pressed on our conviction as a plain practical truth, that the safety of the colony, which after all is the first object, is to be derived from observing in our dealings with the frontier tribes the most rigid justice, respect for their feelings and prejudices, regard for their real interests, conciliatory kindness when it can be properly shown, and above all, an unwearied anxiety to diffuse among them the blessings of education and of Christian knowledge. Colonies which it is attempted to maintain in the neighbourhood of savage tribes on any other principles, must either be destroyed by that vicinity, or be upheld at a cost utterly disproportionate to their real value.

"It remains to consider what course is to be pursued towards the people with whom we have been brought into contact. And first, in reference to the Fingoes:—

"I must frankly confess, that I am quite unable to perceive the slightest accuracy in the comparison which you have instituted between the liberation of these people and the great national act of negro emancipation. In the one case we liberated the slaves of our enemies at the cost of their owners, in the other case we liberated the slaves of British subjects at the cost of the national revenue. Still the act having been done, is irreversible. * * *

"With regard to the tribes which were driven from those lands, and to those against which our hostilities had been waged, H.M. government cannot think it consistent either with justice or with sound policy, that they should be exiled from their ancient possessions between the Kye and the Keiskamma.

"The restoration of the Kafirs to the conquered territory must, however, be accompanied and preceded by such arrangements as will assign to each tribe its own proper limits.

"For the due regulation of the future relations between the Kafir tribes and the colonists, as well as for other purposes of local convenience, his Majesty proposes immediately to appoint a lieutenant-governor of the eastern districts of the colony. On the lieutenant-governor will be devolved the administration of the executive government within the boundaries to be assigned to his command. It is further proposed to appoint a civil commissioner, or protector of the native tribes, who shall reside within the colony, probably at the seat of the lieutenant-governor's residence. To this officer will be en-

trusted the duty of protecting the borderers on either side against mutual aggressions. It will be his office to inform himself of every inroad and act of plunder committed against the colonists, and of every outrage or injury offered to the Kafirs; to investigate the truth of every allegation of that nature; to report all such occurrences to the lieutenant-governor; and to superintend in person the execution of all measures which may be necessary for obtaining redress; and to take charge of all cases in which the subjects of native chiefs are brought before the colonial courts of justice. It is also intended to appoint a government agent to reside in Kafirland, with the requisite powers to make him an efficient guardian over the rights as well of the natives as of European traders.

"All communications with the Kafirs on what, in the absence of a more simple word, may be termed international subjects, must be carried on through the government agent for Kafirland.

"The following is a statement of the principal rules which it is intended to prescribe to the lieutenant-governor and civil commissioner, for the guidance of their conduct:—

"1. A treaty, fixing the boundaries of the colony, must be made in writing, in English and in the Kafir language, and, being explained to each border chief, must be signed or attested by each. Copies of this treaty must be delivered to each of the contracting chiefs.

"2. A separate treaty must be made, in the English and in the native languages, with the chief of every tribe to which a portion of territory is assigned within the British dominions; defining the limits of his allocation, the degree of his responsibility, and the nature of his relations with the British government; and all other particulars admitting of specification. A copy of this treaty in the native tongue must be preserved by the chief.

"3. A separate treaty must be made in the native and English languages with the chief of every tribe in alliance with us, or in any degree under our protection; defining also in each case all that can be specified in such an instrument. A copy of the treaty must be preserved by each chief.

"4. The rules of mutual restitution, and those which relate to the prevention of inroads, and the redress of the injury occasioned by them, must be particularized in each of the above treaties.

"5. The responsibility of particular kraals, or villages, for the acts of individual Kafirs, must no longer be enforced. But

"6. The chiefs must be called upon to bind themselves to make restitution for plundered cattle, on sufficient proof of the reality of the theft. They must be left to detect the offenders, or to indemnify themselves at the expense of the tribe collectively for such losses as they may sustain by being required to make these compensations. In other words, we must look to the chiefs, and to them alone, and must no longer take upon ourselves to make reprisals upon the people. The chiefs to enter into securities, or pledges, of such a nature as may be deemed sufficient, and not inconvenient for the due fulfilment of these stipulations.

* Despatch from Lord Glenelg to Sir Benjamin D'Urban, 26th of December, 1835; *Parl. Papers*, May, 1836; pp. 69 to 79. The unavoidable length (ten folio pages) of this despatch, prevents its complete insertion, beside which many of the facts therein dwelt upon, have been already noted in the

"7. Fairs for the interchange of commodities should be re-established at convenient places on the frontier.

"8. The wounding or killing a Kafir, or otherwise injuring his person or property, will be made liable to the same punishment as if the sufferer were one of H.M. subjects. This of course would not apply to times of actual war, nor prevent the compulsory removal back into their own territory of any Kafirs who might reappear within the boundaries with purposes apparently hostile or fraudulent, or in opposition to any existing laws. No violence must, however, be used in effecting their removal, which is not strictly required by the necessity of the case, and for the effective execution of the service.

"9. No European or Hottentot, or any others but Kafirs, to be located or allowed to settle east of the Great Fish River. Those Hottentots who were placed in the ceded territory prior to the late war, and all Christian teachers, are exempted from this rule. I may observe here, that in the above rules, under the general name of Kafirs, I include the Fingoes.

"In aid of these general rules, it is proposed to submit, for the approbation of parliament, a law to enable our colonial tribunals to take cognizance of and to punish offences committed by British subjects within the Kafir territory, in the same manner as if they had been perpetrated within the limits of the colony itself.

"I have thus indicated in general terms the measures which it is proposed to adopt, and which are of course liable to be altered or modified on further consideration. The lieutenant-governor will also be the bearer of instructions defining the relative authority and duties of himself and of the governor of the colony. I therefore abstain from enlarging at present on those topics. * * * Sympathising with every just and honourable sentiment of the subjects of the British Crown, his Majesty has commanded me to express his solicitude for the protection of the Aborigines of Southern Africa, and his repugnance to sanction any enlargement of his dominions of which their sufferings would be the price. You are aware that in the session of parliament of 1834, the House of Commons especially invoked his Majesty's protection for these defenceless people, and received from the king an assurance of his Majesty's determination to act in this respect in accordance to their wishes. In the spirit of that assurance I am commanded to issue these instructions; nor will his Majesty regard his pledge as redeemed until he can present to his people the proofs of the establishment of a system of border policy advantageous alike for the Kafirs and for the colony."

When writing the despatch, from which the above extracts are taken, Lord Glenelg was still ignorant of the arrangement made with regard to Kreili. On being informed of it, he desired that the lands taken from that chief, in lieu of cattle, should be forthwith restored; and that, if really unable to course of the narrative. Still, all who are desirous of understanding the complicated question of South African affairs, and especially of frontier policy, would do well to study a state paper, equally sound in principle and elegant in diction. It is much to be regretted that his lordship's tenure of office was so brief.

pay the stipulated amount, he should be entirely acquitted of all obligation on that score. His lordship added, that after the opinion expressed by the governor respecting the peculiar advantages of the Kei, as a frontier of defence, he had not been prepared to expect an additional encroachment on the territory of the Kafirs.* The views and measures of the home government were very unwelcome to the war party among the colonists, and the leading colonial officials not unnaturally evinced extreme annoyance at the total reversal of their policy. Colonel Smith, overlooking the explicit answer furnished beforehand by Lord Glenelg, asked in plain terms the question generally put in a less straightforward manner: "Are the Kafirs, the possessors of this soil by right of conquest, not to be ejected by the same right? Are they alone of all the rest of the aborigines from whom England has wrested her possessions, to be thus favoured?"† Sir B. D'Urban, after ineffectually striving to induce Lord Glenelg to retain possession of Kafirland, so far forgot the courtesy due to his lordship as to address him in a tone and temper which could not be overlooked.‡ The colonial secretary and the governor of the Cape, could no longer continue to maintain their relative positions, and the latter was informed that his services were no longer required by his Majesty.§ However the pride of Sir B. D'Urban might have been mortified by this intimation, it must yet, in some respects, have been a decided relief to him. Notwithstanding the energy with which he applied himself to rule the internal affairs of the colony, and the strenuous efforts of Colonel Smith to *keep down* the Kafir subjects of Victoria Province, matters were yet, both within and upon the frontier, assuming an aspect too threatening to be unobserved by either of these officers; although sensible of their own deep responsibility, they concurred in representing every occurrence in its most favourable light.

EMIGRATION OF THE BOORS.—Soon after

* Parl. Papers, July, 1837, p. 19.

† Colonel Smith would appear to have carried his notions of the right of conquest to a considerable length. In this same communication, dated April, 1836, he speaks of himself as residing on the spot whence the Rev. John Brownlee, whom he describes as an exemplary minister, had been driven during the war. Soon after his departure, the Kafirs burned his house, fearing, they said, that it might be used as a fortified position by the troops. After the termination of hostilities, Colonel Smith, according to Backhouse, "took possession of it, repaired it,

the termination of the war, the disaffection of one large class of H.M. subjects manifested itself in a most unmistakeable manner. The boors, to the number of some thousands, quitted the colony in organized masses, selling their farms for just what they could get; and throwing them up in utter disgust if unable to find a purchaser. The immediate causes of this mania for "trekking," and, especially, for abjuring alike the governance and protection of Great Britain, would seem to have been but partially connected with the motives which had formerly rendered them such ungovernable subjects to their distant government, the Amsterdam "Chamber of the Seventeen."—(See pp. 13, 16, 30.)

Then, it was not that communities migrated, but that they rapidly increased; and growing stronger and more numerous, seized with a bolder grasp the lands of the aborigines, whom they expelled, exterminated, or converted into hewers of wood and drawers of water. The personal importance of each boor depended upon the number of his flocks and herds, and the amount of broad acres over which they roamed. In due time, his family grew up; the sons wanted farms of their own, that is, from 5,000 to 10,000 acres of ground, and they also went forth to dispossess the natives of their finest springs and freshest pastures. The records of the Cape government, and the residencies of Stellenbosch and Swellendam, during the whole of the eighteenth century, teem with painful details of the seizure of the land, and frequently, also, of the cattle belonging both to the Hottentots and Kafirs. The injunctions and threatened penalties of the weak and distant authorities at the Cape, could not restrain the lawless boors, who little heeded the denunciation, by governmental placats, of their aggressive violence, or the misfortunes brought upon the land thereby.¶ The gradual extension of the colony, and the means by which it had been brought about, have been shown, step by step; but

and added to it, arguing against John Brownlee's claim to the site and materials, that it was taken in war from an enemy! In the overruling of the Most High, it has, however, been restored to its worthy owner and his family, with the addition of Colonel Smith's improvements."—*Narrative of a Visit to the Mauritius and South Africa*. By James Backhouse; p. 237.

‡ Despatch of Sir B. D'Urban, 9th June, 1836; Parl. Papers, July, 1837; pp. 63, 65.

§ *Idem*, p. 278.

¶ *Vide* Placaat, dated 4th April, 1727.

the following abstracts from official records, taken at a long interval, will suffice to show that the manner in which the farmers first forcibly occupied, and then expected the government to maintain them in secure possession of Kafirland, was precisely the same throughout. Thus:—

In 1771, a boor, named W. Prinslo, took possession of two places beyond Bruintjes-hoogte, contrary to the law of 13th February, 1770, by which colonists were strictly forbidden to intrude on Kafir territory. Scarcity of water and deficiency of grass in the colony induced others to follow his example. These, in an address to the governor, dated Bruintjes-hoogte, 10th October, 1774, stated, that they heard, with great grief, of the many disgraceful complaints which their fellow-colonists made against them, and deprecated the designation of "rebels" which had been applied to them: that they would have gone to the Sneurbergen, but feared that the few cattle and sheep which they possessed would be plundered from them by the Bushmen. Finding the country lying beyond the Bruintjes-hoogte good for grazing and for cultivation, and with abundance of game for food, they settled there, and prayed forgiveness for having made this extension. They entreated that they might be allowed to remain in the country, that it should be added to the territories of the Company, and promised to be, in future, obedient burghers to the government. This document is signed by Krugel, W. Prinslo, Potgeiter, Klopper, and eleven others. Their application was referred by the governor in council to the Landdrost and Heemraden of Stellenbosch, and after consultation with the old Heemraden, Martin Melk, and J. B. Hofman, who had fixed the limits in 1770, it was recommended (30th January, 1775) that the boundary should be extended, to insure pasturage and water, as far as the Fish River on the northern parts, and to the Bushman or Zwartkops River on the southern part; and the northern extremity should extend to the Caugha Mountains. In 1775 (17th March) the Landdrost and Heemraden of Swellendam also recommended to the governor and council at the Cape, that the boundary be extended to the Fish and Zwartkops Rivers, as the increasing families of the colonists required that they should obtain new places for their sons, otherwise they would get poorer and poorer daily. These requests were granted; but, on the 27th December of the same year, the governor and council ordered that none should go beyond the Fish River, on the northern frontier, nor beyond the Zwartkops, on the southern limit; but these boundaries were soon passed. Fifty years afterwards, Lieutenant-colonel Wade, when commenting on the large sale of gunpowder by the regular traders and boors residing within the boundary, added—"But besides these there are also the farmers, who, in defiance of the law and the severity of its penalties, migrate beyond the boundaries, and at the same time that they supply the natives with these means of desolating the colony, unfortunately furnish them also with something of a reasonable pretext for doing so, by dispossessing the weak and unarmed, and occupying all the fertile spots and springs; and it is asserted, upon good authority, not unfrequently disgracing themselves by atrocities hardly less barbarous than those which the banditti inflict within the settle-

DIV. VII.

ment. * * * In the country between the frontier line and the Upper Orange River, and between the latter and the Caledon River, there are, at this moment, upwards of 100 heads of families, with their slaves, thus situated; having seized upon the district that best suited them, without any regard to the right of property of the natives; and it cannot, therefore, be matter of surprise that the latter should seek to retaliate."*

The above instances illustrate the manner in which the boors, during a period of nearly two centuries, gradually extended themselves over an immense amount of land. The causes of the great migration of 1836 must, however, have been very different from the simple desire for more land, since the migrators, so far from advocating the extension of the colonial boundary, sought, by passing it, to cast off their allegiance to British sway. For this desire the chief causes assigned were, first, the slave emancipation, and the unsatisfactory manner in which the compensation, granted by government was paid;† and, secondly, Sir

* Parl. Papers, June, 1835; Part ii., 75.

† The introduction of slaves into the Cape colony was, as we have already seen, commenced by the Dutch, who imported them from Java, from the Guinea coast, and from Madagascar, &c.: some were Malays, others African negroes. The Imperial Parliament decreed the abolition of slavery on the 1st August, 1834. The number and condition of slaves at this period, and the compensation awarded to their proprietors, are thus stated in a return to the House of Lords, dated March, 1838:—

Classes.	Slaves in each Class.	Compensation value.
<i>Prædial unattached:—</i>		
Head people	398	£25,648
Tradesmen	234	14,621
Inferior ditto	107	6,126
Field labourers	5,663	305,951
Inferior ditto	5,325	188,948
Total	11,727	£541,297
<i>Non-prædial:—</i>		
Head tradesmen	1,260	77,396
Inferior ditto	983	40,275
Head people employed on wharfs, shipping, &c. . . . }	20	796
Inferior people ditto	23	937
Head domestics	5,265	245,723
Inferior ditto	9,842	286,638
Total	17,393	£651,788

Children under six years of age on the 1st December, 1834—slaves in each class, 5,732; compensation value, £37,813. Aged, diseased, or otherwise non-effective—slaves in each class, 899; compensation value, £5,087.

Note.—Number of claims having reference to each division—Prædial Unattached, 3,442; Non-Prædial, 4,803.

In order to prepare the slaves for unconditiona

Benjamin D'Urban's attempt to establish a militia in the Cape colony similar to that which existed in British America. The Dutch boors were much indisposed to the project, because it would oblige them to leave their farms. They, moreover, viewed it as a scheme to entrap them into the condition of English soldiers; and this idea strengthened their determination to cross the boundary, and establish a new and independent community.

Most favourable reports had reached them respecting Natal, reports which, it is alleged, had been widely circulated by colonists who took advantage of their known ignorance, and fanned their discontent, hoping to profit by the valuable farms which, in consequence of their departure, would be sold much under their value, if not completely deserted.

After enduring great privations, the migrating boors at length settled down in various localities; some eventually reached Natal, others proceeded towards the north-eastward, and established themselves in the vicinity of the Orange River. The British government, anxious to extend some degree of protection to the natives against these usurping European squatters, passed a law empowering the local tribunals of the Cape to take cognizance of, and punish offences committed by British subjects to the southward of the 25th degree of south latitude. This measure, though well intended, proved almost wholly ineffective, from the difficulty of arresting offenders, of proving whether they were really British subjects, and whether the offence in question had been committed within the specified territory.

THE D'URBAN SUPERSEDED BY THE GLENELG OR STOCKENSTROM SYSTEM.—On the 5th of December, 1836, Kafirland was restored to its native proprietors, as

freedom, they were to be considered as apprentices from 1st August, 1834, to 1st December, 1838, when they became entirely free. It was ascertained that they were then distributed in the several districts of the colony as follows:—Cape Town, 5,702; Cape district, 4,910; Stellenbosch, 9,500; Worcester, 3,489; Clan William, 1,015; Swellendam, 3,137; Beaufort, 571; George, 2,174; Albany, 227; Somerset, 1,760; Graaf Reynet, 2,049; Uitenhage, 4,399: total, 35,933. Thus in Cape Town, and in Cape and Stellenbosch districts, the number was 20,112; and in all the rest of the colony, 15,821. The compensation money was distributed as follows:—Uncontested claims 5,429, £1,001,262; contested cases 743, £246,138: total, £1,246,400. Of this, £824,006 was already paid in November, 1837. The payments were made by orders on commissioners in London. The boors, generally ignorant

also the greater part of the neutral or ceded territory, and the Fish and Kat Rivers became the boundary of the colony. Treaties, formed upon the principles enunciated by Lord Glenelg, in the dispatch above quoted, were formed with the Gaika chiefs; Sandilli (represented by his mother, Sutu), Macomo, Tyalie, Botman, and Enno, and afterwards with the principal Zlambie, Tambookie, and Fingoe chiefs. Although resting solely upon rigid coercion, the D'Urban system, with its martial law and cat-o'-nine tails, its fort building and armed patrols, had proved inefficient to compel the fulfilment of some of the chief conditions of the treaties, while its main object, of gradually undermining the power of the chiefs, was defeated by the strong feudal attachment inherent in the minds of the people.* The error of Lord Charles Somerset, in striving to elevate one chief to a rank to which by the customs of his country he had no claim, was injurious, because its injustice roused the anger of other independent chiefs; but the principle of treating with a free people through an acknowledged head was in itself judicious. At the period of Lord Charles's administration, it would have been comparatively easy to have formed international relations with the Kafirs by means of a few of their most influential leaders. Now the question had become more involved; many of the old chiefs had perished; the clans had split and become scattered; and, moreover, large numbers, deprived by the Europeans of their lands and cattle, had become marauders by profession. For it must be remembered, that there are two distinct classes among this singular people, one owing allegiance to a chief, and possessing land and cattle; the other being literally vagabonds, paupers, and thieves. The latter class had been for

and suspicious, or credulous, according to their feelings, were, in many instances, induced by the misrepresentations of unscrupulous persons, to sell their orders for a fractional part of their real value. They were told that the orders would not be honoured for several years, or that they must go to England; that, in fact, it was doubtful whether anything would ever be really paid: they, therefore, gladly took in cash whatever was offered. This heightened their discontent, and tended to inflame their minds against the government, rather than against the English money-agents, by whom they had been plundered.

* For instance, it was particularly insisted upon by Sir Benjamin D'Urban that the Kafirs should deliver up all their muskets; but he was totally unable to enforce this condition, and it was therefore tacitly abandoned.—Parl. Papers, June, 1851; p. 22.

some years frightfully on the increase; the chiefs, engaged in perpetual altercation with an external enemy, had been unable to maintain the strict curb necessary to check the growing evils of their own communities; beside which their power and "prestige" had been greatly lessened in the minds of the worst portion of their own people, by the false policy of the colonial government. It was, therefore, no easy task to frame a system calculated to meet the present emergency; retrieve, as far as possible, past errors; and form the basis of a better and sounder state of things. Lord Glenelg had indeed sketched, with a masterly hand, the outline of the policy to be adopted; and, in appointing a lieutenant-governor for the Eastern provinces, he took care to select a man whose zeal, ability, and perfect conversance with frontier affairs, promised well for the arrangement of all matters of detail, as well as for the practical working of the whole scheme. Captain Stockenstrom, on the abolition of his office of commissioner-general, had gone to Sweden, intending permanently to settle there, but being summoned thence to give evidence before the select committee of the House of Commons, appointed in 1836, to investigate the condition of the aborigines within or connected with British territories, he came to England, and there fully exposed the cruel and unjust treatment which had provoked the Kafirs to war. The government manifested their sense of the correctness of his views and the uprightness of his character by creating him lieutenant-governor, and leaving him to form the projected treaties. This he did most successfully; the chiefs, one and all, gratefully acknowledged the restoration of their land, and cheerfully entered into the engagements required of them, the principal of which necessarily hinged upon the repression on their part of depredations. This was rendered more practicable by its being decided that no complaint of theft made by a colonist should be admitted by the government as a charge against the Kafir nation or any tribe, unless the owner of the stolen cattle could prove that the property had been duly guarded, that it had been traced into Kafirland, and that notice had been given of the fact to the proper authorities within a specified time. The Kafir chiefs agreed on their part, that, if these points were proved, they would find and restore the stolen property if possible; and if they could not discover it, they bound

themselves to give compensation or an equivalent within a certain time.

It is to be regretted that some steps were not taken at this period to introduce among the Kafirs improvements in their form of government, which, without impairing the power of the chief and his Amapakati, or counsellors, should have paved the way for the increase of civilization, and rendered the suppression of theft more easy. Had an annual stipend, similar to that of £100 per annum, made to Waterboer, been allowed to the leading Kafir chiefs, and a small sum been dedicated to the maintenance of schools, a very beneficial impression might have been speedily made on the minds of both chiefs and people, who would thus have learned to consider their national and individual well-being intimately connected with the friendship of England. Besides omissions, however, serious errors were committed, calculated to endanger the peace of the frontier, of which one indefensible instance was the location of the Fingoe herdsmen in close proximity to the people whom they had plundered and betrayed. The lieutenant-governor vainly implored permission to have them removed farther westward, that they might no longer be an eye-sore to the Kafirs, who complained bitterly of being compelled to witness these "dogs fattening before their eyes upon the flocks of a chief [Hintza], whose memory they held so dear." Those, however, who voluntarily placed themselves under the protection of Macomo and Tyalie, after that part of Kafirland upon which they were located was restored to the Kafirs, were protected and supported by those chiefs.* But even as it was, these treaties were followed by a nine years' peace, during which time the value of frontier property increased enormously, and the colony itself prospered. The Glenelg system succeeded, though worked by officials wedded to the coercive D'Urban policy. Lieutenant-governor Stockenstrom was not long permitted to occupy the position for which he was so well fitted. His public exposition of the conduct of too many of the colonists and local authorities had so embittered them against him, that they at length succeeded in procuring his supersession from Lord Normanby, (who had succeeded Lord Glenelg as secretary of state,) on the sole ground of unpopularity. He was assured of the cordial approbation and

* Parl. Papers, June, 1851; pp. 18-21.

esteem of the government; but though acknowledged to possess more political and moral power over the Kafirs and the Hottentots than any other man in the colony,* his services were dispensed with at the moment they were most needed. A baronetcy and a pension were awarded to him, and Colonel Hare was appointed in his place; but he appears to have given scarcely less dissatisfaction by refusing to countenance the false accusations repeatedly made against the Kafirs, and perseveringly exposing the wilful misrepresentations of the frontier press. Meanwhile, Sir George Napier had succeeded Sir Benjamin D'Urban as governor, and during his six years' administration, peace, broken only by petty depredations, prevailed throughout the frontier. In his evidence before the Parliamentary Committee of 1851, he stated his conviction of the necessity of conducting all affairs with the Kafirs through their chiefs; and he pointed out the large class of colonists who made a great deal of money by war, and whose constant cry was, "have troops over." He resisted the urgent entreaties of the war party, and never fired a shot against the Kafirs, nor the Kafirs against him.† The various costly military works then in progress, and estimated for, such as Martello towers, picquet towers, fortified guard-houses, all of most expensive mason-work, besides one or two forts, he declared to be one and all quite unnecessary as defences against a naked and uncivilized enemy, as yet without artillery or discipline; although (he adds), "a number are well armed with muskets, procured, I am sorry to say, from the very persons most clamorous against the Kafir nation."‡ Sir George Napier put a stop to all the projected military works; travelled through the Gaika country with Lady Napier, two servants, and two orderlies, and "never met with anything but the greatest kindness, although the professed object of his journey was to induce the chiefs to alter a good many of the details of the treaties" in favour of the colonists, in which he succeeded.§ The wisdom of the alterations made by him was more than doubtful, as it materially interfered with some of the most stringent clauses

of the treaties. The guardianship of an armed herdsman was to be no longer requisite to entitle the colonist who had been robbed to the recovery of his property; the restrictions to his pursuing it across the boundary were removed; it was not to be deemed necessary that it should have been immediately followed in order to establish a claim to restitution, and the amount of compensation required was considerably increased.|| The chiefs, on their part, when requested to agree to these new arrangements, pointed out in forcible language the increased facility that would be afforded to the false claims of the farmers, whose oaths would be believed in defiance of evidence. Tyalie declared that three different farmers had claimed a horse belonging to him, and Macomo noticed other instances of perjury and robbery on the side of the colonists,¶ yet they were induced to consent to the governor's wishes. The secret of his great personal influence over them is revealed in a private letter to Lord Glenelg: he says—

"I invariably treated all the chiefs as my equals; as I am convinced the more we hold them up in a respectable light, and as great men, which they are in their own nation, the greater will be their confidence in us, and the more power they will have of keeping their people quiet."*** Sir George Napier, in the same communication, states his conviction, that from all he had seen, heard, and learned, during a protracted sojourn in the eastern districts, he felt convinced that the newly-adopted system was the only sound course to proceed in, and that if steadily and fairly allowed to work, it must and would succeed, in spite of all difficulties; for its basis was justice and humanity.**

Sir George Napier was succeeded by Sir Peregrine Maitland, a benevolent and just man, who, however, suffered himself at the onset to be sadly misled by the popular outcry. Soon after his arrival, in 1844, he summoned the Kafir chiefs to meet him, surrounded the place with the 7th Dragoon Guards, and compelled the chiefs to sign new treaties. Macomo did so, remarking at the same time to Mr. Stretch, the diplomatic agent, "I am forced to this, but I sign for the Stockenström treaties." The other chiefs likewise asserted, that the new governor "smelt of war," and that had they not agreed to everything proposed, they would have had their heads cut off.††

* *Vide* evidence of Sir George Napier.—Parl. Papers, August, 1851; pp. 201—205.

† Parl. Papers, August, 1851; p. 201.

‡ Despatch to Lord Glenelg, July, 1838. *Vide* Parl. Papers, June, 1851, p. 32.

§ Parl. Papers, August, 1851; p. 200.

|| Parl. Papers, June, 1851; p. 72.

¶ *Idem*, pp. 79, 80.

** Parl. Papers, June, 1851; p. 40.

†† *Vide* letter of C. L. Stretch, Esq., Diplomatic agent to the Gaika tribes, published in the *Colonial Intelligencer*, of June, 1852.

There was no excuse for the governor's breach of faith in abolishing the old treaties. Their efficacy was, so late as 1845, formally inquired into by the Cape Legislative Council, and their success was powerfully insisted upon, especially with regard to the important item of cattle stealing. It was then shown that there had been a material reduction in the amount stolen, and a considerable increase in the number restored by the Kafirs. It was also proved that cattle discovered to have been stolen by their people were frequently sent back to the colony, even when they had been taken under circumstances which prevented their being demanded by the strict article of the treaties.* Whereas previous to the Glenelg system, the usual amount of cattle recovered was only one-sixth to one-tenth of the number stolen; the recoveries under the treaties were one-half to one-third during nine years. And to this it should be added, that some of the highest and most impartial authorities at the Cape testified to there being more acts of plunder put down to their account than they were guilty of.† Yet the favourable opinion of the legislature of the Cape Colony respecting the good conduct of the Kafirs in this and other respects, appears to have been insufficient to combat the ruling idea of the governor, that a war-party had grown up in Kafirland. Very probably there was some truth in it: but, if so, nothing could have been worse calculated to increase this than the unjustifiable aggression of the governor, who, instead of checking, suffered himself to be led by the more dangerous war party within the colony. Colonel Hare, alarmed and disgusted by the course adopted by the governor, requested permission to resign his position; Mr. Stretch endangered and ultimately lost his, by vindicating the Kafirs, and it soon became evident that the government were preparing for a fourth Kafir war. Meanwhile two of the leading chiefs, foreseeing the mischief and misery impending, requested permission to come into the colony and settle there, in order to live in peace. One of these chiefs was Macomo; strange to say, his application was disregarded, a passing mention of it in a dispatch being all the notice attracted by so important an offer.

* Parl. Papers, June, 1851; p. 136.

† Parl. Papers, February, 1847; pp. 10 to 18.

‡ Close to the source of the *Shesago* or *Chisega*, a small stream, flowing into the Kat River.

Sir Peregrine Maitland, though far from recommending a return to the D'Urban system, persevered in reintroducing some of its most vexatious features. By virtue of an article in the old treaties, which had throughout the whole of his predecessor's administration been suffered to lie dormant, he erected "Post Victoria," in the heart of the ceded territory,‡ a proceeding which the Kafirs viewed with extreme suspicion, as a step toward the renewal of war and the re-seizure of territory which they were at this time given to understand they held upon good behaviour. Nothing could have been worse timed than these warlike demonstrations, or more uncalled for than the repeated declaration of the governor, during a time of peace, that "the Kafirs need not think to cope with the English, since even if they could destroy all the troops then in South Africa, England could and would easily send an army sufficient to eat up the whole Kafir nation without trouble."§ Even Colonel Smith, a military man in the strictest sense of the word, recognised the necessity of using moral force in his dealings with the Kafirs, and of utterly refraining from chafing such jealous and excitable natures, by sights and sounds only too congenial to the passions of man in a state of barbarism. Thus, even while keeping so strict a watch during the brief existence of the Adelaide Province, that "not a mouse could move in all Kafirland without his knowledge,"|| he declared that everything depended "upon the mainspring, the chief-magistrate, the superintendent of police, and the non-interference of the military. The latter," he added, "is the thing of all others, to re-animate every feeling of animosity in the minds of the Kafirs."¶

The dearly-bought experience of his predecessors, and the warnings of some of the ablest and most respected men in the colony, failed in preserving the governor from a proceeding which had well-nigh occasioned the outbreak of hostilities before preparations had been made to meet them. He committed what in the eyes of the Kafir nation was nothing less than a direct violation of all the treaties past and present, by the formal occupation of ground for the erection of a fort in Kafirland.

§ "Eating up," in Kafir parlance, signifies the complete seizure and confiscation of property.

|| Parl. Papers, June, 1851; p. 197.

¶ Parl. Papers, July, 1837; p. 265.

When the subject was first mooted, Sandilli appeared disposed to allow it on certain reasonable conditions, such as ground-rent being paid to him, &c.; but he could not grant the required permission without the concurrence of his "amapakati," or counsellors, and they utterly disapproved and rejected the proposal. Nevertheless, through a series of extraordinary mistakes, a party of engineers, attended by a strong military escort, persisted in surveying the land, notwithstanding the indignant opposition of the natives, and the peremptory order of Sandilli for the removal of the tent, flags, stakes, and such like, erected on his territory. Sir Peregrine Maitland considered that desisting from the survey would encourage the war-party among the Kafirs; the frontier authorities happily acted upon the simple principles of justice, and conscious that the survey was both an "unlawful act" and an "awkward mistake," they stopped it, and behaved towards the chiefs with so much prudence and moderation, that hostilities were averted when they seemed on the eve of breaking out, "unprovoked by any act of the Kafir natives." Both the lieutenant-governor, Colonel Hare, and the frontier commissioner, Major (not Sir Harry) Smith, emphatically warned the governor against the course he was pursuing; the former especially entreated him to beware of being misled "by the alarming and exciting rumours that have been wickedly and extensively circulated throughout the border, by persons always ready and desirous for the work of agitation, all of which rumours had no other foundation than a restlessness among the Kafirs in their own country, caused by the grievous sufferings they were then enduring, in consequence of their great loss of cattle, and the failure in their harvests, occasioned by long-continued drought." He assured the governor of his conviction that neither the chiefs nor the people had any hostile feeling towards the colony, and that if not provoked by us, there was no danger of the commencement of war on their side; but," he added, "that any attempt at expulsion would be resisted by every chief from the Fish River to the Buffalo. Nothing short of a clear breach of faith, which should be viewed by the whole nation as a preliminary towards driving them from their country, would induce them to make common cause against the colony; but that measure once decided

upon, could be accomplished only by means of an adequate force sent from England, and at the cost of another million sterling."*

This timely warning was disregarded, and a few weeks furnished the governor with what he deemed a sufficient reason for declaring war against the whole nation. A Kafir, named Kleintje, was accused of having stolen an axe; it was taken from him, and he was suffered to depart; but the following day he was apprehended and taken before a magistrate, who determined to send him to Graham's Town to wait for trial at the circuit court. The chief (Tola), to whose tribe the accused belonged, said, that was contrary to the treaty, that all such offences were to be tried at Fort Beaufort, in the immediate vicinity of the frontier, where both parties could have their witnesses, and the matter might be properly investigated. The magistrate persisted in his determination, and sent the man, with a slight escort of two or three Hottentot policemen, across the Kafir frontier, within sight of his own kraal. As the party were passing, a number of young men rushed out to rescue their countrymen; the constable in charge fired, and shot the brother of the prisoner dead, but the captive himself escaped; the Kafirs, in their rage and haste, ruthlessly murdering the Hottentot to whom he had been handcuffed for security.

The conduct of the chiefs on this occasion sufficiently proved that they had no desire to create a "*casus belli*." Tola, the chief of minor rank, who had before endeavoured to moderate the proceedings of the magistrate, went at once to the diplomatic agent, stationed at Block Drift, to explain the case. He pleaded that the prisoner had been unjustly accused, and hurried off without inquiry. The governor, he hoped, would consider the affair, and leave it as it stood. A Hottentot was dead on one side, a Kafir on the other. Botman, the superior chief, when desired to surrender Kleintje and his rescuers, replied that he could not, they were not to be found, adding, "Kleintje is dead; for his brother has been killed, and that is enough. The governor weeps over the Hottentot, and we weep over our man." Sandilli, on being appealed to, declared that he "did not understand the treaties required small thefts, such as of beads and axes, to be tried at Graham's

* Parl. Papers, February, 1847; p. 60. Their partial expulsion cost more than double that sum.

Town at the circuit court. "I understand," said he, "that stealers of horses and cattle should be sent there, while a short imprisonment at Beaufort would suffice for petty thefts. The governor must not be in haste with forces in this case. Let us speak about it, that we may understand it."*

But the governor was in haste; he considered the unwillingness of the chiefs to deliver up the offenders, as a sufficient proof of their being confederated against the government, and he at once proceeded to the frontier, and proclaimed his intention of summarily punishing them, and crushing the Kafir war-party in general.† Sandilli went to the diplomatic agent (Mr. Stretch) on the 27th of March, promised to deliver up the offenders, and entreated the missionaries and traders not to leave his country, for he had no intention of war;‡ but his representations were insufficient to avert the invasion of his country. On the 11th of April, 1846, the troops took the field, on the 15th they encamped at the Burn's Hill missionary station, and the following morning prepared to storm the Amatola Mountains, where the enemy had assembled in force. Apparently the projectors of this most unjustifiable invasion had entirely forgotten the determined courage evinced by the Kafirs in the last war, and expected them to submit without a struggle. If the existence of an extensive and influential war party had been believed, surely nothing but the most complete infatuation could have induced the sending of so small a force as 1,500 or 1,600 men, part of which moreover consisted of heavy cavalry, accompanied by 123 waggons, to wage deadly warfare against immense hordes of light-footed, athletic, and more or less armed natives, in the stronghold which had heretofore been deemed impregnable. The small invading force evinced perfect discipline, and unwavering courage, even while toiling through steep and wooded ravines, actually red with Kafirs, in all the hideousness of their war paint, who yelled forth their usual defying taunt—"Izāpā! Izāpā!" (come on! come on!) Colonel Campbell, at the head of a body of infantry, a battalion of the 91st regiment, and 180 Kat River burghers, succeeded in forcing an

important pass between the Amatola valley and the heights, notwithstanding the determined opposition of the Kafirs, who advanced to a hand-and-hand encounter, discharging their muskets within a few yards of the troops. But their firelocks were overcharged; they uniformly fired too high, and consequently inflicted little injury, while they themselves suffered severely from the steady fire kept up by the 91st, while toiling up the steep and wooded ascent, at the summit of which they were joined by Colonel Somerset at the head of the second division. The whole force then moved down to the flats at the base of the hills, and bivouacked that night around 1,800 head of cattle, swept off from the open ground at the foot of the mountains. During these operations, serious damage was inflicted by a party of the enemy. The Burns' Hill station was attacked, an officer (Captain Baimbrick) and four privates of the 91st killed; and notwithstanding the artillery of the British, and the employment of those fearful engines of destruction—shells, so skilfully thrown that they exploded in the very midst of large masses of them, the Kafirs advanced undauntedly, and on the morning of the 17th, captured sixty-three of the waggons. The force in charge of the waggons were chiefly Hottentots; they saved the three which contained ammunition, by the exercise of most desperate and determined courage, defending them from eight in the morning until eight at night, by which time succour arrived. Colonel Somerset, with the remainder of the force, then fell back upon Block Drift, the line of march being throughout beset by swarms of Kafirs, pertinaciously striving to cut off his retreat. Meanwhile the governor and his staff had arrived at Post Victoria, where a defensive force had been stationed. The enemy approached at break of day, carried off large numbers of valuable draught oxen, and succeeded in retaining possession of them, after a sharp struggle with the force sent in pursuit. Soon after this it was deemed necessary to abandon and burn Post Victoria, and remove the stores to Fort Beaufort. This most unpropitious opening of the campaign appears to have awakened the governor to a more just

tion of the records of British residencies in native districts from 1835 to 1846, that the Kafir side of the question might be made known. He declares that abundant evidence would be thereby afforded of the excellent working of the Glenelg treaties, up to the period of their alteration by Governor Napier.

* Par. Pap., Feb., 1847; pp. 84-86, 90. † *Id.*, p. 106.

‡ Mr. Stretch, in his character of diplomatic agent, protested strongly against the proposed invasion, at a military council held at Fort Beaufort, on the 8th of April, and has since published a pamphlet, in which he forcibly urges upon the government the examina-

appreciation of the responsibility he had incurred. Addressing the colonial secretary (Lord Stanley) on the 24th of April, he declares that the officers engaged in the last Kafir war were astonished at the resoluteness and skill now suddenly displayed by the Gaikas, and that he had no conception of the extent to which they were furnished with fire-arms, or of the facility with which they used them. Their persevering courage in facing artillery, their combination and expertness in skirmishing in the bush and harassing the troops, were new and startling features in their warfare which rendered them altogether "no contemptible foe."

Although the loss of the British in killed and wounded had been very trifling, the capture of the baggage waggons, the retreat from the Amatola, and the abandonment of Post Victoria, clearly placed the advantage on the side of the enemy. On the 21st of May, forty-one waggons laden with supplies destined for Fort Peddie, were intercepted on their way, and Colonel Somerset himself, at the head of 1,200 men, succeeded only with extreme difficulty in conveying a second detachment of loaded ox-waggons there. The whole of the tribes between the frontier and the Kei united. Macomo, who up to the last moment had evinced the most friendly dispositions towards the colony, by vainly entreating to be received within its precincts, and formally recognized as a British subject, was now compelled by his tribe to join their hostility against the people who had tacitly rejected his offers of friendship. To guard a frontier which, without reckoning its numerous indentures, measured 200 miles, against the inroads of the whole Kafir nation, was manifestly impossible; large

marauding parties entered it at all points, from the Winterberg to the sea, burning houses, carrying off flocks, and holding possession of the forests, the open country, and even of the high roads. Happily but few lives were lost, the farmers having collected themselves in "lagers" or small camps, along the border; sheltering, as they best could, their families and such of their cattle and other property as they had been able to collect.

At this crisis the governor took upon himself the direction of military operations, proclaimed martial law throughout the colony, and summoned a burgher force from every district, to assemble under their field-commandants and field-cornets on the frontier without delay. But here another difficulty occurred; the extensive emigration which had taken place since the last war, had removed the most belligerent class of boors, while those who remained, dissatisfied with the proceedings of the government, showed no inclination to take up arms in its cause. Happily the influence and ability of Sir Andreas Stockenström, though little regarded in time of peace, were still available in this season of danger and depression. He was appointed commandant-general of the burgher forces of the eastern districts, which formed a distinct division of the colonial force, and before the end of May became so efficiently organized, as to completely shield the Cradock and Somerset districts, and the upper part of Albany. In less than one month, without the assistance of engineer, sapper, or miner, the most open and exposed portion of the frontier had been converted into the strongest, by means of a series of well-established posts. Towards the end of June* this division was prepared for offen-

* The only occasion throughout the tedious campaign, in which the British succeeded in surprising the Kafirs, was on the open ground between the Keiskamma and the Fish River. Here, on the 7th of June, about 600 were discovered in a body, and immediately charged upon by Colonel Somerset. For a moment they showed a front, but their serried masses were broken through, and trampled to the dust by the horsemen. Hotly pursued, and hewn down at every step, they still threw showers of assegais, flying meanwhile so rapidly that a large number had well-nigh gained the shelter of the Keiskamma Bush, when Captain Hogg, with a troop of the 7th dragoons, intercepted their flight. Then, no longer attempting resistance or escape, they strove to shelter themselves amidst the scattered clumps of grass and brushwood, while their pursuers, weary of carnage, dismounted to breathe their tired horses. At this moment a part of the Fingoe levies arrived

on foot. Too late for the fight, they were soon enough to vent their miserable malice on the people whom they feared and hated. Lieutenant-colonel Napier (one of the seven staff officers despatched from England, in 1846, to assist Sir Peregrine Maitland in terminating the war) has placed on record a fearful description of "the ferocious eagerness with which they searched among the tall grass and low bushes for their crouching foes; mercilessly, and in cold blood, despatching them when discovered." Some, when they found their retreat completely cut off, committed suicide by severing their own throats with the sharp edge of the assegai, to avoid the ruthless barbarities of the Fingoes. No attempt whatever appears to have been made by the British officers to stop this wholesale slaughter. One eye-witness to this revolting and disgraceful scene, whose testimony is quoted by Lieutenant-colonel Napier, says, "We could not, had we tried to do so, have put a stop to

sive as well as defensive operations, comprising 1,600 men, ready to take the field, and about 1,200 destined to maintain the line of posts above mentioned. Four hundred of the Kat River Legion, under their brave leaders Groepe and Botha, were transferred from the first or Somerset division to the third, and posted in readiness to attack the fastnesses of the Amatola, so soon as the commander-in-chief should order the contemplated combined movement of the whole army, then amounting to about 10,000 men.

This movement, however, succeeded but partially, from the want (it is asserted) of efficient cooperation and combination in the three divisions. That headed by Sir Andreas Stockenstrom was alone completely successful in forcing the Amatola passes, searching every nook and corner, defeating their tenants wherever they ventured to make a stand, and successfully encamping in those strongholds so long deemed impregnable.

The spell seemed broken, and as early as the evening of the 30th of August, messengers were sent by the Gaika leaders to tell the Tambookies (some of whom had lately joined them) that "the Amatola was broken to pieces, that Kafirland was lost, and that the Amakosæ had no longer a place of rest."*

Still the Kafirs were not subdued. Hoping to paralyze further proceedings, they had burned all the grass, and this, together with extreme scarcity of supplies, greatly crippled the movements of the invading army. Notwithstanding these difficulties, it was considered expedient to take advantage of the panic which temporarily prevailed among the western Kafirs, by marching across the Kei, forcing a passage to the very residence of Kreili (who was supposed to have abetted or given refuge to his belligerent countrymen), and dictating to him the course he was to pursue. Kreili, on

this pastime of the Fingoes, for we had all dismounted; both horses and men being dead-beat, and completely done up; and it is likely that, if we could have put a stop to it, there were many present who might probably not have taken the trouble to do so; for, disgusting as was the sight, we were all well aware that the Kafirs, under similar circumstances, would have treated us much worse; and since the Fingoes were the scavengers, some thought it was a good opportunity to get rid of a great deal of foul garbage and filth."—Lieutenant-colonel E. E. Napier's *Excursions in Southern Africa*, vol. ii., p. 268. Thus terminated the action of the Gwanga, in the butchery of a conquered foe, to whose bravery even their most inveterate and prejudiced enemies have borne witness.

DIV. VII.

learning the approach of troops, despatched two of his chief counsellors to disclaim, on his part, all share in the present hostilities, and to entreat a continuation of the peace which he had done nothing to violate. The answer was, that any discussion upon the subject could be held only at the residence of the chief, and thither Sir Andreas Stockenstrom and Lieutenant-colonel Johnstone proceeded, and on the 21st of August held a conference with Kreili and his council, and obtained their full consent to all the required conditions, of affording no countenance to the Gaikas, restoring all stolen cattle that should be brought into his territory, and acknowledging the right of the British government to all the land west of the Great or White Kei, which was now reassumed as the colonial boundary. Sir Peregrine Maitland subsequently refused to sanction this convention, demanding from Kreili 15,000 head of cattle, as reparation for his alleged ill-conduct. Kreili indignantly declared that he thought the white people were seeking occasion to quarrel with him, in order that they might send him after his father [Hintza], who had been killed without the shadow of guilt being proved against him. If it were really so, nothing he could say would have any effect; he could but patiently wait the result.† On his return from Kreili's country, Sir Andreas attacked the Tambookies under Mapassa, killed some 40 or 50 of them, and carried off between 7,000 and 8,000 cattle, after which the burghers, whose presence at their own farms was of great importance, solicited permission to retire, a boon which the governor, however unwillingly, could but grant. The war seemed almost as far from a conclusion as ever. Macomo had come to Fort Cox and sued for peace, in the name of the associate chiefs; he said that he had always desired it, yet that while praying for it his kraal

Colonel Napier himself declares them "to be 'game to the back-bone,' never crying out, however badly wounded, or even demanding quarter, but merely pronouncing the name of their chief ere they give up the ghost." (Vol. ii., p. 337.) Yet this writer can suggest no gentler mode of dealing with the Kafirs than that of *shooting or enslaving* the whole nation (Vol. ii., p. 228), and he declares it to be "pretty generally the opinion, that these brigands should be treated like wild beasts, even to the employment of bloodhounds in tracking them to their lairs." (Vol. i., p. 289.)

* Napier's *Excursions in South Africa*, vol. ii., pp. 209, 211.

† Parl. Papers, February, 1848; p. 16.

had been burned. He was told that it would be granted only on condition of their surrendering their arms, their plunder, and their land. Thereupon Sandilli declared that they would never consent to surrender the arms which they had honestly purchased, and that the cattle had been recaptured, but that he and his people would gladly live under British law. When told that this reply was a fresh declaration of hostility, Sandilli replied that he, for his part, would make no war, but should return to his place, and cultivate his gardens; the soldiers might come and kill him, but he would not fight any more.

In September, money, troops, and stores of all kinds, arrived from England, but the impracticability of conveying supplies to the interior, compelled the governor to vacate his advanced camp facing the poorts of the Buffalo, and fall back upon Waterloo Bay.* The Kafirs again intrenched themselves in the Amatola mountains, and true to their expressed determination, offered nothing but passive resistance, vacating the country whenever it was patrolled by the enemy, and occupying it again as soon as the soldiers had left it. At length, towards the close of November, Macomo voluntarily placed himself and his family in the hands of the British, and Sandilli delivered up the Kafir who, by killing the Hottentot, had been the immediate cause of the war. A large number of horses, sheep, and muskets, and 20,000 head of cattle, were demanded from the Gaikas, who consented to the payment, but entreated that time might be given them. All who brought arms were registered, and tickets given them in token of their being British subjects, and at liberty to settle down in peace. The Kafirs were henceforth to be excluded from the whole of the ceded territory, and likewise from the Chumie Hoek (or corner), and Block Drift. Macomo appealed earnestly against the mandate of expulsion, urging his well-known unwillingness to the war, and his entreaty, before the outbreak, to be taken into the colony. He spoke of the good conduct of his father, who had lived in the fair land in which he himself had grown old, adding, "Here my children have been born. Let me die in peace where I have lived so long." His daughter Amakeya, the belle of Kafirland, as a last resource,

pleaded in most pathetic language for her father, offering, if his sentence of banishment might be rescinded, to be herself the guarantee of his good faith. But it was all in vain, and Macomo was sent to Algoa Bay in somewhat the position of a state prisoner under military surveillance.

Without any specific declaration of peace, war was virtually at an end. The governor considered the Kafirs to have no alternative but starvation or submission, and frankly declared that he dared not resume hostilities, and so prevent them from sowing the little corn which the lateness of the season would yet permit, or destroy that already sown, lest he should bring upon the colony "a nation of savages in the desperation of famine." At this time, November, 1846, he described the frontier as almost, if not quite unmolested by Kafirs; but, taught at last by experience, he complained bitterly against the frontier press, for keeping the country in a state of excitement by promulgating mischievous fabrications and false alarms.†

Colonel Hare at length received the permission to retire which he had so long solicited. His health had given way under the harassing anxiety of the campaign, and he died a few days after his embarkation for England. Sir Andreas Stockenstrom, now advanced in years, again sought the retirement of private life, worn down by excessive mental and bodily fatigue, and doubtless disgusted by the conduct of the governor in refusing to sanction his convention with Kreili. The gradual disbandment of the provisional corps was commenced, the 27th, 90th, and 91st regiments were warned to hold themselves in readiness for embarkation, the registration of the chiefs went on satisfactorily, and martial law was repealed. Sir Peregrine Maitland, however, though misled by the colonial war-party into commencing what he eventually termed a "deplorable war," now entirely forfeited his short-lived popularity by refusing to follow Sir Benjamin D'Urban's example, and grant farms to the colonists in the newly-acquired territory. He decided upon settling coloured people only along the new border, and preventing the thin white population of Albany being reproduced further east in proximity to Kafir tribes, by continuing the Fish and Kat Rivers as the limit of European farms. This he considered the safest means of maintaining the peace, which he now believed

* In addition to other misadventures, a valuable store-ship was wrecked in Waterloo Bay.

† Parl. Papers, February, 1847; p. 198.

fairly established. Not so thought Sir H. Pottinger, who arrived in Cape Town in January, 1847, as his successor in the civil administration, accompanied by Sir G. Berkeley, who forthwith assumed the military command. The new governor's sway lasted only about ten months, but its effects are felt at the present moment. He forthwith decided that things could not be allowed to settle down in their then form, stopped the departure of the troops, planned the extension of the colonial boundary to the Buffalo, because a strong position at the mouth of that river was of vital moment, and declared the future subjugation of Kreili to be a *sine quâ non* to a final settlement.* The question now arose as to how a sufficient force was to be found to carry out these extensive designs. The local levies had been disbanded, and their reformation was found to be impossible, every individual to whom the question was put positively refusing to re-enlist.

Finding it hopeless to attempt the re-enactment of martial law, the governor issued a proclamation asking the colonists to volunteer their aid in attacking Pato (a Zlambie chief who had not registered or surrendered his arms), driving him across the Kei, and following him into Kreili's country. To this appeal the colonists were naturally very unwilling to respond; but Sir H. Pottinger, knowing that the Hottentots were in fact the most efficient troops that could be procured, thought that no ceremony need be observed with them, and decreed that the inhabitants of the Kat River settlement should furnish 900 unpaid soldiers, on pain of the immediate confiscation of their lands.† The threat which enforced this peremptory demand was perfectly unjustifiable. The Kat River settlers were as independent as any of their European fellow-subjects, and held their lands perfectly free from any conditions of military service. Nevertheless, they had ever willingly borne a double share of toil and privation,‡ forsaking their homes at a time when their presence was most needed for their defence, and fighting side by side

with the British troops, whose officers could find no terms of praise too high for these valuable and zealous auxiliaries.

After the peace they returned to their devastated abodes; and, having received no pay, had once more to struggle with the deepest poverty. This they did so effectually, that the property on the settlement in 1845 amounted in value to £65,850, being an average of £330 to every square mile of territory.§ In 1846 they again came cheerfully and readily to the defence of the frontier, and remained there though they thereby lost their cattle and crops, though their homesteads were destroyed, and they themselves half naked and almost starving. They returned to their country after the campaign in Kafirland, exhausted and almost literally naked.

In March, 1847, Sir George Berkeley testified that whereas only 3 per cent. of the European adult population was levied from other districts, the Kat River burghers actually furnished a quota of 90 per cent.; he therefore requested as a matter of favour, that the wives and children of those who, being actively engaged in garrisoning important posts in that district, were unable to attend to agricultural pursuits, or provide for their wives and children in any other way, should be allowed rations. This was granted, but all applications on their behalf for the long promised supplies of clothing were useless. Still they bore their grievances with patience, until their local magistrate, a Mr. Biddulph, who, from his notorious hostility to the coloured races, was signally unfitted for his position, published a most calumnious report, to which Sir Henry Pottinger, to his great discredit, gave credence and circulation. The Kat River settlers vainly demanded inquiry and redress; but the expressions of indignant surprise|| called forth throughout the colony, and the urgent remonstrances of Sir A. Stockenstrom, led to the removal of Mr. Biddulph, who was thereupon appointed to a more lucrative magisterial position in another part of the colony. Mr. Bowker, sufferings of this unfortunate settlement were proportionately greater than those of any other section of the frontier; out of the 100 lives lost on the side of the British, ten belonged to the Kat River community.

§ Dr. Innes' Report; Parl. Papers, August, 1851; p. 413.

|| The *Commercial Advertiser* drew especial notice to the fact, that in three years, 1845, '6, '7, only two clear cases of crime had been proved against the whole Kat River population. One of these was a petty theft, the other an assault.

* Parl. Papers, February, 1848; pp. 12, 74.

† *Idem*, p. 45.

‡ Before the outbreak of 1835, they possessed 624 horses, 5,406 cattle, 8,925 sheep and goats, and had sown 310 muids of wheat, barley, and oats; 70 muids of Indian corn, beans, and peas; and 645 ridges of pumpkins. Of this property they lost nearly the whole; 557 horses, 3,992 black cattle, and 5,460 sheep and goats were swept away; the greater part of their produce was destroyed, and 44 of their dwellings were burnt to the ground. In every respect the

the person selected to fill his place, was equally, if not more obnoxious to the people. His avowed contempt and hostility towards the coloured races had been severely commented on in 1845 by the colonial secretary in the Legislative Council, and on the present occasion he had made himself conspicuous by publishing a letter in a Graham's Town paper, vindicating the statements of Mr. Biddulph.* The placing this man over the settlement, while yet rankling under the ill-treatment of the magistrate who had just been removed, was therefore felt as a deliberate insult. Nor was this all; having no means of repairing their dams and canals for irrigation, having lost their oxen in the war, and being thereby unable to plough, the Hottentots set to work felling timber in the forests of the settlement, cutting it into planks, and conveying it as they best could to markets, distant 60, 80, or 100 miles or more. In a short time they had 90 saw-pits at work. While thus striving to eke out a hard livelihood, they were informed that not only would no remuneration for losses and no rewards for services be given them, but that "all previous privileges or immunities granted or sanctioned, with respect to cutting wood in their own rocky ravines, were now abrogated or annulled," and that for licence to cut each separate load, six shillings must be paid to government.

Surely no more certain way of sowing broadcast the seeds of disaffection among a numerous and well-conducted body of people, could have been adopted, than the ungrateful, not to say malicious, spirit thus evinced towards them.

The course pursued towards the Kafirs was scarcely less impolitic. The theft of some eighteen goats by one of Sandilli's tribe, and the alleged participation of the chief in the plunder, was made the pretext for an attempt to seize him during the night,

* Parl. Papers, August, 1851; p. 414.

† Twenty-four men of the Kafir police formed a portion of this ill-advised expedition. This force had been established partly by the late and partly by the existing governor. In time of peace it answered admirably, in war it proved worse than a failure.

‡ Among the measures adopted at this time was the flogging system, by which all Kafir thieves captured by patrols, or sent in by chiefs, were to be "publicly and soundly flogged."—Parl. Papers, February, 1848; p. 141.

§ Sandilli (through Mr. Brownlee, the Gaika commissioner appointed by Governor Smith) has since given a very different version of this affair, stating that "he was invited by Colonel Somerset, through Major Bisset, to come to Colonel Buller's

a measure which Sir H. Pottinger considered would have "the most salutary lasting effect on all the chiefs and people of Kafirland."† The attempt failed, and Burn's Hill, near which Sandilli's kraal was situated, again witnessed the signal defeat of the invading party. The chief was thenceforth proclaimed a rebel, and his people were denounced for having retained their muskets and used them in his defence. Preparations were made for entering and devastating his country, from which he was to be for ever expelled, and Sir Henry Pottinger, as an encouragement to the burghers to join him, restored the old commando system, and authorized the burghers to appropriate any spoil they could seize.‡ Famine and the sword once again threatened to ravage his unhappy tribe, when Sandilli essayed to stay the uplifted hand by the voluntary surrender§ of himself and eighty of his chief men, including his brother Anta and several of his counsellors.||

This occurred in October (1847): in the following month, Sir H. Pottinger was succeeded by Sir Harry Smith.¶ The first public act of the new governor was, however, little calculated to impress the beholders with an idea of the sound judgment and discretion so necessary at this crisis; nor indeed could it in any way add to the brilliant reputation for personal bravery achieved by the hero of Aliwal during his Indian career. On landing at Port Elizabeth (Algoa Bay), on the 14th of December, his excellency was cordially greeted by the entire population, among whom was Macomo. Sir Harry recognised him, half drew his sword from its scabbard, shook it at him, and stamped his foot on the ground. Shortly after he sent for the chief, who, upon being introduced, extended his hand, in return for which his excellency gave him his foot, collared him, laid him prostrate, put his foot upon his camp to make peace, with the assurance that nothing should be done to him; that on going to the camp, trusting in this assurance, and with the intention of returning at night to his hiding-place, he was made a prisoner, and sent to Graham's Town.—Parl. Papers, March, 1851; p. 41.

|| Sir Harry Smith states that in this "bit of a brush with Sandilli, £56,000 were expended in wagon hire alone."—Parl. Papers, July, 1848; p. 39.

¶ The immediate ground of Sir H. Smith's appointment was probably the statement laid by him before the Duke of Wellington, that with an army of 4,000 men in all, 2,000 for defence and 2,000 for invasion, the Kafirs might be completely subdued in two or three weeks.—Parl. Papers, February, 1848; p. 111.

neck, and then brandished his sword over his head. This part of the story was related far and wide; and the prestige of Sir Harry's name was accepted as an apology for the violation of common decency: but the narrators have generally omitted to add, that Macomo, on rising, looked the governor quietly in the face, remarking—"I always thought you a great man till this day."*

Sandilli and his counsellors were subsequently compelled to go through the degrading ceremony of kissing the governor's foot, who then sent them back to their own people. On the 7th January, 1848, a great assembly was held, at which Sandilli, Macomo, and all the leading chiefs and counsellors of British Kaffraria were present, as also Umterara and Mapassa, the principal Tambookie chiefs; Madoor, the Bushman chief; and a deputation of six or eight counsellors from Kreili. The programme of this meeting, as laid down by Sir H. Smith, excited much surprise. First, a prayer of his own composition, in which the Kafirs were made to express their repentance for having made war upon the English, was translated into the Kafir language, and offered up by a Wesleyan minister, on behalf of these heathens, to the God of the Christians. Then two emblems—one being a very long broomstick, with a brass door-handle at the top, the other a serjeant's halberd—were shown to the chiefs; the first being supposed to designate peace;

the other, war. The stick of peace being chosen with acclamation, the stick of war was thrown away. Sir Harry proceeded to inform the chiefs, that he should form no treaty with them; that he had taken possession of their country; but would permit them to occupy such parts of it as he thought fit, on condition of their annually bringing a bullock, in token of submission. In future, he added, they were to acknowledge no ruler but himself; he, as the representative of the Queen of England, was to be their *Inkosi Inkulu*, or great chief. The Kafirs attempted to remonstrate. Pato boldly stated, that the people would listen to the "word of Sandilli, the son of Gaika, chief of all;" whereupon the governor brandished the stick of war, violently exclaiming, "No Sandilli! I am the great chief." Further to intimidate the Kafirs, a waggon was blown up by means of an electric battery; and they were told that if they ever attempted to attack another, they would be blown up with it. Thus ended this strange scene. The chiefs departed, as they afterwards declared, with "their talk still in their hearts;" for of remonstrance, much less complaint, the governor refused to hear one word. Kafirland was then divided into counties, towns, and villages, bearing English names; its "rich and (in many parts) extensive tracts of fertile land" were publicly announced for sale,† and military villages established in various localities.‡ The

* Parl. Papers, August, 1851; p. 387.

† Proclamation dated 23rd December, 1847.

‡ The state of these villages in June, 1848, is thus shown in the Parl. Papers, of May 3, 1849; p. 16:—

Villages.	Officers.	Non-Com. Officers.	Privates.	Women.	Children.	Total.
Juanasberg	1	5	65	2	2	75
Woburn	1	4	66	—	—	71
Auckland	—	9	54	12	42	115
Ely	—	1	43	3	11	58
Total	2	19	228	17	55	319

To one of these villages a very disgraceful story is attached. The celebrated Gaika chief, Tyalie, died in 1844. Among the common people little attention is paid to the rites or place of sepulture; but the veneration felt for the chiefs is extended even to their dead bodies, and Tyalie (Sandilli's uncle) having been an influential leader, famous for his strength and courage, and fine person, was buried with no ordinary pomp. His people did their utmost to honour and perpetuate his memory. In the grave were deposited the cloak, saddle, assegais, and other articles

considered to appertain peculiarly to the deceased. His hut and all the rest of the kraal were abandoned according to Kafir usage, and from the time of the burial the grave was carefully watched by faithful clansmen with superstitious reverence. After the war of 1846, his widow and children were driven to the opposite side of the river on which the tomb was situated, and forbidden under heavy penalties to return; and on a portion of the land of which the family and clansmen of Tyalie had been deprived, was planted the military village of Woburn,—the disbanded soldiers being purposely located there, to prevent the Kafirs crossing the river to the beautiful spot which had been the great place of the tribe. Their feelings at this expulsion may be easily imagined; as if to exasperate them to the highest degree, the honoured grave of Tyalie was violated, and pillaged of the articles buried with the chief. The *Missionary Record of the United Presbyterian Church*, in which many particulars are related, says that the disbanded soldiers at Woburn "proved to be men of the most worthless character;" and the Rev. H. Renton stated before the Parliamentary Committee of 1851, that "in the whole village there was not a married man, but every man had his concubine." The outrage committed on Tyalie's burial-place was represented to the authorities, and strong disapprobation expressed, but no punishment was inflicted on the perpetrators; and "in its rifled state

English money, so lavishly spent during the war, had not all been bestowed upon the Kafirs in the form of powder and shot; a very large proportion of it was now ready to be invested in the purchase of their land. Thus Sir H. Smith, in making a tour through what he termed British Kaffraria, found "everywhere traders and their followers, adventurers, farmers, and landholders, all vociferous for the purchase of land; all desirous to avail themselves of the present state of things, and the prospect of future security (?) by investing the enormous sums of money which many have amassed in the confusion and disorder which war creates."*

In fact, Sir H. Smith reintroduced the D'Urban system, of taking by force, and keeping by force. The Kafirs, prostrated by the two-fold scourge of war and famine, could but brood over their wrongs, and bide their time. A partial attempt to introduce among them the elements of civilization was made, by agricultural implements being sent from England by the British government, the Aborigines Protection Society, and by the Society of Friends; yet after all it must have seemed little better than a hollow mockery to take the best portion of their land from them with one hand, and give them instruments for cultivation with the other. Here, too, most mistaken notions of economy prevailed. From our very earliest dealings with our warlike neighbours, the same error had marked every step of our proceedings. We never sought to purchase land by the free consent of chiefs, counsellors, and people; to found among them schools in which they should be taught first religious knowledge, the only sure basis of all other, then to the men the rudiments of agriculture and mechanics, and to the women, of housewifely duties. We never strove to induce them to endeavour, by draining, fencing, irrigation, &c., to improve their own land. The well-directed zeal of individuals, self-formed into societies, did something of this kind; but to have full effect, such essays must have the authority and stanch support of government. It cannot be too strongly borne in mind, that a few thousands, judi-

ciously expended, in all human probability would have spared the outlay of as many millions, and with this great difference, that in that case we might have confidently hoped for a blessing on our national efforts.

On taking possession of the country of the Kafirs, the question arose, how to raise a revenue for their government. The large sum obtainable by the sale of their land was not considered sufficient, and Sir H. Smith proposed to introduce a system of direct taxation by the imposition of an annual capitation tax of one shilling per head. The colonial commissioner, Colonel Mackinnon, appears to have procured the abandonment of this measure by forcibly pointing out its impolicy and injustice; declaring that it would be next to impossible to raise it, and that besides, in laying down the law to the chiefs at the great meeting, no mention whatever had been made of any tax to be levied on them. There was the less excuse for such a proposition, because considerable revenue was, in various ways, already derived from the Kafirs. Thus, in all cases of theft, a fine was exacted for the government of double the amount of the cattle stolen, after compensating the owner for the loss; the chiefs, on some occasions, were made to pay for the spoor (trace) of stolen cattle followed to their locations; and all cattle and horses found straying, and unclaimed within a limited time, were confiscated. For the six months ending July, 1848, the fines levied amounted to £419:8s., and Kafir cattle to the amount of £100 was, besides, then in the government kraals.† The consumption of taxed articles was rapidly increasing among the Kafirs, in whose territory no less than thirty-eight general traders were at this time established, each paying £50 annually for a licence; and therefore, it is to be presumed, doing a large amount of business by selling blankets, clothes, handkerchiefs, hoes, axes, spades, beads, copper wire, tobacco, sugar; most of them articles of British manufacture, and paying on their arrival in the colony duties varying from five to twelve per cent. Arms and ammunition, doubtless, formed a large though unavowed portion of the traffic,

the grave remained." A week after the transaction occurred, Mrs. Renton visited the spot, and remarked that "the men who had acted such a part could not expect to come to the grave in peace." Neither did they—a sudden and fearful destruction overwhelmed them all.—Parl. Papers, Aug., 1851; p. 381. *Missionary Record of the United Presbyterian Church, and Colonial Intelligencer*, for February, 1852; pp. 367—8.

* Despatch from Governor Smith, dated January 14th, 1848. In a subsequent communication dated March 23rd, 1848, Sir Harry states that the settlers in the eastern districts "having, generally speaking, acquired large fortunes by the war expenditure," were prepared to pay large prices for the newly annexed land.—Parl. Papers, May, 1849; p. 7.

† Parl. Papers, May, 1849; pp. 18, 19.

and the extraordinary amount which the Kafirs were subsequently found to possess, proved how sedulous and unceasing they had been in their acquisition, during a period when they were described as completely subjugated, though they were in reality kept down by nothing less than the unceasing pressure of a coercive system, scarcely less wearisome and exhausting to the ruling than to the ruled party.

During the temporary cessation of hostilities with the Kafirs, the colony, so far from enjoying internal tranquillity, became the scene of discord and excitement. The cause of this unhappy state of things requires special notice, because it induced the assumption on the part of the colonists of an opposing attitude, and bore the semblance of ingratitude towards the mother country, whose resources had been so freely drawn upon for their defence. Extension of boundary had been constantly deprecated by the home government, whose sanction to each addition had been given reluctantly, and solely in compliance with urgent representations from the colony. Nevertheless, in defence of territory thus acquired, and in most cases freely granted, no cost was spared. Under these circumstances it might have been supposed that whatever temporary cause of dissension should occur, its effects would speedily pass away. And so it is to be hoped they have done, as far as England is concerned, but the stormy epoch at which we now arrive has not failed to leave sad traces of party spirit and disunion among the settlers themselves, and to awaken long dormant prejudices.

THE CONVICT QUESTION.—In consequence of no criminals being sent to New South Wales after the year 1810, and of Van Diemen's Land being overcrowded with them, the subject of transportation had become extremely embarrassing to the British government. The difficulty had been increased by the convictions connected with the agrarian disturbances in Ireland, arising from famine and political excitement. The average number of transports from Ireland had risen rapidly from 627 in 1845, to 708 in 1846, 2,208 in 1847, 2,729 in 1848, and 3,039 in 1849. The prisons throughout the United Kingdom were full, nor could any more be received in the hulks at Bermuda and Gibraltar, where convicts were employed in strengthening the fortifications. The government, instead of founding a new penal settlement in some distant part of the

empire, as suggested with regard to Queen Charlotte's Island in the Northern Pacific, (see Vol. I., page 350,) or at the Falkland Islands in the Southern Ocean, resolved to distribute the convicts among certain of the colonies, under the authority of an act of parliament (5 Geo. IV.), which empowers the sovereign, with the advice of the privy council, to appoint any place in H.M. dominions for the transportation of felons and others under sentence of banishment beyond the seas. Accordingly, in September, 1848, an order in council was passed, whereby the secretary of state was authorized to select such colonies as he deemed advisable for the reception of convicts, especially such as had undergone some punishment and probation, whether in prisons at home, at Bermuda, or at Gibraltar.

A circular was sent by Earl Grey to the governors of several colonies (including the Cape of Good Hope), calling upon them to ascertain the opinions of the colonists as to the reception of convicts, in order that if they desired it, a certain class of these might be sent them.

The proposition to send criminals to the Cape of Good Hope, did not, however, originate with Earl Grey; by Lord John Russell, Lord Stanley, and Mr. Gladstone, when respectively at the head of the Colonial Office, the same idea had been entertained.* Moreover, Mr. Fairbairn and Dr. Adamson, the popular leaders of the anti-convict agitation in 1848-9, had some years before suggested, that English convicts might be beneficially employed in the construction of a breakwater at Table Bay. It is evident from the despatches and private letters of Earl Grey to Sir H. Smith, that the motives of his lordship were benevolent as regarded the convicts, and politic in his opinion as regarded both the State and the colonies. Unfortunately, without waiting to hear the opinion of the inhabitants, a vessel laden with 289 transports, was despatched to the Cape of Good Hope. Some of these were men who had been convicted for crimes in Ireland, which were said to have been, to some extent, incited by the famine and the insurrectionary and treasonable proceedings of John Mitchell, (who was on board the *Neptune*), and his ill-advised colleagues. The prisoners were considered deserving of tickets of leave; and, on landing, were to be dispersed throughout the colony and left to gain their own livelihood. As an inducement

* House of Commons Debate, February 14, 1850.

ment to the Cape colonists to receive them, the governor was informed in a despatch, dated 18th July, 1848,* that parliament had voted a sum of money for the passage of free emigrants in proportion to the convicts, whose wives and children would also be sent out, and that military pensioners would form their guard instead of soldiers from the regiments of the line; such pensioners and their families would thus increase the supply of labour, and contribute to the elements of security and of good order. The emigration of females was also to be specially encouraged, particularly of well-conducted girls, carefully selected from the workhouses in different parts of the kingdom. The colonists were, however, unanimous in rejecting these offers; they assembled in the different districts, in their local boards, or under their sectional religious denominations, and in various forms addressed petitions to the crown, the secretary of state, and the governor, praying that no convicts might be sent to the Cape.

The news arrived that the *Neptune* was actually on her way; and information likewise reached the colony, that European soldiers, transported from the regiments serving in the East Indies, Ceylon, or Mauritius, and whose numbers ranged from twenty to fifty yearly, were, under the provisions of the Mutiny Act, ordered to be located at the Cape. A perfect panic pervaded the colony; everything else was merged in the one idea of the Cape being made a penal settlement, or, as it was said, a "cess-pool" for the expelled vice and pollution of the United Kingdom, and the soldiery serving in the East. Besides this, it was feared, and not without reason, that political and military convicts would soon find their way among the Kafirs and neighbouring tribes, and by their talents render the aborigines more dangerous than ever.

As the colonists lacked the means of expressing their desires, which a representative assembly affords, they established an *Anti-Convict Association*, with branches throughout the country districts, binding themselves, by a pledge, to drop all intercourse with persons, of whatever description, concerned in "landing, supplying, or employing convicts." Banks, insurance-offices, and associated companies of every kind, concurred in this determination. On account of some transactions in preceding periods, the Legislative Council had become

* Parl Papers, January 31, 1850; p. 144.

so unpopular, that a resolution was formed to get rid of it. There being several vacancies, measures were taken to prevent these being filled up, and to remove existing members, "so that no unofficial person should hold a seat."

The governor was necessarily placed in a very difficult position. He appears to have partially sided with the colonists in their resistance, but yet to have made various injudicious attempts to counteract the influence of the agitating party, by offering pecuniary accommodation, from the public-treasury, to men of no public weight, as an inducement to become members of the Legislative Council, and by obscure threats of employing "military measures."

The Anti-convict Association had secured the adhesion to their measures of all contractors employed in supplying any branch of the public service, engaging to indemnify them for all penalties to which they might be subjected by breach of contract. The farmers and dealers of every kind had pledged themselves to refuse supplies to any persons who might be pointed out to them as favouring the introduction of convicts; and thus preparation was made to place the government in a state of helpless isolation, if the obnoxious measure were persisted in.

On the 19th of September, 1849, the *Neptune* and her dreaded freight reached Simon's Bay. When the intelligence reached Cape Town, 24 miles distant, the alarm was given; the bells of the churches tolled, the gong at the town-hall sounded, and great excitement prevailed. At eleven o'clock a letter was sent from the Cape Town municipal board to the governor, informing him that "the people have determined that the convicts must not, cannot, and shall not, be landed or be kept in any of the ports of this colony."† And in order "to remove the cause of the anxiety now prevailing, and to obviate the evil consequences which may result therefrom, and for which his excellency would be responsible," he was entreated to direct that the *Neptune*, after revictualling, should immediately leave the colony. The governor had already refused to accept the consignment of the vessel, or to pass her through the custom-house, directing or permitting that the charge of her should fall upon the naval authorities at Simon's Town.

He now, for the first time since his accession to office, assembled the Executive

† Parl. Papers, January 21, 1850, p. 99.

Council, which approved of all the measures he had taken, but concurred in opinion with him that to dismiss the vessel or change her destination to England, or to any other colony, was contrary to law, and beyond the limits of his authority. His excellency, however, offered a pledge that he would resign his office rather than assist in carrying out any measure for landing the convicts, whereupon a considerable portion of the Anti-convict Association, seeing no farther reason to oppose the local government, desired that the interdict against supplying the navy should be withdrawn, and tranquillity restored. Hitherto the British and Dutch colonists had acted with perfect unanimity, but, in the discussion of this question, there arose a diversity of feelings and purposes likely to have a great effect on the future of the colony. Being outvoted in their endeavours to secure peace, several of the leading members of the British population receded from all further interference with the matter, still, however, keeping aloof from Sir H. Smith, on the plea of want of confidence. The opposing party extended their operations, and included the navy and the whole body of the executive and judicial agents of the government under their interdict. The object of this movement, which was to remove the vessel from her anchorage, failed, and the discomfort and annoyance occasioned to individuals, created alienation in a community hitherto full of friendly feeling.*

When H.M. ministers became acquainted with the disturbed state of affairs at the Cape, orders were forwarded, changing the destination of the *Neptune* to Van Diemen's Island, and directing that any military convicts arriving from India should be despatched to England.

On the 14th February, 1850, the Anti-convict Association was formally dissolved. The funds which had been collected were ordered to be distributed in aid of those on whom fines and penalties had been imposed for the violation of government contracts, and a sum of money was voted to supply the convicts on board the *Neptune* with some comforts previous to their departure from Simon's Bay, where they had been detained 153 days. The surgeon-superin-

tendent, an excellent man, named Deas, had died shortly after his arrival at the Cape, worn out with the anxieties of the voyage, during which seven prisoners had perished, his end being doubtless accelerated by the disappointment of finding the unfortunate prisoners prevented from landing.

The next important event in the history of the colony was Sir H. Smith's assumption, on behalf of the crown, of the sovereignty of an extensive territory situated on the north-eastern frontier of the colony. His proceedings in this matter have been much canvassed, but the evidence at present published is scarcely sufficient to allow of an impartial reader arriving at any satisfactory conclusion. The following facts, derived chiefly from parliamentary papers, show the steps which immediately led to this fresh extension of the boundary:—

THE ORANGE RIVER SOVEREIGNTY.†—Prior as well as subsequent to the establishment of British dominion in Southern Africa, the boors residing on the north-eastern frontier, when suffering from the droughts to which the Graaf Reynet and adjoining districts are subject, were in the habit of driving their flocks for temporary herbage to the northern bank of the Orange River, or, properly speaking, to that branch of it known as the *Nu Gariep*, in contradistinction to the more northerly channel, called the *Ky Gariep*, or *Vaal River*. The country was then thinly inhabited by various native tribes. The miserable remnant of the Bosjesmen derived a precarious subsistence from the uncultivated roots and wild animals which abounded along the valleys of the aforesaid streams and their tributaries. The Corannas, another Hottentot race, but little superior to the Bosjesmen in civilization, likewise dwelt there; but its principal native proprietors were various branches of the great BECHUANA nation, whom some consider closely allied to the Kafirs, while others describe them as occupying a middle place between the Kafirs and the Hottentots, being less intelligent and warlike than the former, but more energetic than the latter. One powerful section of the Bechuanas, named the Bassutos, dwelt in the territory extending between the White Mountains, on the east, and the Caledon (a tributary stream), on the west; while a very considerable tract of country to the south-westward, extending along either bank of the Nu Gariep or Orange River, and also along the Orange River itself, after the junction of the Nu and Ky Gariep, came in process of time to be occupied by the unfortunate mulatto race, called Bastards, of whose origin mention has been previously made. The Griquas are a tribe or section of the Bastards,‡ who, towards the close of the last century, sought refuge from oppression and contumely, among the native tribes beyond the limits of the colony.

* Notes on Cape Affairs: by J. Adamson, D.D.; London, 1851.

† This section is given in small type to save space.

‡ The difference now observable between the Griquas and the Bastards consists chiefly in the pre-

dominance of Hottentot characteristics in the former, and those of the Dutch in the latter. The Griqua features are better defined, the complexion darker, hair more crisp, bearing more manly, with generally less of the mongrel than the Bastard. Both are indolent and apathetic; they speak the same language.

They migrated under the leadership of Adam Kok, a negro slave, who, by dint of industry and labour, had succeeded in purchasing his freedom, and led a wandering life, until induced by the unwearied exertions of the excellent missionary, Anderson, who joined himself to them in the year 1800, to forsake their nomadic habits and establish themselves at a spot called *Klaar Water*. This designation Mr. Campbell persuaded them (in 1813) to change for that of Griqua Town, and to call themselves Griquas instead of Bastards, their new name being apparently an abbreviation of Cherigriquois, the appellation given to a tribe, many of whose members connected themselves with Adam Kok. There is evidence that the Griquas honestly purchased at least some of the land of which they took possession from its Bushmen aborigines.—(Parl. Papers, August, 1836, p. 620.) The subsequent separation of the Griquas, under Waterboer and Adam Kok, and the treaty entered into with the former branch, have been already mentioned, (see page 62), and likewise the increasing aggression of the border farmers.

This evil had augmented with the disaffection of the boors. Thus—"in 1834, there were said to be about 1,500 boors on the other side of the Orange River, and for the most part in the Griqua country. Of these there were 700 boors, for several months during that year, in the district of Phillipolis [the town founded by Adam Kok] alone, with at least £700,000 sheep, cattle, and horses. Besides destroying the pastures of this people, in many instances their corn-fields were destroyed by them; and, in some cases, they took possession of their houses," at the same time declaring, that if the Griquas complained to the government, the result would be, that the country would be entirely taken from them, and granted to the boors.—(Vide Dr. Philip's evidence before the Committee of 1836, p. 626.) The influence of the missionaries, or rather of the Christian principles which they had succeeded in inculcating, alone prevented bloodshed; but some encouragement was afforded the Griquas and other natives, by the enactment of the law which made offences against them punishable as if committed in the colony.

In 1836 the boors commenced quitting the colony in organised communities, intending to settle down at Natal, which they supposed still belonged to the Dutch, the British government having refused to sanction the formation of a settlement there. They were resisted in their attempted occupation by Dingaan, a ferocious ruler of the Zoolus; but having beaten him, they proclaimed the establishment of a Batavian republic. This roused the attention of the British government; the boors were subdued by force of arms, and the sovereignty of England proclaimed over Natal. The invaders then migrated to the westward, passed the Drakenberg range of mountains, and well provided with horses, arms, and ammunition, settled chiefly beyond the Vaal River, on lands which had been laid waste by the Almsiligas Zoolus, belonging to Moshesh, chief of the Bassutos, Sinkonyella, a Mantatee chief, and others. They likewise leased from the Griquas of Phillipolis, under Adam Kok, considerable tracts. Having formed themselves into an independent government, they nominated a chief, landdrosts, field-cornets, and volksraads, and imitated, as far as possible, the institutions of the colony they had quitted.

The Griquas of the Phillipolis district, and the Bassutos, dreading the increasing power of the boors, repeatedly besought the British government

to receive and recognise them as allies; but this was long refused, because it was feared that it might entail the necessity of marching troops for their defence against the emigrants. At length, in 1843, urgent representations were made by the Phillipolis missionaries that the leases of several fountains were about to expire, and that therefore a crisis was at hand. If no treaty were made with Adam Kok, the boors would not scruple to retain forcible possession of the land after the termination of the leases, and the Griquas could not be restrained from going to war to defend their rights. Upon this, the then governor, Sir George Napier, formed treaties with Adam Kok and Moshesh, similar to that entered into with Waterboer. In 1845-'6, the interference of the government became imperative, to prevent a war of extermination between the boors and the Griquas, the former of whom deprecated, while the latter earnestly craved, its mediation. A British resident was placed at Bloem Fontein, and a treaty entered into by Sir Peregrine Maitland with the Griquas, which, after distinctly recognising their right to the lands leased by them to the farmers, declared "a certain portion of the country to be alienable, and the other portion inalienable;" and arranged that the Griquas should receive half the amount of the quit-rent claimed by the government from the farmers, whether occupying one district or the other.

In 1848, Sir Harry Smith visited the Griqua country. He found the emigrant boors in a very uncomfortable position; they deplored the lack of christian and civilized ordinances, whereby they were unable to marry, or baptize the new-born according to the rites to which they had been accustomed; they acknowledged that they were under no defined government, were unprovided with ministers of the gospel, schools, &c., and were rapidly falling into a state of savage life.

Addresses were presented to the governor signed by the inhabitants between the Orange, Modder, and Riet rivers, as also from those around Bloem Fontein, from the Caledon River, and from Winberg and its neighbourhood. In compliance with the general opinion thus expressed, and after consultation with the leading chiefs and their missionary instructors, Sir H. Smith issued a proclamation (3rd February, 1848), (Parl. Papers, July, 1848, p. 63), declarative of the *sovereignty* of the Queen of England over the territories north of the Great Orange River, including the countries of Moshesh (the *Bassutos*), Maroko (the *Barolonges*), Molitsani (the *Batung*), Sinkonyella (the *Mantates*), Adam Kok (the *Griquas*), Gert Taayboosch (the *Corannas*), and other minor chiefs, as far north as the Vaal or Gariep River, and eastward to the Drakenberg or Quathalamba Mountains. The chiefs and their people were not to be deprived of their hereditary rights, but to be upheld and protected from any future aggression on the part of H.M. subjects. The Queen, through the high commissioner, to have exclusive authority in all international disputes as to territory or to any cause tending to interrupt the general harmony. The laws, customs, and usages of the several tribes to be maintained; but all H.M. subjects residing within the aforesaid territories to be governed by the laws, &c., in force in the colony of the Cape of Good Hope, and to be entitled to the rights of citizens as if dwelling in the colony. Quit-rents to be paid by British subjects in fair remuneration to the native chiefs for the lands heretofore held under lease. A

revenue to be raised by a land tax and trading licenses, such revenue to be appropriated for the payment of British resident magistrates, constables, surveyors, field-cornets, clergymen, schoolmasters, &c. A Legislative Council was established at Bloem Fontein, for the management of the affairs of British subjects residing within the sovereignty, consisting of four official, and eight unofficial members (two for each district), elected by the people, the whole presided over by the British resident. This council was empowered to make local laws, and to levy and appropriate taxes. Its authority extended over all people within the sovereignty not members of any tribe under a recognised chief, and over all persons in regard to acts done within such parts of the sovereignty as were not presided over by native chiefs, whose subjects were guaranteed in the full possession of their own laws and usages, when "not repugnant to decency, humanity, or natural religion." Four districts were formed: 1st, Griqua Land, (comprising *Bloem Fontein*, and the *Queen's Fort*;) 2nd, *Winberg*; 3rd, the *Vaal River* (*Vrededorp*); 4th, *Caledon River* (*Smithfield*).—Parl. Papers, May, 1851, p. 3.

Previous to issuing the proclamation of British sovereignty, the governor entered into a fresh treaty (24th January, 1848) with Adam Kok, the Griqua chief, whereby the lands held by the emigrant boors on a forty years' lease were to become freeholds, in consideration of a fixed payment of £300 a-year; and British subjects holding lands in the inalienable territory of Adam Kok were, as their leases expired, to quit their farms, on receiving payment for the value (to be fixed by a commission) of the buildings and improvements made on such lands; failing payment, the lessee to retain possession, subject to an annual rental to be subsequently determined.

According to the statements of the late Rev. J. J. Freeman and others, this new arrangement with respect to land was made wholly to conciliate the boors, at the expense of the Griquas.* Adam Kok and his councillors (among them the famous Hendrik Hendriks) protested forcibly against the breach of faith committed in the abrogation of the Maitland treaty, to which they desired to adhere, and were only compelled to sign the new one by Sir H. Smith's threat of hanging them on the spot if they did not do so.† The £300 per annum they absolutely refused to receive as remuneration for the whole of the alienable territory, complaining, moreover, that while the treaty specified that they were to receive that sum for the farms actually let on a forty years' lease, the government virtually deprived them of all the other farms, likewise including many—say one hundred and fifty out of three hundred—which the Griqua proprietors had either not let at all, or let only for shorter periods, as five, ten, or twenty years.‡ They had other grievances, into which it is unnecessary to enter. Moshesh, on his part, willingly waived his right to his share of the quit-rents due from the farmers who had established themselves in his dominions, declaring, that he was too glad to encourage the resort of the queen of England's subjects; whereupon Sir H. Smith "highly

complimented and thanked the great chief Moshesh, stating, that he was unable to express himself as to which he admired most—his feelings as a man, or his magnanimity as a chief.§ Moshesh would indeed seem to be a very extraordinary individual: he has won golden opinions from men widely different in position and character—soldiers and civilians, missionaries and travellers, speak in high terms of his statesmanlike views and steady rectitude; but none bear stronger testimony than the devoted minister of the gospel, M. Cassilis, whose labours among the people of this chief have been so richly rewarded.

In July, 1848, a Dutch boor, named Pretorius, who had been one of the chief leaders of the great emigration of 1836, and had become well known for his proceedings at Natal, collected a force of about two or three hundred of his discontented and wandering countrymen, with whom he entered the Orange River sovereignty, where by threats, persuasions, and false representations, others were induced to join him, until a force of 1,000 men was collected, who named him their commandant-general. Having heard of the commotions in Europe, and surmising that England was likely to be engaged in war, Pretorius considered this a favourable opportunity for the destruction of British dominion in South Africa. He appears to have imagined that many of the colonists would join in his enterprise, and that he would be elected president of a Dutch South African republic. Panda, chief of the Quabius, commonly miscalled Zoolus, was solicited to co-operate, as were also Moshesh, Adam Kok, and other chiefs. After a fruitless endeavour, on 13th July, 1848, to seize Major Warden, the British resident in the sovereignty, Pretorius encamped within two miles of Bloem Fontein, and invested the place with 400 mounted men. Having only 56 men, and 200 women and children in the place, Major Warden capitulated, and was allowed to retire to Colesberg with the public and private property.

Sir H. Smith heard of these proceedings on 22nd July at Cape Town, and immediately proclaimed Pretorius a rebel, and offered a reward of £1,000 for his apprehension. With great promptitude a military force, consisting of four companies of the Cape corps, three guns (six pounders), two companies 45th, two companies 91st, and two companies rifle brigade, were ordered to march from the east frontier on Colesberg, and the right wing of the 73rd regiment was sent by sea to Natal to reinforce the garrison there, as Pretorius threatened that Panda with his forces would soon accomplish the destruction of British power in that settlement.

On 9th August, the governor reached Colesberg, safely and quickly passed the troops, guns, horses, baggage, and waggons, across the Orange River, there 200 yards wide, and extremely rapid, by means of an admirable invention termed the Pontoon float, which had been sent from Chatham to the Cape, aided by a raft composed of casks, &c. Pretorius did not dispute the passage, but having hastily broken up his camp, he fell back on Winberg, plundering and committing such excesses on the isolated farm-houses, that in one district, Caledon River, 500 fami-

* It has been too much the policy of the colonial government to conciliate the strong at the expense of the weak, the disorderly to the injury of the peaceably-disposed. Even Waterboer, our old and faithful ally, has been recently deprived of a large tract of country.

† Parl. Papers, August, 1851, p. 35.

‡ *Idem*, pp. 31–44.

§ *Vide* a memorandum, dated 27th of January, 1848, drawn up by Sir H. Smith, and signed by him as high commissioner, and by Moshesh.

lies fled in a panic, without attempting to defend their property. Moshesh and other chiefs at once offered to support the British government, but Sir H. Smith advised them to "sit still," as he was desirous of proving to them that the force he had brought with him was sufficient to chastise Pretorius. Being joined by Adam Kok and a few Griquas, the troops, on the 27th August, furnished with thirty days' commissariat supplies, marched from the right bank of the Orange River to Phillippolis, and thence to a small stream (*Visser's Hoek*), where the governor learned that Pretorius, and 1,000 mounted boors, were strongly posted on a succession of hills situated on either side of the Kroem Elboch River, (or Crooked Elbow River), a position well calculated to interrupt the progress of his opponents. Considerable military skill was evinced in the plan of attack; the Cape rifles, unable to withstand the heavy fire from the boors' long guns, were ordered back; a rapid cannonade was opened by our three howitzers, the rifle brigade attacked the enemy on the left, the 45th their left centre, and the 91st their right centre. The boors fought desperately; dismounting and firing over the saddle as a rest. On the right they descended the hills, and advanced rapidly into the plain with a view to turn the British left flank, and attack the commissariat. Sir Harry Smith says, "I have seldom seen a sharper skirmish; their impetuosity exposed their left to the fire of one of our guns, by which they were checked, and the 'gallant Hottentots,' nobly headed by their officers, then drove them back pell-mell into the hills." The boors, driven from one side of the river, endeavoured obstinately, but in vain, to hold a higher position on the opposite bank, and then retreated to a neck in the ridge, from which they were likewise driven, and hotly pursued by the British, until Pretorius sought safety in flight.

Of the boors, forty-nine* were left dead on the field of action, and their wounded were numerous. The British had one officer killed (Captain Murray, of the Rifle Brigade), and six severely hurt. Eight of the regular troops were killed and thirty-nine wounded. Two of the prisoners (one a young Dutch boor, the other a British deserter,) were tried by court-martial at Bloem Fontein, found guilty, and executed; others were pardoned, and resumed their allegiance; a contribution of £6,000 was levied from such of the insurgents as were recognised, to defray the expenses of the war; a fort, with some nine-pounder guns, was erected at Bloem Fontein, and a small detachment of regular troops stationed there to prevent the British resident being again exposed to the necessity of quitting his station on any future outbreak. Pretorius and some of his followers fled beyond the Vaal River, and were joined from time to time by other discontented persons. They have settled down in a fine tract of country, between 20° and 27° S. lat., watered by several streams, and by a large river called the *Limpopo*,

which is supposed to terminate in Delagoa Bay. Here they have established an independent republic, and may probably become a numerous and powerful people, whose sway and influence for good or evil will extend to the fertile and salubrious districts of Central Africa.—[See chapter on Topography.]

WAR OF 1851.—Our information respecting the causes which more immediately led to the present war is vague and insufficient, but the root of the evil was clearly the re-seizure of Kafirland, consequent upon our violation of the treaties entered into in 1836.† About the middle of the year 1850, intelligence reached Cape Town that considerable excitement had been created among the Kafirs, by the eloquence of a fanatic or impostor named Umlanjeni. The chiefs, who daily beheld their influence and revenue dwindling away under the existing system, were accused of encouraging this self-styled prophet, who was widely believed to possess supernatural power, and to be in fact no less a person than the famous Makanna, or Lynx, who had played so conspicuous a part in the war of 1819‡ (*vide* p. 57), returned for their especial protection. In August, Captain Maclean, the commissioner of the Zlambie tribes, ordered Umlanjeni to appear before him to answer the charge of having set himself up for a witch-doctor and rain-maker, a character formerly held in high estimation by the superstitious Kafirs; but the police who were sent to apprehend him forbore doing so on account of the prostrate and emaciated state in which they found him. Umkye, the chief of whose tribe he belonged, declared, that so far from upholding such practices, he was doing a great deal of good by preaching to the Kafirs the evil consequences of witchcraft and murder. Five days after this an attempt was again made to capture the person of Umlanjeni; he could not be found, but the dwelling in which he had held interviews with the Kafir chiefs was destroyed.§

The forbidden meetings being held elsewhere more numerous than before this

* *Vide* Sir H. Smith's dispatch, Parl. Papers.—The number is generally supposed to be greatly overrated.

† So delighted were the frontier colonists at Sir Peregrine Maitland's abrogation, or at least annulment, of these treaties, that, in 1844, Graham's Town was illuminated, and Sir A. Stockenstrom burnt in effigy in every direction.—Parl. Pap., Aug. 1851; p. 257. The change soon came, and this very man was, as we have seen, brought from his retirement to take the lead in repelling the foe who had been made such by the repeal of his judicious measures.

‡ Makanna had repeatedly and boldly affirmed, that though the English might attempt to detain him prisoner, or even to kill him, yet that he would most certainly return sooner or later to his country and kindred. Many of the Kafirs relied so confidently on this prediction, that they could never be induced to credit the account of his death, while others believed that, even if it were so, the grave itself would not long detain him from fulfilling his promise.—*Kay's Researches in Kaffraria*, pp. 46, 275.

§ Parl. Papers, March, 1851; p. 18.

interference, the governor desired Colonel Mackinnon to get possession of Umlanjeni, if possible, and to "give out quietly," that whosoever should secure him would be rewarded; in which case, he added, this "regenerated Mahomet" should "very speedily find himself in Robben Island."* Colonel Mackinnon, however, did not deem it advisable to attempt any such measures, giving as his reasons that their success was very doubtful; that the alleged prophet had moreover committed no overt act which would justify the seizure of his person with a view to removing him from the country; for that at present no better evidence existed of his having excited the Kafirs to war than mere report; and, lastly, that the contemplated procedure would cause great irritation among his countrymen generally, who, though in a state of extreme destitution from excessive drought, nevertheless abstained wholly from marauding.†

In the month of October the governor proceeded to Graham's Town, and there found great agitation prevailing, the colonists "being panic-struck with the fear of a Kafir inroad, while the Kafirs on their side viewed the warlike preparations made by the former as evidence of the hostile intentions entertained against them." Sir H. Smith continued to assure H.M. ministers that they "need be under no apprehension of an outbreak;" but his reliance on physical force seems nevertheless to have been by this time somewhat shaken, for though he boasts of the excellent condition of the military defences, and asks "what are the Kafirs to effect, posted as we are in the midst of them?" he yet proposes, for the first time, what most indubitably ought to have been done long before, to conciliate the chiefs, by making them a yearly allowance as an indemnification for the loss of revenue occasioned by his having so greatly superseded their authority.‡

On the 26th, the governor called a meeting of the Kafir chiefs to discuss the state of affairs; Sandilli could not be prevailed on to attend. Trustworthy witnesses, both European and native, declared that fear alone prevented his obeying the summons, but that he was possessed with the idea that it was intended to seize him. Persuasion and threats were alike useless, and in fact

Sir H. Smith's declaration that if he did not obey his imperative summons, instead of a chief he should be an outcast, and that the whole of his property should be confiscated, only enforced upon the terrified Sandilli the conviction that his destruction was determined upon, and the opportunity of consummating it alone wanting. Besides, he persisted in declaring that he could not trust the promise of a safe conduct, having been entrapped under a similar pledge at the conclusion of the last war.§ (*Vide* p. 100.) The assembly was held without him, and Sir H. Smith then declared Sandilli deposed from the control of his tribe, which was henceforth to be presided over by a British commissioner (Mr. Brownlee.) Respecting this injudicious procedure, there appears to be but one opinion. As Sandilli afterwards declared, the queen of England had not made him a chief; she could make governors, but a higher power had made him chief of all the Gaikas.|| His tribe took the same view of the question, and warmly resented his nominal deposition, while his brother chiefs naturally felt his cause to be their own, since they might at any moment be subjected to similar treatment.

Umlanjeni was supposed to be inciting the whole nation to unite for the protection of Sandilli, and the recovery of their land. Many of the Kafir servants quitted the farmers, without even staying for their wages, and considerable numbers of the border colonists sought safety by quitting the frontier. Sandilli on his part was asserted to have complained that the whole of Kafirland was dotted over with the habitations of the white man, and the surveyors' flags, and to have sent messengers to the various clans, asking them to unite with him, declaring that he had resolved to die fighting in the ranks for the country of his forefathers.¶

On the 14th of December, Sir H. Smith moved forward to Fort Cox (called from its position the key of the Amatola Mountains), and the British forces, amounting, horse and foot included, to 1,900 men, with 400 of the Kafir police, took the field in three columns. The right wing, under Colonel Eyre, occupied the Kabousie Neck at the back of the Amatola range, with the view of preventing any combined movement between

* Parl. Papers, March, 1851; p. 15. † *Idem*, p. 17.

‡ *Idem*, pp. 27-8. § *Idem*, 41.

|| He likewise declared, that "God had given the white man England, and He had given the coloured

man South Africa, Kafirland, and why did we English wish to undo what God had done?"—Parl. Papers, August, 1851; p. 437.

¶ Parl. Papers, March, 1851; pp. 42-3.

the Gaikas and Kreili. The centre, commanded by Colonel Mackinnon, held Fort Cox; and the left, under Colonel Somerset, was posted at Fort Hare. King William's Town was for several days confided to the care of Jan Tzatzoe and his tribe, supported by a few sappers.*

On the 26th, a proclamation was issued offering a reward of £500 for the capture of the "outlaw" Sandilli, and £250 for that of his brother Anta. Either of these sums would have made a millionaire among the Kafirs, nevertheless the idolized "Prince Charlie" was not safer among his faithful Highlanders than Sandilli, in the midst of the poor and hungry people, whom it is the fashion to speak of as faithless and treacherous savages. A reward was likewise unavailingly offered of a cow to every man who should inform against a kraal in possession of guns; and every such kraal was to give up its fire-arms under penalty of outlawry and "eating up" (confiscation.) On the 19th, the governor held another meeting with the Gaika chiefs. The motive of it was good in so far as it was intended to assure the Kafirs that no hostilities were meant against them as a nation, but only against certain individuals, who had offended in rescuing a few cattle seized by the Kafir police. Another judicious measure adopted in the course of it, was the substitution of Sutu, the mother of Sandilli, as regent of the tribe, assisted by some of the principal councillors in lieu of the English commissioner; and what was still more likely to soothe the feelings of the chiefs, was the positive pledge given by the governor, that he would not send red coats to hunt Sandilli,† though he was ready to give the specified reward to any Kafir who might capture him. Hoping, however, to intimidate his audience, Sir H. Smith is described as having assumed a tone and bearing which totally defecated his really peaceable intentions. Thus, when the Kafirs urged that their chief had not been proved guilty of any act sufficient to justify his deposition, and pleaded in his favour, Sir Harry would not listen to them, but declared that if he "showed mercy to Sandilli the queen would chop off his head;" and he spoke of him and likewise of Macomo, who was present, in very offensive terms, stating that the latter might have been a great chief, but

was now a drunken beast, and had to be turned out of the colony."‡

The Kafirs left the meeting in a state of great excitement, declaring that they saw war was intended, and that the governor's assertion that the red coats were not to be sent after Sandilli, was a pretence, for otherwise, why were so many troops assembled?§ Several missionaries, especially the Rev. H. Renton, and the Rev. R. Niven, the exemplary minister stationed at the Chumie station, strove to calm the excitement by the strongest assurances of the confidence that might be placed on the governor's word; but the people nevertheless watched with jealous distrust the armed patrols which were kept moving about among the mountain gorges. After expressing himself so positively on the subject, it is quite inexplicable how Sir H. Smith could have thought himself justified in sending, only four days after, a body of 600 men, under Colonel Mackinnon, in the direction of the supposed concealment of Sandilli, with the avowed purpose of compelling him to surrender, or fly the country.||

This armed invasion of Sandilli's stronghold was an act which, in the estimation of those best acquainted with the Kafirs, could be looked on by them only in the light of a declaration of war. As such they met it, and succeeded in successfully surprising the troops while passing through a rocky gorge of the Keiskamma. The Kafir police (ninety in number), most of whom were Gaikas, and the Cape Mounted Rifles (about 170), were suffered to pass unmolested; but when the British appeared, a sharp fire of small arms was opened upon them at a few yards' distance. Twelve of our brave men were killed, eleven being left dead on the field; the officers of the 6th lost their horses, and two mules, laden with ammunition, were captured by the enemy, to whom the victory undoubtedly belonged, although the troops eventually forced the pass, and succeeded in bivouacking on the open ground beyond, in the vicinity of the Uniondale mission station. Immediately on hearing of the fatal collision which had taken place, a warning was issued from head-quarters, at Fort Cox, to the colonists generally, to be on the defensive, and martial law was proclaimed throughout the frontier districts. But Kafir messengers are more fleet of foot

* *Narrative of the Kafir War of 1850-'1*, by Messrs. Goddington and Irving; p. 48.

† Parl. Papers, August, 1851; p. 384.

‡ Parl. Papers, Aug. 1851; pp. 384-5. § *Idem*, p. 385.

|| *Vide* Sir H. Smith's despatch to Earl Grey, dated December 26th, 1850.

than British emissaries, and can thread the rugged precipices, and dense jungle of their mountain fastnesses, safely and rapidly, even in dead of night; so the news spread with them far sooner than with us, that blood had been spilt, that the English had been completely defeated in an attempt to seize the person of their beloved chieftain, and that another desperate struggle for life and land had actually commenced. The missionaries stationed among the natives were placed in a fearful position,—even their own disciples bitterly reproached them for having, up to the last moment, misrepresented and disguised the intentions of the governor; yet in the midst of this excitement, Macomo and Sandilli successively sent messages to them, requesting them to remain, and promising protection to their persons and property; nor do any of them appear to have been placed in bodily fear, with the exception of Mr. Niven, who, accompanied by a discharged soldier, passed through armed bands of strange Kafirs, with his wife and young children; these last, however, proving his best safeguard.*

On the 25th, Christmas-day, the military villages of Auckland, Woburn, and Juannasberg, were pillaged and burnt. At Auckland, twenty-eight men were massacred; at Woburn, sixteen (one only escaping by hiding in the bush); but at Juannasberg the people had happily fled in alarm, at seeing the smoke of the burning houses of Woburn, and three only remained to fall victims to the barbarian foe. The women and children (European and native) were everywhere suffered to escape personally uninjured.

Disaster followed thick upon disaster; about the same time an armed patrol of twelve men belonging to the 45th Regt. being sent out from Fort White, in search of three of their comrades who had been dispatched on escort duty, and were reported, only too truly, to have been massacred by the Kafirs,—were themselves suddenly surrounded and cut off to a man. On the 28th it was discovered that thirty-five of the Kafir police had plotted to desert; an attempt was made to disarm them, upon which they precipitately fled to the mountains. The same endeavour was made at

* The Rev. Robert Niven has given a most interesting account of his flight from the Chumie station, with his family, and of the heroic exertions of a Kafir girl who accompanied them.—*Vide United Presbyterian Magazine*, November, 1851.

† The expense of this force under Sir Henry Pot-

the other posts, but with only partial success, and eventually 365 out of 400 deserted, 140 carrying with them their fire-arms and equipments.† It should be added that these men had repeatedly and openly said, "We are willing to follow spoor [track of cattle] and catch thieves, but we will never *fight* against our own people."‡ Flushed by success, the Kafirs invested Fort Cox, a compact well-built stone fort, forming a square, and situated on a hilly neck of land bounded on three sides by the Keiskamma. Colonel Somerset having been made aware of the critical position of the governor, by means of friendly Kafirs (who creeping silently by night through the wooded country, eluded the vigilance of the foe), vainly attempted to forward thither a few slaughter cattle, escorted by a troop of the Cape Mounted Rifles under his son, Major Somerset. This party having been driven back, Colonel Somerset himself headed a force for the same object, but after four hours' hard fighting, he also was repulsed with the loss of twenty-two killed and seventeen wounded.§ Most painful anxiety now prevailed respecting the governor, cooped up in his mountain fortress. Colonel Somerset sent to entreat him not to think of moving with a column of troops, or he would be lost, but to rush out attended only by the 150 Cape Mounted Rifles who were with him. This project was precisely suited to the daring spirit that for two weary weeks had chafed in such unwonted trammels, and on the morning of the 31st, Sir Harry, wearing the forage cap and uniform of a rifleman, accompanied by Colonel Mackinnon, dashed out of the fortress, and surrounded by the trusty Hottentots, galloped to King William's Town. The distance was twelve miles; the enemy kept up a desultory fire, but probably without suspecting how important a prize was escaping them; besides which, it was the evident determination of the Kafirs to fire upon the white men only, and, if possible, to spare and conciliate all the coloured ones, except their especial enemies, the Fingoes.

Again at the head of the forces, the governor forthwith issued a proclamation requesting the colonists to rise *en masse*,|| and aid tinger, who was chiefly instrumental in its formation, amounted to £22,000 per annum. Sir H. Smith reduced it to one-half.

† *Narrative of Kafir War*, p. 50.

§ *Parl. Papers*, March, 1851; p. 113.

|| With the inducement of unrestrained pillage.

H.M. troops and the reinforcements that were daily expected, not only to expel the Gaikas for ever from the Amatolas, but also "to destroy and exterminate these most barbarous and treacherous savages."* He further sent orders to the governor of Natal to forward a large body of Zoolus to attack the Gaikas in the rear. Happily this expedient, which, tried once before on a small scale, had been attended with much mischief, by causing wrong and robbery to be committed on friendly tribes,† was eventually judged impracticable and inexpedient, although at first the idea was entertained of sending no less than 5,000 men. Considerable levies, both European and native, were hastily raised by the exertions of the able colonial-secretary, Mr. Montagu; but these new soldiers made but poor compensation for the defection of some of the old and tried defenders of the colony. This brings us to one of the saddest features of the war, viz., the revolt and breaking up of the Kat River settlement. Into the whole circumstances of this business, as also into the desertion of a portion of the Cape corps, which had evident connexion with it, searching and impartial inquiry is imperative. So far as we know at present, the leading facts of the case are these:—Hermanus, a Kafir spy, having on various occasions betrayed or pretended to betray the counsels of Macomo and other chiefs, had thereby so seriously incurred their displeasure, that it was thought necessary to provide for his safety and maintenance within the colony. A tract of land was very injudiciously allotted him in the Kat River settlement, the autho-

* After such a declaration as this, it seems very inconsistent to find Sir H. Smith expressing great surprise at "that most diabolical feeling which obtains among the combined rebels, that the period has arrived when the 'black' is to slay the 'white' to extermination."—Parl. Papers, June, 1851; p. 8.

† Parl. Papers, June, 1851; p. 52.

According to the Rev. J. J. Freeman, Sir A. Stockenstrom and others, these people had been the victims of extreme injustice, of which the following is an instance. A number of Kafirs of bad character had squatted on lands included in the settlement, and the Hottentots applied to the local authorities to have them removed. The intruders had interspersed themselves among some thirty families of Gona Hottentots, who had dwelt there since the formation of the settlement, paid their taxes regularly, done patrol duty, fought with the British in two Kafir wars, and rendered themselves especially conspicuous in the latter, under their brave Field-cornets Groepe and Andries Botha, in the attack on the Amatola. Shortly before this, extreme dissatisfaction had been roused by the decisions of the local magistrate (Mr. Bowker), and evidently with reason, since his judg-

ments apparently overlooking the maxim that a treacherous subject to one master rarely proves faithful to another. The offence given to Hermanus was, Sir H. Smith's asking from him, in 1849, a quit-rent of £1 per head for each of his people, numbering 150, and this demand was persisted in, although it was urged that the land had been originally a free gift, and that the people were literally too poor to pay the required sum. Hermanus, who appears to have been a crafty, clever schemer, and certainly a very dangerous character to have been placed among the Hottentots, availed himself of the grievances under which they were then suffering,‡ to ingratiate himself with them and induce them to lay aside the distrust with which they had heretofore regarded him. Misled by his representations, and over-awed by his threats, 200 of the Kat River Hottentots avowedly joined him, in spite of the earnest entreaties of their ministers, the two Mr. Reads, who risked their lives by staying in the settlement, and made every exertion to uphold a loyal feeling.

On the 7th of January, 1851, the rebel leader, at the head of his own Kafir clan, and supported by some Hottentots, attacked Fort Beaufort. The assailants were driven back and fled, leaving behind them the dead body of Hermanus, whose place was forthwith supplied by his son. It was hoped that this signal defeat would have stayed the rebellion in the Kat River, and so perhaps it might have done, but for the coercion adopted to compel the Hottentots in general to serve as levies,§ while no

ments had been reversed, and the heavy fines inflicted by him ordered to be refunded. They were, however, still unreturned, when, by an act which Mr. Freeman observes "looks like revenge," these very men, to whom the repayment was to be made, with all their friends and connexions, their wives and new-born children, were driven out of their homes, in intensely cold weather, by a body of Kafir police, who tauntingly boasted to Botha and others, "you burnt us out of the Amatola, we come now to burn you out in turn."—(Freeman, p. 186.) This disgraceful scene lasted several days. It is asserted to have continued during the whole of one Sunday, in June, 1850, under the special superintendence of Mr. Bowker himself. The whole affair was laid before government; Mr. Bowker was declared in the wrong, and suffered to resign, and the poor sufferers were allowed to return to their desolated homes, but no compensation of any kind was made to them for the injury thus wantonly inflicted. For fuller details, see Parl. Papers, August, 1851; pp. 32—36, 265—267, 417 to 436; and the eighth chapter of Freeman's *South Africa*.

§ According to the local journals, recourse was had to the press-gang, and this at a time when the pro-

such measures were adopted towards the European population, who could neither be induced or driven into bearing their share as volunteers.

The disaffection was considered to be so decidedly on the increase, that on the 27th of January, General Somerset thought it necessary to break up the whole of the twelve or thirteen hamlets comprised under the name of the Kat River settlement. This step is by some alleged to have been justified by the critical state of affairs, while by others it has been censured as decidedly premature, and especially as involving many innocent persons in the punishment due to a comparatively few guilty ones. Certain it is that some of the very people thus suddenly disarmed and deprived of house and home, have since had their weapons returned to them by General Somerset himself, and are now using them in the defence of the colony.*

The storming of Fort Armstrong, in which, after its abandonment by the British on breaking up the Kat River settlement, about 200 Hottentots and Kafirs had taken refuge, and the blowing up of the tower, together with some thirty miserable wretches who refused to surrender, created a great sensation among the coloured classes throughout the colony; and the relation of the painful circumstances connected with it are said to have been the immediate cause of the desertion of a body of the oldest and most valued members of the Cape corps, many of whom were nearly related to the sufferers.† Soon after this the Hottentots of the Moravian missionary station of Shiloh first refused to give up two Kat River fugitives, who had taken refuge among them; and then, by the violent proceedings of a local commandant, were driven into rebellion.‡

Thus commenced that war which Sir H. Smith, immediately before its outbreak, had declared next to impossible. "There will never be another Kafir war. Should there be, it will be the last—ten days will do it, portion of Hottentots serving, over that furnished by any other class, was enormous.—*Cape of Good Hope Observer*, 18th January, 1851, and *Cape Town Mail*, 25th January, 1851.

* Parl. Papers, June, 1851; p. 32.

† Forty-eight men of the Cape Mounted Rifles, that very corps who had been so long distinguished for their bravery and fidelity, and who had recently manifested these qualities so remarkably at the critical period of the Governor's escape from Fort Cox, went off towards Fort Hare, with the avowed determination of attempting the rescue of a large number of Hot-

when we are once fairly at work."§ Nearly twice as many months have elapsed, an enormous daily expense has been incurred, and more British life has been lost than on any former occasion; Sir H. Smith has been superseded by General Cathcart, and yet Sandilli is still at the head of the Gaikas, Macomo and his sons still occupy the Amatolas, Umlanjeni still prophesies destruction to England, and the war seems as far from any satisfactory conclusion as ever. Belief in the loyalty of the main body of the Hottentots seems being gradually restored; but the ranks of the enemy are swollen by portions, at least, of various tribes,|| whose real or alleged grievances demand most careful investigation from the government which has voluntarily assumed sway over them.

CONCLUSION.—The subsequent details of the contest yet raging in Kaffraria are of too recent a date, and too unsettled in their final issue, to afford suitable matter for history. That issue must be prosperous or adverse, so far as policy and practice be or be not accordant with justice and mercy. In the painful narrative of the past there is a lesson and a warning which statesmen would do well to consider. Retribution, in this present life, overtakes nations more surely, or at least more manifestly than individuals; all history proves this, and that of Southern Africa affords no exception to the rule. Having never strenuously endeavoured to prevent its subjects oppressing and plundering the Hottentots and Bushmen, Holland lost its valuable possessions at the Cape. England is not yet in the same position, but a vast expenditure of blood and treasure, and a disorganized and dissatisfied colonial community on the one hand; and on the other, complicated and daily increasing difficulties in her relations with the aborigines, are part of the penalties paid for long-continued injustice to the Kafirs. To suppose that a merciful and all-seeing Ruler will not punish those who employ their superior knowledge and (so called) civilization to tentot prisoners, belonging to the Kat River settlement, who were to be tried by court martial for rebellion, and whose doom they, not without reason, looked upon as sealed.

‡ Parl. Papers, August, 1851; p. 447.

§ *Kafir War of 1850-1*, p. 24.

|| The Tambookies, into our relations with whom careful and impartial inquiry ought to be made, as also into the complaints of Mosheah, and the other native chiefs, whose territory is included in the Orange River sovereignty.—[See Remonstrances of Sir A. Stockenstrom, Parl. Papers, March and Aug., 1851.]

seize on lands not their own, burn crops, destroy cattle, and massacre helpless as well as resisting human beings, would be to deny the attributes of justice and power to the Deity. As a nation sows, it must reap, and a perseverance in the past policy towards the Kafirs can bring neither blessing nor honour to England.

With regard to the settlers, it would be most unjust to cast indiscriminate blame on all the Dutch and British colonists; many of both races have for years been the advocates of a wise, honest, and gentle treatment of the coloured races, while others, alas! have viewed them as little better than wolves, or as suited only to be slaves to the white man. In the voluminous documents* examined for the history of South Africa, many remarkable instances of heroism, of manly spirit, fidelity, truthfulness, hospitality, and clemency towards a foe, are recorded on the part of the aborigines. That the reverse of the picture could be exhibited is undeniable; but surely this cannot excite surprise in any mind acquainted with the barbaric state of Europe before the Christian era. In what did the Britons, at the time of Julius Cæsar, differ from the Kafirs? yet, because our ancestors refused to yield their lands and cattle to the legions of Augustus, there went forth no imperial decree of "extermination," Pagan Rome, in this case, being more just and merciful than Christian England.

But putting aside higher considerations, and examining the question simply as one of mere worldly loss or gain, would it not be better policy for a commercial nation like England to preserve than to destroy her aboriginal neighbours? Every Kafir slain might have been made a consumer of British manufactures; a tithe of the sum spent in one of the Kafir wars, devoted to the extension of Christian civilization, might have converted our fierce foes by the same process so successfully adopted with respect to the New Zealanders,† into peaceful, happy, and prosperous subjects of the British Crown, who, as such, would have formed an invulnerable barrier against the tribes on our northern and eastern frontier. Every motive that can influence individuals or com-

* The Parliamentary Papers printed on South Africa alone amount to 4,770 folio, or about 10,000 octavo pages: the number of volumes in my library on South Africa number upwards of 100 (of which 15 are quarto size), comprising more than 5,000 octavo pages: the quantity of other matter, printed and manuscript, which it has been necessary to exa-

munities, concurs in suggesting that, on the lowest as well as on the highest grounds, it is even now our duty and our interest to preserve and conciliate the Kafirs. Brute force may destroy, but can never civilize barbarians; some (a few) races may be degraded into slaves, and kept so for a time; but others, of nobler nature, prefer death to bondage, or even to ignominious expulsion from the land of their birth. Among this latter class are the Kafirs, who have evinced a repugnance to injustice, a love of freedom, and an indomitable courage, that ought to have procured for them the respect and friendship of the British nation. The gallant troops engaged in these unjust wars have borne high testimony to the martial bearing, patience, and fortitude of the Kafirs. Their intellectual powers are certainly of no ordinary character. One youth, named Teyo, now pursuing theological and general studies at the high school of Glasgow, is striving to win the prize among many hundred thoroughly well-grounded Scottish fellow-students; and his gentlemanly manners and amiable character have procured him general and cordial esteem. And yet there is no reason to suppose him other than an average specimen of his race, but softened and elevated by the genial, humanizing influence of Christian knowledge. Many testimonies might be cited in favour of the much calumniated Kafirs; from these the following are selected, not as the most favourable to them, but as given by perfectly unprejudiced persons in various positions. The ministers of religion, who have lived with and known them intimately, speak in yet higher terms of the good qualities which struggle into light in the breast of a Kafir, even amid the dense mist of heathenism. One gentleman, whose labours have made the zoology of South Africa familiar and delightful to the British public, and who, in the course of those labours, dwelt for fifteen years with or contiguous to the Kafirs, traversed their country, and examined all the Dutch and English records at the different residences in South Africa, personally interrogated the chiefs and people, and sought truth by every justifiable means, thus speaks of this people in his mine, is equivalent to 3,000 pages. This mass of 18,000 pages required careful perusal, and was for the most part noted page by page, in the desire to elicit truth, and present the leading features of the history of this valuable colony to the public in a succinct form.

† See Vol. II. of this work.

valuable evidence before the committee of the House of Commons, in 1851:—

"The Kafirs are an independent and daring people, but I rarely found them difficult to manage when I endeavoured to persuade them by just arguments. They are very quick, and soon see when they have the advantage of you; still I seldom found them unreasonable, and would rather rely upon moral than upon physical force."*

Sir A. Stockenstrom, whose father was killed by the Kafirs (see p. 52), says, "they are certainly not a nation of thieves—there are plunderers amongst them, but I believe there are civilized nations in which the proportion of thieves is greater: they are an agricultural people, and they have also extensive flocks."†

W. Gisborne, Esq., who travelled much among the Kafirs, says, "we frequently experienced kind treatment from them; when we arrived at their kraals, they often immediately killed a bullock, and made a feast for us." "Hospitality is a general rule among them, an unfriendly disposition was an exception."‡

Thomas Philipps, Esq., a Cape magistrate, referred to the *very regular tribunals* for adjudicating equitably upon matters in dispute between an Englishman and a Kafir, as also upon differences among themselves.§

Saxe Bannister, Esq., formerly attorney-general of New South Wales, a lawyer of repute, who visited Kafirland, and examined the people, declares, "I think their state of society approaches much more to the barbarian than the savage; I have no doubt they have fixed laws upon many points; they are perfectly competent to discern between justice and injustice; I think they have among them various systems of rewards and punishments—they have the elements of a civil community."||

Captain C. Bradford of the E. I. Company's service, who visited Kafirland twice, and resided some time there, says, "the absurdity of charging the whole of the Kafirs as thieves, is most apparent, when at the same time we find both traders and farmers going to reside among them, because they cannot obtain, as they state, the protection of the government against them."¶

Lieutenant-colonel Cox, who resided many years on the frontier, and was repeatedly engaged in carrying on hostilities against them, when asked by a parliamentary committee, "Have you formed any opinion in particular as to the manner in which the blessings of Christianity may be communicated to them?" answered,—"The Kafirs are a very jealous and cunning people, but if they are kindly treated by those they have confidence in, they are very correct in their feelings; I think they are a people possessing gratitude, and the better feelings of our nature."**

The Rev. H. Renton, A.M., observes "the Gaika Kafirs are a grave, subtle, and discriminating race;" they are "a people over whom you could exercise a moral influence, if you preserved in their minds the belief that you were acting toward them with justice and good faith;" "there are numerous testimonies regarding chiefs, that, if they had once pledged their word, you might rely on it;—several persons have told me that they never knew Sandilli to break his

word, and the conclusion to which I decidedly come is, that if you could impress them with the belief of our perfect sincerity, and determination to abide by a compact to which they were intelligent consenting parties, not constrained, you might rely upon them."††

My own personal knowledge of the Kafirs is very limited, but the little that I saw of them, inspired me with a very favourable impression of their capabilities of becoming a moral and enlightened people. Some services rendered by venesection and by relieving physical suffering in other ways, were acknowledged most gratefully, and the kindness of my brother officers‡‡ in contributing to their necessities, was repaid with childlike affection.

Oppression, cruelty, and the demoniac passions which war elicits and perpetuates, have wrought their fell work on the Kafirs, and compelled them to resort to the instruments of the weak—to cruelty and dissimulation; but, ere we condemn the recourse to any means of opposing the powerful invaders of their country, let us inquire what would be our own conduct, if an overwhelming French, Russian, or other foreign army should seize and hold possession of the strongholds of Britain,—would any measures be left untried for their utter extirpation? Why should we prescribe one law for ourselves, and another for the Kafirs? Why utter the inhuman cry of "extermination" against several hundred thousand of our fellow-creatures, because they defend themselves to the uttermost against the seizure of their territory and the destruction of their social system? But He who made all men in his own image, will not permit such a triumph to wickedness; the Kafirs are too numerous to be swept away like a handful of Algerine Arabs; they are too firmly united in a common cause, to become an easy prey even to the misdirected efforts of British valour and military strategy.

The Gaika tribe, with whom we are more especially at war, are at present our chief difficulty; the number of men they can bring into the field is roughly estimated at 20,000, but their ranks have been largely swollen by the discontented members of other Kafir tribes, comprising about 40,000 fighting men. It is fearful, therefore, to contemplate the wholesale destruction of life and property that may ensue if the present

* Dr. Andrew Smith, the present head of the army medical board in London.—Parl. Papers, 1851; p. 295.

† Parl. Papers, August, 1836; questions 1045—7.

‡ *Idem*, questions 3361 3391-2.

§ *Idem*, questions 403-4. || *Idem*, questions 1523-4.

¶ *Idem*, question 1434. ** *Idem*, p. 354.

†† Parl. Papers, 1851; pp. 389-90.

‡‡ Engaged in the survey and exploration of Eastern Africa, under Captain (now Admiral) W. F. Owen.

conflict go on involving the inhabitants of a wider circle, until at length the whole of the coloured people, scattered between the colony and the equator, estimated at two-and-a-half to three millions, be drawn into the vortex. This is no mere surmise; indications only too marked, and unmistakeable, show that there is imminent danger lest the present contest should eventually lead, not simply to a war of extermination between the colonists and a certain family of Kafirs, but between the white man and the black. In such a case it is easy to foretell the result of a struggle in which the various Bechuana tribes, the Tambookies, and others whom we commonly include under the name of Kafirs, the people we call Zoolus, and even the Hottentots, should be arrayed against us.

It has been boastfully alleged that if the white colonists were left to themselves, they are in sufficient numbers, and possessed of adequate power, to extirpate the Kafirs, and subdue the whole coloured population. The fallacy of this assertion is self-evident. The number of whites capable of bearing arms in each division of the colony is thus shown by a recent return:—Cape division, 550; Stellenbosch, 700; Worcester, 400; Clan William, 300; Swellendam and Caledon, 1,000; George, 600; Beaufort, 350; Uitenhage, 300; Albany, 500; Somersdorp, 300; Cradock and Albert, 500; Graaf Reinet, 500; Colesburg, 500. Total, exclusive of the whites in Cape Town, Graham's Town, and Port Elizabeth, 6,500. A levy *en masse* would furnish six to seven thousand men, leaving none but aged men, women, and children for the protection of the scattered farms and towns throughout the whole colony. Thirty thousand Kafirs, well armed and led, might devastate the entire colony, from the Great Fish River to the walls of Cape Castle, at Table Bay. To avert so awful a calamity, no time should be lost in establishing, not a hollow truce maintained only by stringent coercion, but a lasting peace, consolidated by equitable measures. Before rejecting this doctrine as enthusiastic or utopian, and falling back upon the idea that the strength of our own arm shall be sufficient to us in this crisis, let us remember, galling as it may be to do so, that we have before been misled by a similar error. During the unjust invasion of Afghanistan, in 1839, it is acknowledged that the wisdom of the invaders was turned into folly, and all precautions and warnings were

no avail; prosperous conquests lured our army to Cabul, and then the sword and the snow became the fearful instruments of a retribution, which ceased not until about 10,000 British troops and their followers were annihilated. In the Kafir war of 1846, signal misfortunes befel us at every turn, so much so that at one period the governor (Sir Peregrine Maitland) is alleged to have declared that Providence itself seemed to oppose us. With far stronger reason might many of the incidents of the present conflict, especially the loss of the *Birkenhead*, a ship filled with troops, apparently by the merest casualty, be adduced in support of a similar conviction. May these premonitions have some effect on our South African policy, and induce the speedy adoption of those Christian principles by which alone tranquillity can be restored, and an amicable and useful intercourse established with the numerous aboriginal tribes bordering our colonial frontier.

If any one should inquire what these principles are, let them examine the policy inculcated by Lord Glenelg, in 1836; or, turning to a somewhat earlier date, peruse the simple and publicly avowed sentiments of our faithful ally, the Bushman-born Griqua chief, Andries Waterboer, (see p. 62), and who, at a meeting held in Cape Town, in 1835, thus stated the rules which he laid down for his own guidance:—

"I feel that I am bound to govern my people by Christian principles. The world knows by experience, and I know in my small way, and I know also from my Bible, that the government which is not founded on the principles of the Bible, must come to nothing. *When governments lose sight of the principles of the Bible, partiality, injustice, oppression, and cruelty, prevail; and then suspicion, want of confidence, jealousy, hatred, revolt, and destruction, succeed.* Therefore I hope it will ever be my study that the Bible should form the foundation of every principle of my government; then I, and my people, will have a standard to which we can appeal, which is clear, comprehensive, and satisfactory; and by which we shall all be tried, and have our condition determined, in the day of judgment. * * * Would governors and governments act upon the simple principle by which we are bound to act as individuals, that is, to do as we would be done by, all would be well. I hope by the principles of the gospel, the morals of my people will continue to improve, and it shall be my endeavour, in humble dependence on the Divine blessing, that those principles shall lose none of their force by my example. Sound education I know will civilize them, make them wise, useful, powerful, and secure among their neighbours; and the better they are educated, the more clearly will they see that the principles of the Bible are the best principles for the government of individuals, of families, of tribes, and of nations."

* Parl. Papers, August, 1836; pp. 626-7.

CHAPTER II.

CHARACTERISTICS OF SOUTHERN AFRICA—BOUNDARIES OF CAPE COLONY—COAST LINE, MOUNTAINS, AND RIVERS—DIVISIONS AND TOWNS—KAFIRLAND—ORANGE RIVER SOVEREIGNTY—GEOLOGY AND CLIMATE—ZOOLOGY AND VEGETATION.

It is difficult to convey a clear idea of the general features of a territory forming a portion of a large continent, whose physical characteristics are very imperfectly known. The great Architect of the universe has made the fitness of each several part necessary to the perfection of all; land and water, mountain and plain, river and lake, were not placed promiscuously on the crust of this globe, but in conformity to those fixed laws alone capable of producing uniform and harmonious results. Ignorance of the geography of central Africa unfortunately precludes the possibility of framing a connected view of the relations between the southern and equatorial regions.

LEADING FEATURES OF SOUTH AFRICA NORTHWARD OF THE CAPE COLONY.—The eastern coast of the African peninsula appears to be more elevated than the western, but it is still doubtful whether either shore is marked by a continuous coast-chain of mountains. Several geographers suppose that irregular and isolated ranges extend from the equator to the southward; that some of these, for short distances, run parallel with the sea-shore, varying in proximity; and that others extend inland, forming or supporting table-lands stretching east and west across the interior. A different opinion is entertained by Mr. Hall, of the Engineer Department, who has recently paid great attention to African geography, and considers it as nearly certain that the chain of mountains in the south, forming the Roggeveld, Nieuweveld, Sneeuwberg, Stormberg, and Quathlamba ranges, runs northward, parallel to the east coast, as far as 20° N. lat., and eventually joins the towering Abyssinian heights. Be this as it may, we know that a lofty mountainous region exists on the eastern side of Africa, near the equinoctial line; one of whose pinnacles (Kilimanjaro) in about 1° S. lat., supposed (by Dr. Krapf and Mr. Rebmann,) to be perpetually covered with snow, is apparently connected with more westerly ranges. Southward and westward of this elevated equatorial region, there would seem to be successive plateaux, with occasional depressions or marshy tracts, which in the wet season become lakes, in whose basins some rivers terminate, and others commence their courses. One lake (Ngami), 2,825 feet above the level of the sea, in $20^{\circ} 20'$ S. lat., $23^{\circ} 30'$ E. long., is of an oblong form, 80 miles long, by 20 miles broad; its banks are ornamented with large trees and luxuriant tropical vegetation. It abounds in pelicans and fish (of which one description, resembling the carp, weighs from 40 to 50 lbs.), and is supposed to be the reservoir of a much

larger lake about 200 miles to the northward, which contains numerous islands.

The *Teoge*, a rapid stream, falls into the north-west angle of the Ngami. The *Zouga*, which flows from the lake, has a course east and south-east for 300 miles, until it is lost in the sands. North and north-west of Lake Ngami, the country abounds with salt-pans; one of these (*Ntswé*) is 100 miles long, by 15 miles broad. Many are covered with an incrustation of salt two inches thick. Beyond the salt-pans the land is perfectly level and hard, clothed with *mapané* and the gigantic *baobab* trees; the soil being characterized by an underlying rock of white tufa, in which numerous springs of good water are found. This region is inhabited by "fine, tall, strapping Bushmen, nearly as black as the Kafirs, who hunt and kill the elephant by day and on moonlight nights."—(Dr. Livingston's and Mr. Oswell's notes in *Journal of Royal Geographical Society*, for 1852.)

In about $18^{\circ} 20'$ S. lat., 26° E. long., a country has been discovered, which appears to be well peopled by a race called the Makololo, ruled by the daughter of Sebitoané, a great chief recently deceased: it includes much rich well-watered land, yielding the sugar-cane, fruit, potatoes, and the usual African grains. For hundreds of miles there is nearly a dead level intersected by numerous deep rivers with adjacent reedy swamps stretching in every direction. The dominion of Sebitoané is stated by Mr. Oswell to have been very extensive, reaching over a circle of 800 to 1,000 miles, and comprising the territories of eighty-two tribes, from each of whom he received tribute. The rivers rise annually; when at their height the natives traverse the country in every direction in their canoes, and even visit their gardens in them. Many large and beautiful trees adorn the landscape; among them are the date, palmyra, and splendid evergreens bearing an edible fruit. Elephants are very common (900 were killed near the Zouga in three months), and there are numerous herds of oxen, which, together with other domestic animals (excepting the goat), suffer greatly, and sometimes even perish in considerable quantities, by the bite of a fly called the *tsetse*. The Sichuana language pervades this large portion of central Africa, and the Bible is now being translated into that tongue.

The *Seshéke* River, found by the Rev. Dr. Livingston and Mr. Oswell in $17^{\circ} 28'$ S. lat., is from 300 to 500 yards wide, with a great volume of water. The natives represent it as coming from an extensive water region termed *Lobale*, distant 400 miles to the north-north-west. On the east coast of Africa several rivers have been of late partially explored, but much yet remains to be done. In the neighbourhood of *Kilua* one of these reaches the shore after traversing a distance of 500 miles. Further north are the *Pangani*, *Ori*, *Dana*, *Jubah*, *Webbs* or

Haines, and other considerable streams. One larger river, the *Limpopo*, is formed by the junction, in about 28° S. lat., of the *Notuani* on the west, the *Meriqua* in the middle, and the *Ori* or *Oli*, on the east. The termination of this fine stream is still unknown; Mr. Hall surmises it to be at Inhamban, on the east coast; Mr. Arrowsmith, at Delagoa Bay.

COUNTRY OCCUPIED BY THE EMIGRANT BOORS.—The territory in which the emigrant boors have settled, and formed the towns of *Potchefstroom*, *Megalesberg*, *Leydensberg*, and *Origstadt*, is called by them the *Emegrente Grensgebied*; it lies between 20° and 28° S. lat., and is for the most part a table-land not unlike that of Central Mexico, favoured with a dry and cool atmosphere and periodical rains. The plateau has for its base the Drakenberg range of mountains, which passes from south-west to north-east, the *Winterberg*, an elevation of 7,000 feet, being one of its peaks. To the northward of Natal the chain diminishes in height, and is joined by mountains lying east and west, which, between *Potchefstroom*, on the *Mooi River*, 20 miles north of the Orange River sovereignty boundary, and *Megalesberg*, on the opposite side of the water-shed that extends east and west, rise in some places to an altitude of 5,000 feet. The country in the vicinity of Lake *Ngami*, is 3,000 feet above the sea, and between the lake and Megalesberg, by the sources of the *Notuani*, in 24° 30', and the *Meriqua*, must be still higher. The slope in the valleys of the *Zouga* and *Limpopo Rivers* is very gradual, and the mountains along the right bank of the former stream attain a considerable elevation. The configuration of the region resembles that of the mountainous country to the north and east of Graham's Town, with deep ravines, abrupt precipices, and an interval of good arable and pasture land, with wide barren patches.* Taken as a whole, it is well watered, and abounds with many descriptions of game. Indeed, the further Eastern and Central Africa are explored, the more interesting are the discoveries made there. I visited the outlets of most of the rivers on the coast between Magadoxo, north of the equator, and Delagoa Bay, and found that after the mangrove swamps and marshes at the mouths of the streams were passed, the banks rose in height, tall trees and grassy plains appeared, and a fine pastoral country with a comparatively cool climate, lay beyond, thinly inhabited by various native races. Valuable gold mines probably exist in the vicinity of Sofala; gold-dust was in several places brought to me for barter, and the emigrant boors now located near the *Limpopo* may, ere long, discover the locality of rich auriferous deposits.

THE NAMAQUA AND DAMARA COUNTRY.—Namaqualand, north of the mouth of the Orange River, is a rugged table-land, with numerous ravines and isolated mountains. The Damara country, further north, appears to be of somewhat similar configuration, and is bordered by a desert tract, thirty to forty miles wide, on the sea coast; more inland a marked character is imparted by the "broadly developed end of that chain of hills and highland which runs parallel and near to the western coast, from the Cape colony, and separates the Fish River from the sea.†

* See *Daily News*, London, October, 1850, for some interesting sketches of South Africa.

† Mr. Galton, an adventurous gentleman of private fortune, made an interesting excursion through the Damara country, in 1849, and added considerably

Groups of hills, deeply scored on their western face by water-courses, diversify the plain. The greatest elevation, *Omatako*, is 6,000 feet above the sea level; from thence the land slopes steadily away on all sides, declining very gently eastwards to the cup-shaped basin, with its lake and anastomosing rivers, which occupies the centre of the African peninsula.

In 19° 20' S. lat., Mr. Galton found a more open plain, with palm trees; further north he came to a luxuriant district, well watered from a long limestone ridge. Extensive grassy savannahs were interspersed with clumps of large trees, "presenting exactly the appearance of the work of an ornamental gardener;" this was succeeded by a perfectly flat, elevated, grassy, but treeless region. From thence a day's journey brought him to the charming country of Ondonga, which lay stretched like a sea before him; the beautifully grouped groves of palms, the dense, magnificent park-like trees, the broad level fields of corn, interspersed with pasture and the orderly villages on every side, giving an appearance of diffused opulence and content to which it would be difficult to find a parallel. This African paradise is very salubrious; the people, called *Orampos*, are orderly, centralized, hard-working, neat, and scrupulously honest. The land is plotted out in small well-farmed holdings of corn and pasturage, each occupied by a family, generally comprising the grandfather, son, and children; every one has the appearance of enjoying comfort; the king (*Nangoro*) rules with patriarchal but despotic sway; his residence is in 17° 58' S. lat.

Walvisch Bay, near the tropic of Capricorn, is the chief port on this part of the coast: the harbour is excellent, but the country in the immediate neighbourhood barren. Two English establishments carry on a barter trade with the Damaras and Namaquas, for cattle, hides, gums, feathers, &c.; and several missionary stations have been formed in the neighbourhood.

This brief outline (derived from the statements of the latest authorities) respecting the country between the present boundaries of the colony and the equator, is given to remove a prevalent impression of the desert character of Southern Africa, which is calculated unjustly to depreciate the commercial value of the Cape of Good Hope.

BOUNDARIES AND AREA OF THE CAPE COLONY.—On the north the Orange or Gariep and Nu Gariep rivers, on the west the Atlantic, and on the south the Great Southern Ocean. The eastern limits have been set forth in successive proclamations, respectively dated 1700, 1739, 1770, 1798, 1819, and 1847. Each time new territory has been annexed, and fordable streams and imaginary lines have, from the nature of the country, formed the necessarily ill-defined line of separation between land-coveting settlers and cattle-coveting Kafirs. By Sir H. Smith's proclamation of 7th December, 1847,† the boundaries are stated to

to the scanty knowledge hitherto possessed of this part of Africa.—See *Journal of Royal Geographical Society*, November, 1852.

† By a subsequent proclamation, an additional piece of territory, east of the Wittebergen, has been

be the Keiskamma River, from its mouth to its confluence with the Chumie, thence up the western bank to the northernmost source of the latter river; thence along the Katberg range to Gaika's Kop; thence to the nearest source of the Klip Plaats River, and down the left bank to its junction with the Zwart Kei; along the Zwart (black) Kei to its union with the Indive River, along the said stream to its source; across the Stormberg to the head of the Kraai River, and thence along the Nu Gariep and Orange Rivers.* Adopting these limits, the extreme breadth of the colony, north and south along the meridian of 21° , is 450 miles; and the length, east and west along the parallel of 33° , 600 miles. This quadrilateral figure or irregular parallelogram, contains a superficies of about 250,000 square miles.

THE COAST LINE extends from the *Orange* or *Gariiep River*, on the west coast, in a southerly direction, to the Cape of Good Hope, a distance of upwards of 400 miles; with the exception of a projection at Cape L'Agulhas, the coast then trends in an easterly course to the *Keiskamma River*, a distance of more than 500 miles. Allowing for indentations and bays, the seaboard of the colony may be roughly estimated at 1,000 miles, forming two sides of an irregular square, the western bounded by the Atlantic, the southern by the South Pacific Ocean. The most remarkable features on the western coast are *St. Helena*, *Saldanha* (which but for a deficiency of fresh water would be the best harbour in the colony), and *Table Bays*; then the towering mass of Table Mountain, the bold rugged promontory termed the Cape of Good Hope, and the still more southerly but low projection called Cape L'Agulhas. Along the southern shore there are the anchorages of *False*, (including *Simon's Bay*; of *St. Sebastian*, the *Knysna*, *Mossel*, *Plettenberg*, *Camtoos* or *St. Francis*, *Algoa*, *Kowie Mouth*, and *Buffalo River*. An extensive bank, termed L'Agulhas, stretches for about 300 miles to the south of the Cape, diminishing in breadth to the westward and southward, with soundings of sixty to eighty fathoms. Along this bank the warmer stream of the Indian Ocean rushes through the Mozambique Channel, and from the coast of Madagascar, to meet the colder waters of the

Atlantic at the Cape of Good Hope. Near the edge of the bank, very heavy seas are generally found, and many local currents, especially close in shore, running in a contrary direction, or at right angles, to the grand current from east to west.

MOUNTAINS.—The various ranges of South Africa may be considered as forming the supporting walls of a series of steppes or plateaux, extending from the coast to the summit of the highest range, whence the country gradually slopes towards the valley of the Orange River.

Towards the south and east these plateaux are well defined; to the north-west they gradually become less clearly marked, and are finally lost in the confused granite hills of the Kamies Bergen (lion mountains), near the embouchure of the Orange River.

The first range lies at a distance of between eight and thirty miles from the coast. Travelling from the north-west round the colony towards the east, this chain forms the ranges of Lange Bergen, Cardouw Bergen, Drachenstein mountains, Hottentots Holland mountains, Zondereinde mountains, Lange Kloof and Outeniqua mountains, and terminates on the sea shore in the promontory of Cape St. Francis. More or less connected with this chain are the mountains of the Cape Peninsula and those near Saldanha Bay, the Picquet Berg, the Paarl Berg, Potte Berg, and many other isolated hills running parallel to the coast.

The forms of this first range are highly picturesque, and some points attain considerable elevation, the loftiest being the Winterhoek Mountain over Tulbagh, which forms a link between this chain and the second one; its altitude is upwards of 6,000 feet. The average height may be taken at 3,000 feet.

The country along the south and east coast, between the sea and the mountain range, is a highly fertile tract, much better watered than any other part of the colony. Along the west coast the country is very barren and sandy; it includes the district of the Hardveld in Clanwilliam, Zwartland, Picquet Berg, Outeniqua land, the Zitsikamma forests, &c. The second chain runs parallel to the first, enclosing with it a tract of country about 1,000 feet higher than the coast. This range consists of the Karroo

included, of about 400 square miles, to the great dissatisfaction of the aboriginal proprietors.

* It is now proposed to make the Kei River the eastern colonial boundary, which would make a coast line

extension, since our conquest from the Dutch, from the Sunday to the Kei River, a distance of about 170 miles. There has also been, since 1806, various annexations of territory on the northern frontier.

Berg, Maskamma, Cedar mountains, Olifants River range, Hex River and Cold Bokkeveld mountains, Great Zwartebergen Winterhoek mountains, and Zuurbergen, and terminates near the mouth of the Great Fish River, in the buttress of the plateau on which Graham's Town is situated. The chief summit in this range is the Grenadier's Cap or Winterhoek Mountain, in Uitenhage, which attains a height of about 6,500 feet; the average altitude may be considered as 4,500 feet. The valleys between it and the coast range, travelling in the same direction as before stated, are known by the names of the Little Bokkeveld Karroo, Olifant's River Valley, Cold and Warm Bokkeveld, Breede River Valley, Kauna Land, Lange Kloof, Bavian's Kloof, &c.; they include a good deal of Karroo soil, but likewise a considerable portion of very excellent grazing country.

With this range we may class the secondary chains of the Warm Water Berg in Swellendam, the Kammanassie and Bavian's Kloof mountains in George, and the Eland's River mountains in Uitenhage.

The third and most important range is the one which connects, in a marked manner, the mountain system of the Cape colony with that of Africa generally. Starting from the rugged hills of the Kamies Bergen, which forms as it were the north-west end of this important chain, we find the Hantam mountains, tabular in form, but generally detached; and then, entering the Roggeveld, arrive at the Roggeveld Bergen, standing like an immense wall on the north-east edge of the Great Karroo (or desert); trending, in a bold course, to the south-east, it continues in the Nicuweveld range to the west border of Graaf-Reynet, when it assumes the name of the Sneeuw-Bergen, and attains its greatest elevation in the Compass-Berg (10,250 feet). The Sneeuw-Bergen here presents as it were a prodigious knot of mountains, which soon, forming an immense loop, divide into two distinct chains, one running in a south-easterly direction, under the names of Bushberg, Great Winterberg (7,800 feet). Kat Berg (6,000 feet), the beautiful Amatola, and the Buffalo mountains, can be traced along the coast of Kaffraria, nearly as far as Natal. The other, and more important branch, trends to the north-east, forming the Rhenoster Berg, Zuur Berg, Bamboes Berg, Stormberg, Witteberg, Quathlamba, Maluti, and Drachenberg mountains, and continues to

be well defined to the north-east, as far as Africa has yet been explored. The average height of this chain may be perhaps estimated at 7,000 feet, while in particular places it reaches the altitude of 10,000 feet. Lying between it and the second chain is the Great Karroo, with an average height of 2,000 feet, and interspersed with several minor ranges of slaty rock, running generally in a direction from north-west to south-east. Towards the east the country improves until every trace of the parched and arid desert is lost in the luxuriant grassy pastures of Kafirland and Natal.

Nearly all these ranges have the distinguishing feature of presenting to the sea an abrupt and steep face, and sloping gradually away inland; in some cases, as in the Roggeveld mountains, they present nearly a perpendicular wall to the southward. While the coast face affords a luxuriant vegetation, and frequently abounds in large forests of fine timber, the inland slopes are nearly destitute of trees, or even bushes; and, generally speaking, the forests are most luxuriant on the highlands nearest the coast.

From the top of the Nieuweveld range the country may be considered to slope in an immense plain down to the basin of the Orange River, intersected by the beds of various periodical rivers, and abounding in detached hills, generally of a tabular form. Of these the most important group appears to traverse this desert track about half way between the top of the Nieuweveld and the Orange River, under the name of the Karrec Bergen.

The same formation is found to extend throughout Bechuanaland and the north portion of the sovereignty, the immense plains of which exhibit much the same character as the north slopes of the Nieuweveld.

It will be seen, that while the third range of mountains maintain their bold and distinctive form throughout the Cape colony, the other ranges decline towards the eastward, and finally lose themselves on the coast. Geologists consider these parallel and successive ranges as marking former coast-lines, and various debris, evidently the remains of old beaches, can in many places be distinctly traced.*

RIVERS.—The rivers of the Cape Colony, with the marked exception of the Orange, are generally small, and some of them

* For the above account of the mountains of the Cape colony, I am indebted to the kindness and research of Mr. H. Hall, of the Royal Engineer Department.

nearly dry during part of the year, their mouths are barred with sand; but the Knysna, Kowie, and Breede, may be considered practicable at their entrance for vessels of 80 to 150 tons burthen.

The streams on the west coast, falling into the Atlantic, are the *Gariep* or *Orange*; *Koussie* or *Rhinoster*; the *Zwartlinjies*, *Bitter*, *Groene* (three periodical streams); *Elephants*, and *Great Berg*; on the south coast the *Breede*, *Gauritz*, *Knysna*, *Kroome*, *Camtoos*, *Zwartkops*, *Sunday*, *Bushman*, *Kowie*, *Great Fish* (with its tributaries the *Kat* and *Kunap*), *Keiskamma*, and *Kei*, with their tributaries.

There are no lakes (properly so-called) within the colony, although, after heavy rains, many tracts in the northern desert assume the appearance of such. Large salt pans are numerous. Of the rivers one only requires particular notice.

THE ORANGE OR GARIEP RIVER takes its rise in the south side of a mountain of the Quathlamba range, near 29° S. lat., and in about 30° E. long. This elevation was named by the French protestant missionaries who first explored it, the *Mont aux Sources*; its height above the sea is about 10,000 feet, and the summit, a table-land, is clothed with the richest verdure. The earth at the spot from whence the water gushes, is of a dark colour, and the hue which the stream thereby assumes has gained for it the appellation of *Noca Unchu*, or "Black River." It flows with a volume increased by small tributaries for about 120 miles to the south-west, through a valley formed by two chains of the Quathlamba. After crossing the thirtieth parallel of latitude, the *Gariep* issues by a narrow pass from the valley, and takes a more westerly direction to Aliwal North, where it is joined by a stream called the *Kraai*. Thence making a bend to the northward, it receives, at Bethulie, the *Caledon River*, which originates in the west side of the *Mont aux Sources*, and has its stream enlarged by the waters of the *Tlotse* and the *Saule*, and by the melting snows of the contiguous mountains. The *Caledon*—in some places a fordable, in others a deep and rapid stream—is about 220 miles long. The *Orange*, to its junction with the *Caledon*, has a course of about 260 miles. Near Bethulie it is 930 feet wide, 2½ feet deep, with banks 25 feet high.

The united streams take a west and north-west course for 160 miles, under the name of the *Nu Gariep*, and are then joined by the *Ky Gariep*, *Yellow* or *Vaal*, near 29½° of S. lat. This last-named river is formed by numerous streams flowing from the more northerly parts of the Quathlamba Range, and the detached mountain spurs and table-land between 25° and 27° S. lat. Among them may be mentioned the *Wilge*, *Elands*, *Mull*, and *Liebenbergs*, which flow from a portion of the west side of the Quathlamba, termed the *Wittebergen* (White Mountain), not far from the *Mont aux Sources*; these passing to the northward and westward, form the

Vaal or *Likwa*, and are joined in about 27° S. lat. by the *Mooi*, and its tributaries the *Chonapas*, *Pogolla*, &c., from the north and north-east country, where the emigrant boers have established their *Grensgebied* (signifying the emigrants' frontier territory or jurisdiction), the chief town, *Patchefstrom*, being situated on the *Mooi River*, in about 26° 35' S. lat. The *Vaal* has thence a south-west course, and is joined by the *Rhinoster*, *Vals*, *Boralla*, *Zand*, *Vet*, *Hart*, and *Riet Rivers*, forming the north and west boundary of the *Orange River Sovereignty*. The length of the *Vaal* is about 400 miles. The true *Orange* or *Gariep* now proceeds in a westerly direction for about 550 miles, entering the sea in 28° 30' S. lat., 16° 30' E. long., and forming the northern boundary of the Cape of Good Hope colony.

Taking the *Vaal* as the commencement of the *Orange River*, the length of the whole channel may be roughly stated at 950 to 1,000 miles. Throughout its entire course, it may be considered a running stream, of unequal breadth and depth; in some places fordable during dry seasons, in others having pools (*gats*) sufficiently deep to float a ship of war. The seaward entrance is so effectively barred with sand as to be scarcely accessible even to boats, and the lower portion of the river is obstructed by falls and rapids, partly caused by the proximity of the mountain ranges to the banks, and partly by the falling of the plateaux forming this portion of Africa, towards the west coast. In its progress along the colonial boundary, the *Orange* receives, on its left bank, the *Visch* or *Hartebeest*, a periodical stream formed by the *Zak*, *Great Riet*, and other torrents which rise in and drain the northern slopes of the *Nieuweveld* and *Roggeveld* mountains. On the right bank, about forty miles from the sea, it is entered by the *Fish*, *Borrodaile*, or *Oup River*, which drains *Damara* and *Namaqualand*.

All who have visited the *Orange River*, above or below its bifurcation, dwell with delight on the beauty of its scenery, the transparency and delicious freshness of its waters, the lofty willow and mimosa trees whose graceful foliage shades its steep banks, the masses of brilliant-coloured rock which border its course, and the picturesque cascades and verdant isles scattered on its surface, as presenting a strong contrast to the wildness of the mountain country, through which it passes in its north-easterly course, and to the arid, rough, and uncultivated aspect of the plains which mark the more south-westerly portions of its progress.*

DIVISIONS.—The colony was, in 1836, divided into two provinces, eastern and western. The latter comprehends the counties or divisions of the Cape, Malmesbury, Stellenbosch, Paarl, Worcester, Swellendam, Caledon, Clanwilliam, George, and Beaufort; the former, those of Albany, Fort Beaufort, Graaf Reynet, Somerset, Colesberg, Cradock, Uitenhage, Port Elizabeth (Algoa Bay), Albert, and Victoria. These divisions have civil commissioners appointed to them, whose duties as such are chiefly of a financial nature; but they Daumas, of the French (Protestant) Missionary Society, translated by the Rev. J. C. Brown, of Aberdeen. London and Aberdeen, 1852. See also the map annexed to the Rev. J. J. Freeman's *Tour in S. Africa*.

* For a detailed and most interesting description of this noble stream and its tributaries, vide *Narrative of an Exploratory Tour to the North-east of the Cape Colony*, by the Rev. T. Arbousset and F.

at the same time act as resident magistrates in their districts, of which there are now thirty in the colony, these being further partitioned into about 275 field-cornetcies, or wards.

THE CAPE DIVISION includes the Cape, Wynberg, and Simon's Town *Districts*, and is subdivided into twenty field-cornetcies. Formerly this division extended from the Cape of Good Hope to Point St. Martin, at the head of St. Helena Bay, a distance of about 125 miles; recently, however, a portion called Zwartland, including Saldanha Bay, has been formed into a division called Malmesbury. The Cape Peninsula, its most remarkable feature, is about thirty-six miles in length, by six to eight in breadth, and is composed of a series of broken mountains, with horizontal or cone-shaped summits, separated by narrow gorges.

CAPE TOWN is situated at the north end, which likewise comprises Table Mountain, Constantia Berg, and other elevations of less note, together with several valuable estates. The peninsula is joined to the main land by a low, flat, sandy isthmus, on whose south-east shores is the large inlet termed False Bay; and on the north-west Table Bay, which, although somewhat protected by Robben Island (eight miles from its entrance), is little better than an open roadstead, affording shelter to shipping during the spring and summer months, i.e. from September to May. A local committee have recently recommended the formation of a breakwater, 2,600 feet in length, and to extend to the depth of forty feet at low water, which would serve also for a pier and a battery; the estimated cost being £700,000. Some measure of this kind is greatly needed, and if undertaken even by a private company, must, if judiciously carried out, eventually prove remunerative. An effective breakwater might be made by rolling down a large portion of the Lion's Hill, as has been done with Killiney Hill, at Kingstown, near Dublin; or spacious docks might be constructed like those of Havre de Grace. Table Mountain, which rises immediately behind Table Bay, has a nearly horizontal ascent of two miles in length. Its summit, 3,582 feet above the level of the sea, comprises an irregular superficies of about ten acres in extent. In front are two buttresses or wings, termed the Devil's Mountain, 3,315, and the Lion's Head, 2,760 feet high, which evidently at one time formed a continuation of the Table, their tops having probably been washed away by oceanic currents. The Devil's Mountain is broken into irregular points, but the upper part of the Lion's Head is a solid mass of stone. The west side of the mountain is rent into deep chasms, forming as it were three sections of a ruined fortress, or resembling a curtain flanked by two enormous bastions.

Robben Island, which was used as the penal settlement of the Cape from the commencement of the colony until 1846, is seven miles in circumference, low, and with a clay-slate formation. Its appearance is arid, except in showery weather, and its only trees are those which have been planted as an orchard. Rabbits are numerous, but they are supposed to have been introduced. The prisoners formerly employed in quarrying slate flags, burning lime, &c., are now all removed and occupied in road-making, and the island is inhabited by lepers.

False Bay is about twenty miles deep from

south to north, with nearly the same breadth; the entrance is formed by the bold promontories of the Cape of Good Hope on the west, and Cape Hanglip on the east, distant seventeen miles. The soundings vary from ten to forty fathoms, and there are few dangers, the *Whittle Rock* and *Seal Island* on the west side being the principal. It is, however, open to all southerly winds, excepting a curve about midway on the west shore, termed *Simon's Bay*, where there is good anchorage in five to ten fathoms for a large fleet, *Noah's Ark* and the *Roman Rocks* forming a breakwater to any swell from the south-east. Three miles to the north of Simon's, is *Fish Hook Bay*, a small inlet, and three to the north-east is *Muysenberg*, about twelve miles from Cape Town. The north part of False Bay has a flat sandy shore, on which there is generally a heavy swell. On the north-east is *Gordon's Bay*, with three to ten fathoms' anchorage; and further south, near Cape Hanglip, is *Pringle's Bay*, with five to nine fathoms. *Hout Bay*, a small inlet between Table and False Bays, affords safe anchorage, except in south-west winds.

Cape L'Agulhas, in 34° 49' S., 20° E., the southernmost promontory of Africa, is an extensive flat surface, with an isolated hill at the extremity, whose elevation is 435 feet above the sea-level. A lighthouse has been erected 180 yards due north of the beach, at Northumberland point, on a slope of the hill which gradually shelves down to the point of Cape L'Agulhas. The lantern is thirty-three feet in circumference; the burners will light 270°, the remaining 90° being the only portion of the lantern obscured. The edifice presents a large front to the southward; height of the focus of light above the level of the sea, 125'; distance on the horizon from which it can be seen, fifteen miles; from the deck of a ship, making the height of the eye fifteen feet, twenty miles and-a-half; from a mast-head 100 feet high, twenty-eight miles. This cape forms part of the coast-line of the Caledon Division.

Cape Town, the metropolis of Africa, is well situated on the shores of Table Bay, on a plain which slopes towards the base of Table Mountain. The city is regularly constructed; broad streets, laid out at right angles, adorned with fine trees, and interspersed with public edifices, substantial private dwellings, and well-arranged squares, give a pleasing and metropolitan appearance. The castle on the left of the town is a pentagonal fortress, with a broad fosse and regular outworks. *Fort Krokke* on the east is connected with it by a rampart called the "sea lines;" further east is *Craig's Tower* and battery. *Amsterdam* and *Chavonne batteries*, on the west side, command the bay; at the entrance of which, near where the *Mouillé battery* formerly stood, there is now a lighthouse. Three or four jetties facilitate the landing of passengers and goods.

The chief public buildings are the *Barracks* (apart from the castle), with quarters for 4,000 infantry and 1,000 cavalry; the *Commissariat Stores*, an extensive new range near the wharf or landing-jetty of Table Bay, and the *Military Hospital*, a noble structure facing the sea. The *Colonial Office*, *Supreme Court*, *Treasury*, *Post-office*, &c., are in juxtaposition, adjoining the government gardens, in which are situated *Government House*, a college for public education, and an infant-school. A spacious public walk, shaded by large oak trees, and cooled in summer by streams of water, imparts beauty and freshness to the scenery. The *Police Office* is centrally situated, and the establishment efficiently

organized on the principle of the London police corps. The *Heeren Gracht*, in the centre of the city, is a noble street bounding the *Grand Parade* on the north-west side; it would be a striking object in any European capital. The *Commercial Exchange* stands on the *Grand Parade*; the *Commercial Hall* is a noble structure devoted to various purposes; the centre room, of spacious dimensions, is used for public meetings, concerts, and balls; in the great rooms the merchants assemble daily to transact business and read the newspapers. The *Library* occupies the north-east wing of the building; it is one of the best establishments of the kind in our colonies, and decidedly superior to those found in many old cities. About 50,000 volumes of the choicest works are gratuitously placed at the service of any visitor, under the regulations of a committee chosen annually from the subscribers.

Among the leading ecclesiastical structures may be mentioned, the *Reformed Church* (Dutch), an extensive building, with a good organ, and capable of holding 2,000 people; *St. George's* (the English cathedral), a handsome edifice, will accommodate 1,000; *St. Andrews* (Church of Scotland), 500. This last has a school-house adjacent for the instruction of the coloured races. The *Lutheran Church*, *St. Stephens* (lately the theatre), now possessed by a flourishing coloured congregation, a spacious building (1,600 seats), was presented to the congregation by the late Mr. Martin Melck; the *Independent, Wesleyan, South African Missionary*, and other temples dedicated to divine service, are an honour to the inhabitants who raised and support them.

The public burial-grounds extend over a sandy flat, near the lighthouse, on the ascent of the Lion Hill. Those belonging to the different christian denominations are enclosed by walls; those of the Mahomedans, &c., are fenced in; but the one in which heathen slaves were formerly interred lies open, and adjoins the place where useless horses were shot, and is infested with dogs and carrion birds. (Backhouse, p. 812.)

To each of the churches and chapels a Sunday-school is attached for the instruction of all classes of the community. The markets are admirably kept, and abundantly supplied with the finest meat, poultry, fish, vegetables, and fruit, at very moderate prices. Warehouses and retail shops exhibit every variety of European and tropical produce; weekly public sales, or rather fairs, take place on the parade-ground, where auctioneers have their respective stands, and all sorts of goods, domestic and foreign, apparel, furniture, eatables and drinkables, carriages, horses, cattle, sheep, &c., are offered for public competition. These Saturday *vendues* bring together a large and motley community.

Cape Town is a municipality, and is divided into twelve districts, each district comprising four wards. Its local affairs are managed by commissioners and wardmasters, elected by the rate-payers. The income of the corporation is about £10,000 a-year, derived from rates, rent, dues, licenses, &c. Among the institutions in the city, may be mentioned the *South African College*, and other educational establishments; *Society for promoting Christian Knowledge*, *Tract Society*, *Auxiliary British and Foreign Bible Society*, *Bible Union*, *Ladies' Benevolent Society*, *Friendly Society*, *Orphan House*, *Private Widows' Fund*, *European Sick and Burial Society*, *Provident Society*, *Poor and Distressed Old Women's Society*,

Literary and Scientific Institution, *Agricultural Society*, *Botanic Garden Commission* (under which a division of the government garden has been laid out as a botanic garden), several assurance companies, *Masonic and Odd Fellows' Lodges*, *St. Patrick's Society*, various banks, a *Gas Company*, &c.* There is an efficient *Royal Observatory*; a handsome obelisk has been erected on the spot where the reflecting telescope of Sir John Herschel stood, during the period so successfully devoted by him to the examination of the stars and nebulae of the southern hemisphere. In Cape Town and its vicinity there are manufactories of hats, soap, candles, snuff, &c., several foundries, tanneries, and breweries, nine steam and several wind and water mills.

The suburbs are very picturesque: the gardens at the base of Table Mountain teem with luscious fruits, and in every direction vineyards, orchards, nurseries, parterres, plots of ground rich in all sorts of European, Indian, and African vegetables, and fields covered with wild flowers, especially the charming heaths (*ericas*), and bordered with geranium hedges, meet the eye. From every slight elevation the city is seen to great advantage, flanked by the spacious Table Bay, dotted with ships and boats; while on the opposite shore lies a fertile country, with bold mountain masses standing majestically in the foreground, or dimly receding in distant perspective.

Green Point, a village or township (possessing a municipality), is built facing the sea, at the foot of the Lion's Hill. Its peculiar situation and refreshing ocean breezes, have rendered it a favourite place of residence for merchants, and others whose avocations require their daily attendance in Cape Town, which is about three miles distant. The *Somerset Hospital*, placed between the city and Green Point, is open to all classes on moderate terms, and is under the control of government, who may order gratuitous aid where circumstances necessitate such relief.

Rondebosch, four miles from the castle, is a pretty suburb, with a neat church and school-house, and an improving country around. The road between *Rondebosch* and *Wynberg* is ornamented by planted woods of oak, stone, pine, and poplar, whose foliage forms a strong contrast to that of the silver tree (*Leucadendron argenteum*) which forms natural woods along the sides of the mountains. This tree is about twenty feet high, and branched like a fir. Its leaves, about four inches long by one wide, are covered with a sort of silvery hair-like down, and form a singular feature in the landscape. At *Wynberg* eight miles, and *Constantia* twelve miles from Cape Town, the country is adorned by lofty trees, and interspersed with handsome villas, fraught with all the luxuries and comforts of English residences. At the little village of *Plumstead*, adjoining *Wynberg*, cottages have sprung up in all directions, around a *Wesleyan chapel* and school.

A local writer (in the *South African Almanac* for 1845,) thus enthusiastically describes this neighbourhood, and my memory bears witness that the picture is correct as well as charming:—"Wynberg is truly the 'Sweet Auburn' of South Africa, and is richly studded with handsome abodes and rustic cottages. Here our Indian visitors generally reside, and breathe the life-giving and health-restoring properties of its *caller* air. The walks and rides about *Wynberg* are magnificent; the spirit is invigorated

* *Cape Town Almanac* for 1845, contains much valuable topographical detail.

by the scenery, the power of beauty is let into the soul by a sense of the loveliness of nature, and insensible must he be in his rambles about this spot, and witnessing the rich deep woods, the matchless mountains, the streams, the verdant earth, the cattle at pasture, and the fertility of the landscape, with the calm of evening spread over the whole, who does not rejoice afresh in His goodness, and exclaim—

“ ‘These are thy works, Almighty father! thine.’ ”

The celebrated Constantia wine is made only at three vineyards; two, if not all three of which, still remain in the possession of old and respected Dutch families.* *High Constantia* belongs to the Van Rienen family; the mansion is large and tastefully constructed, and the grounds well laid out. *Great Constantia* belongs to the Cloete family; the buildings are extensive, and the vineyard, which is the original one, is large and productive. *Little Constantia* is very romantically situated, and here, as at the other estates, the numerous visitors are received with unfailing hospitality, shown the wine-stores and works, and enabled to judge for themselves of the merits of the rare and costly produce.

The mountains extending from Cape Town towards Cape Point, have craggy tops, bushy ravines, and some cultivated spots at the base. The road along the east side of these mountains leads to *Simon's Town*, where there is a naval arsenal, storehouse, dock-yard, admiral's dwelling, seaman's hospital, &c. The town is connected with the metropolis (24 miles distant) by a good road, and prettily situated on a slope between the sea and the foot of a steep mountain. The Episcopal church is a plain building near the beach; the Wesleyan chapel, on an eminence cut in the hill side, is a neat structure with a steeple. There is an hotel, beside several inns and public-houses.

MALMESBURY DIVISION, to the north of the Cape Division, was formerly known by the name of *Zwartland*; and the chief township by that of *Zwartlands Kerk*. It comprises the districts of *Malmesbury* and *Pickelberg*, which latter takes its name from a sandstone mountain, about 4,000 feet high. The village of Malmesbury is forty miles from Cape Town, and may be reached in a horse-waggon in about eight hours. There is a church, a school, and public offices. The well-built houses, and the open square, in the centre of which the church stands, have a pleasing effect, but otherwise the general appearance of the place is not interesting; the bleakness of the situation, combining with a deficiency of water, to prevent the inhabitants from cultivating gardens to any extent. Near the parsonage is a warm spring, impregnated with sulphuretted hydrogen, and containing lime, soda, and magnesia—temperature 92° to 96°. The supply of grain is so large from this district, that it has received the appellation of the “granary of the colony.”

This division includes the bays of *Saldanha* and *St. Helena*. The former is one of the most extensive, secure, and beautiful havens in the eastern hemisphere. Its north point is in 33° 3' S. lat., and 17° 49' E. long., a little more than seventy-five miles north

of the southern extremity of the Cape. It is about fifteen miles in length, in the direction of north and south, with an entrance (through a ridge of granite hills) of nearly three miles broad. On the south-west side is *Jutten Islet*, with two small peaks, and on the north shore is *Madagas Island*; *Marcus Island* divides the entrance into two channels, of which the southern is the wider and safer. South of this island are two small bays, in either of which there is good anchorage in three to seven fathoms, having *Meewan* and *Shopen Islands* to the south. Westerly gales cause a heavy sea to break far out on the eastern shore, but in *Hoetjes Bay* (the northern arm of the bay), vessels can anchor in three to seven fathoms close in, free from danger in all weathers. The “river,” as part of the bay is termed, extends seven miles, to some salt pans, in a south-east direction. Unfortunately fresh water is not found in sufficient quantity near the bay for the supply of shipping, but this defect is not considered an irremediable one. (*Cape Almanack* for 1851, p. 211.) *St. Helena Bay* is well sheltered from the south and east, but exposed to the north. It has good anchorage, and a creek on its south side may be safely resorted to as a harbour for small coasting vessels. The *Berg* (mountain) *River*, which has its source in the sandstone and slate mountains of *Drakenstein* (Dragonstone) enters the bay, but its mouth is obstructed by the sand-bar, common to South African streams. Backhouse states that when he visited the country in 1840, a few hippopotami preserved by a boor residing near the entrance of the *Berg River*, were so tame as to come near the house of their protector.

STELLENBOSCH AND PAARL DIVISIONS, to the east of the Cape Division, abound in picturesque scenery, have a rich soil and mild climate. The town of *Stellenbosch* (one of the oldest in the colony, having been founded as early as 1681) is beautifully situated along the north bank of the *Eerste River*, at the head of a valley almost surrounded by mountains, and shaded by groves of magnificent oak trees. The charming village, named the *Paarl* (pearl), is sheltered to the eastward by the isolated eminence from which it takes its name. The best view of it is to be obtained from the *Paarl Klip* (stone), one of the three great granite rocks which lie on the top of the mountain. The farms are small, compared with those of other districts, and the farmers are chiefly employed in the cultivation of the vine, in which they are peculiarly successful. The rising village of *Wellington* is about nine miles distant, a little to the eastward of which the excellent new road to the interior districts crosses the first great range of mountains, by a pass called *Bain's Kloof*.

WORCESTER DIVISION comprises the districts of *Worcester* and *Tulbagh*. The *Cold Bokkeveld* (Buckfield) forms an interesting part of this division. The climate in this elevated country is very sharp during the winter season, but pleasant in summer. In winter the farmers remove their flocks to the lower and milder Karroo plains, which are, however, reckoned of so little value, that 10,000 acres may be rented from government for £1 per annum. (*Vide* Bishop of Cape Town's *Visitation Journal* of 1850, p. 6.) The *Warm Bokkeveld* is a valley of minor elevation, which appears to have formed the basin of an ancient lake. Fruit thrives well here. The whole of the *Bokkevelde* are excellently adapted for the produce of grain, but the expense of transport has hitherto prevented its extensive cultivation. The town of Worcester contains several regularly

* Estates change hands very frequently at the Cape, in consequence of the equal division of property on the demise of the head of a family,—the old Dutch law, though no longer compulsory, having merged in an established custom.

planned streets of whitewashed brick houses, and is built at the foot of some low slate hills, upon a plain about ten miles across, intervening between the rugged mountains of the Cold Bokkeveld and the Goudine. It is well supplied with water from the Kei River. The Breede River likewise passes through this extensive division, of whose twenty-three field-cornetcies or wards, that named *Tulbagh* is the most populous and fertile. The pretty town or village of *Tulbagh*, built of white houses in the Dutch style, is so completely shut in by mountains on three sides, and so far up a long vale, that it is hardly likely to increase in size or importance.

CLANWILLIAM DIVISION.—The town or village of *Clanwilliam* is about 168 miles north of Cape Town, and is situated near to the junction of the Jan Dissel with the Oliphant River; it being abundantly supplied with water by a streamlet out of the former river. The situation is picturesque, being between two ranges of mountains, but the place is uncomfortable in summer, as it is built on a sandy flat, from which the heat is strongly reflected. With few exceptions, the whole of this, the largest division, is subject to severe droughts, which compel the farmers to migrate with their flocks.

The most interesting ward is that commonly called the "*Mouth of the Oliphant River*." Most of the places below the junction of the *Doorn* (thorn) *River*, have an extent of low land along the borders, which, when the river overflows, becomes extremely fertile, from the vast quantity of alluvial karroo mud carried down and deposited on it. The river is navigable with boats for upwards of thirty miles, at which distance it is regularly affected by the tide. The mouth is barred by a reef of rocks, extending from south to north, and by a sand-bar running from north to south, but between the two bars a channel is left always open, through which whalers' boats are in the habit of coming up the river to take in water and provisions. On the north side of the mouth is a small inlet or bay, with a sandy bottom, where ships may drop anchor under certain precautions.

At about thirty miles east of Clanwilliam are situated the lofty and imposing *Cedarbergen*, or Cedar Mountains, which derive their name from the number of cedar trees found scattered over them. Many Hottentots obtain a livelihood by felling the timber, which, when sawn into planks, is drawn upon sledges over the rugged mountain passes, and brought into the village, where it meets a speedy sale. A wood resembling ebony is likewise abundant here.

Lambert's Bay, thirty or forty miles west of the village, is available to small coasters, and has proved very useful, considerable quantities of grain being annually brought up to Cape Town from thence. The greatest part of this generally barren division consists of grazing country; grain being only produced in small quantities for home consumption, except where the neighbourhood of a bay affords an outlet to Cape Town. Good tobacco and some rice are also grown here, and are readily bought and consumed on the spot. In the village two hat manufactories have been carried on for several years, the coarse hats which are made here being extensively used by the farmers. In the neighbourhood there is a fine chalybeate and likewise a hot spring, much resorted to for rheumatic complaints and cutaneous disorders. Beyond the Kamiesberg considerable quantities of copper have been found as early as the year 1751, but the estimated expense of work-

ing the mines and transporting the article it is feared would exceed its marketable value.

CALEDON DIVISION, to the north-east of Stellenbosch division, includes the villages of *Caledon* and *Breda's Dorp*. At the former of these, there are two valuable warm springs, containing muriate of soda, whose waters are used both internally and for bathing. To the northward of Caledon, on the southern confines of Worcester Division, is the celebrated Moravian mission station of *Genandendal*, prettily situated in a broad valley among mountains, from whence several streams descend, fertilizing the gardens and other grounds. Twenty-two miles south of Caledon, near the sea-shore, is the village called *Hemel en Aarde* (heaven and earth), devoted by the government to the use of lepers. The patients are chiefly Hottentots. The frightful disease with which they are affected, destroys the fingers and toes, which drop off without pain. This species of leprosy is not considered contagious, but it is hereditary. Large quantities of grain and wool are produced in this division, the rearing of merino sheep making considerable progress among the farmers. The produce is for the most part exported coastwise by local speculators, through *Struys* and *Walker's Bays*, the farmers finding it more profitable and convenient to dispose of it thus, than to bring it up to Cape Town themselves.

SWELLENDAM DIVISION comprises the districts of *Swellendam* and *Riversdale*. The climate generally is very salubrious. In winter the mountains are frequently covered with snow nearly to their base, the low lands have frosty nights, and in many parts every species of live-stock thrives well during winter; but often during the summer months severe droughts prevail, to the injury of the crops and stock.

The village of *Swellendam* is one of the most cheerful-looking in the colony. It has a good church, parsonage, town-hall, gaol, and other public buildings; and its neat white houses, some in the English and others in the old Dutch style, are interspersed with trees and gardens watered by a mountain streamlet. It is situated in a hilly and verdant tract called the *Gras Veld* (grass field), which lies between the *Langebergen* (long mountains) and the coast. There is a government school in Swellendam, as in most of the colonial towns. A reading-room and library have been long established here. When visited by Backhouse, in 1836, the librarian was a Mantatee, who, having been carefully educated, was as well fitted for his post as if born in civilized society. *Riversdale* is a rising village, in the neighbourhood of which there is some fine land watered by the *Vet* stream.

On the line of sea coast within this division is situate *St. Sebastian's Bay*, now called *Port Beaufort*, into which the Breede River flows. Vessels drawing about twelve feet enter the bay, and go up the river about forty miles, past *Malagas Kraal*, as far as *Michael's Kraal*. A very considerable export of wool, aloes, skins, hides, feathers, &c., has taken place from this port to England, and of grain, butter, cattle, mules, &c., to the Mauritius, and to Table and Algoa Bays. Two mineral springs, one containing muriate of soda and the other carbonate of lime, and a salt pan, are found in this division.

GEORGE DIVISION comprises the districts of *George* and *Mossel* (mussel) *Bay*. Its chief productions are wool, butter, aloes, grain, cattle, and salt, this latter being procured from a few saline lakes situated

close to the mouth of the *Gauritz* (rapid, rustling) and *Kleine Brak* (small saltish) Rivers. Several beautiful and extensive woods are interspersed among the grassy hills of this part of the country. The trees are large and much overrun with climbers and parasitical plants of the *Orchis* tribe. *Laurus Buttata* (stink wood), which is allied to the bay, and *Podocarpus elongata* (yellow wood), are the kinds chiefly cut; the latter resembles the yew, and is the prevailing tree in the forests and on the banks of rivers on the eastern side of South Africa. It is generally "draped" with a long, shaggy, green lichen. Baboons, monkeys, bush bucks, spotted hyenas, leopards, buffaloes, and elephants, inhabit these woods; the two latter animals are, however, now scarce, and when a leopard is discovered, it is hunted unremittently till destroyed.

The little town of *George*, situate about seven miles from the sea-shore, contains English and Dissenting, Dutch, and Roman Catholic places of worship; unhappily, it has also a more than proportionate number of "canteens," or retail spirit stores. Three miles from *George* is the London Missionary station of *Pacaltsdorp*. The surrounding district has good pasturage for cattle during the summer months. Several small rivers of fresh water run through it; and the soil is well suited for the culture of pulse, principally beans, of which two crops can be reaped from the same ground in each summer season.

Mossel Bay, after *Simon's Bay* the safest on the east coast of the colony, is, from its local situation, well adapted for the seaport of *George* and *Beaufort* Divisions. Boats can always land with safety. The water is wholesome, and every kind of refreshment easily obtainable. A whale-fishery was formerly carried on here with success. Several kinds of fish are caught in the *Great* and *Little Brak Rivers*, which disembogue in *Mossel Bay*.

Plettenberg Bay is a fine portion of the district of *George*, and the excellent pasturage, and abundance of fish in the bay, together with the contiguity of an extensive and valuable forest, seem to invite the particular attention of small capitalists. The bay is open to the south-east, affording a safe anchorage in eight, nine, and ten fathoms water, and it offers shelter during strong north and north-west gales to vessels intending to make *Table Bay*. It is exposed to the south-east, but is roomy, and presents no formidable danger, as vessels can get out readily, if necessitated to do so by one of the sudden changes of wind to which this coast is peculiarly liable. Boats may be "beached" there with ease and safety. Vessels are frequently chartered to bring wood from this place to *Table Bay*.

The *River Knysna* is situated between *Mossel* and *Plettenberg Bays*. It has a bar, but instead of being a sand-bar, which all other rivers have on this coast, it is of rock, and is covered with water to the depth of fourteen feet, at ebb tide. The entrance is, unfortunately, only about 180 yards wide, between perpendicular rocks of some hundred feet high. There is a large lake-like basin inside, capable of holding a great number of vessels, and the river is navigable for small vessels, to a distance of ten miles. Its banks abound with large timber. The *Knysna* can always be entered, except in very strong winds, by vessels drawing not more than fourteen feet water; but at flood tide vessels of larger draught may enter. It is, however, less easy to get out than to get in; but a small tug-steamer might

be stationed there to tow vessels out at very little expense, for fuel, which is the chief requisite, can be procured at a low price. The neighbourhood of the *Knysna Harbour*, formerly called *Outeniqualand*, is picturesque and imposing in a high degree; the striking outline of the lofty, rugged mountains, crested with clouds, and clothed with majestic forests, seeming almost as ancient as the rocks which frown above them, and the vast ocean swelling at their base, form a scene of extreme grandeur.

In the *Zwarteberg* (black mountain) range, which separates the division of *George* from that of *Beaufort*, are the famous *Cango Caverns*, which, for beauty, height, and extent, are probably unrivalled. They were discovered by a boor in 1780, but have been only partially explored. The road to the caverns lies through a precipitous mountain defile, forming the *poort* or pass of the *Grobbelaar River*, which flows in a serpentine direction, here gently, there precipitously, through the dense jungle that skirts its banks. Subterranean convulsions have created wild and magnificent scenery. The rocks, broken into the strangest forms, are for the most part covered with vegetation; graceful mimosa trees, crimson geraniums, large and splendid plants of *palma Christi*, and a kind of strong-scented lilac, imparting their own peculiar charm to a prospect which would otherwise be calculated to appal rather than delight the traveller. The entrance to these "crystal palaces" is through a noble arch, about twenty feet in height; from whence an irregular vestibule, 200 feet in length, leads to a descent of about thirty feet, which (being accomplished by means of a ladder) opens upon a series of spacious saloon-like vaults. One, 600 feet long by 100 broad, and 60 high, is adorned with millions of stalactites, sometimes assuming the shapes of curiously carved flower-wreaths, cascades, pulpits, animals, drapery, and grotesque figures of every description; at others, forming fluted pillars of amazing height, and resembling at some distance immense cathedral organs, or primeval trees. Niches, columns, cornices, and fretted work, adorn the sides and roofs; some of the stalactites are white and glittering, others transparent. A very singular portion of this palace, not made with hands, is termed "the Bath," because it contains curious natural cisterns, forming marble basins, filled with cool and limpid water. Crystallization is still going on extensively in many places, but in others it has given place to the opposite process of disintegration. The so-called "sand-room" is strewn with fine sand, probably consisting of the decayed crystals of decomposed stalactites.

The extensive inland DIVISION OF BEAUFORT is singularly devoid of lakes or running streams. The *Gouph* is an extensive tract of undulating country, interspersed with extensive flats, lying between the *Zwarteberg* and *Nieuweveld* mountains. Its breadth varies from 60 to 100 miles. The *Dwyka* (rhinoceros) River separates it from the division of *Worcester*, and the *Karega* and *Salt Rivers* from that of *Graaf-Reynet*. It is chiefly used as a sheepwalk, and is commonly known by the name of *Karoo* or *Kanneland*, from its producing a bush abounding with soda called *Kannabosch* (*Caroxylon Salsofa*). There is very little grass, except in remarkably fine seasons, when it produces abundance of the most luxuriant kind; and in such seasons the fattest oxen in the colony are to be seen here. A deficiency of water is its prevailing defect. The strange atmospheric illusion, termed the *mirage*, often cruelly disappoints

the thirsty traveller, presenting to him the appearance of lakes and streamlets in the most arid localities, besides causing the mountains to appear as if they were cut off by the base and raised in the air, with other unaccountable phenomena. The pretty little town of Beaufort is situated upon the open karroo, about 360 miles east of Cape Town, and 144 miles west of Graaf-Reynet. It is watered by two copious springs, which give its gardens an extraordinary degree of fertility, and its streets are bordered with mulberry, pear, melia, and weeping willow trees.

The *Nieuweveld* (new field) commences at a range of mountains extending from the *Dioyka* (rhinoceros) River, on the Worcester side, to Salt River, on the Graaf-Reynet frontier. Its northern boundary extends to the *Kareeberg*. It is rather a hilly country. The grazing consists of heath and grass, but principally of the former,—the lower parts of the country being covered with heath, and the sides and tops of the mountains with grass.

The *Zuurleberg* field-cornetcy is famed for dried fruits of a superior quality. Some grain is raised there. Skins and ostrich feathers are sent in considerable quantities to Port Elizabeth for exportation. There are cold mineral springs in various parts of this division, whose waters are considered very efficacious in rheumatic complaints.

The greater part of the EASTERN PROVINCE was, at the beginning of the present century, in the possession of the Kafirs. It now contains the following divisions or counties:—

ALBANY DIVISION, though small, is important, as being more populous than any portion of the colony except the neighbourhood of Cape Town, and containing *Graham's Town*, the chief place in the Eastern Province. The northern district, called *Upper Albany*, affords the best pasturage; the southern, called *Lower Albany*, is the tract of country formerly known as the *Zuurveld* (sour field), allotted to a large proportion of the 4,000 British settlers of 1820, whose high raised expectations, its sour and rank herbage, humid atmosphere, yet deficiency of water for irrigation, great distance from Cape Town, and indeed from anything like civilized life, must have cruelly disappointed. At the time of their arrival GRAHAM'S TOWN was but a little village, which had risen up around the site of a military station, formed by the officer whose name it bears, with twenty-two houses, and 150 inhabitants. It has now an almost exclusively English population of 4,000, about one-sixth as much as Cape Town. In appearance it is cheerless and uninviting, being situated on a flat, surrounded by low rocky sandstone hills, on which grass has taken the place of the thorny minosa thickets, long since cleared away for firewood, but devoid of trees, except in the kloofs or ravines, which have some large timber, and exhibit very picturesque scenery. From one of these kloofs issues a small but perennial streamlet, which meanders along the outskirts of the town, and forms the principal branch of the *River Kowie*, and in the distance a single white conical hill, named the *Lynx Kopjie* (head), forms a conspicuous object, and is celebrated as being the spot from whence Makanna directed the attack on Graham's Town, in 1819.

The township is large and straggling, and the streets, though well laid out, wide, and regular, remain unpaved, and full of ruts and inequalities. In some of them there are rows of fine oak trees

facing the houses, occasionally varied by the handsome *Kafir Boom* (*Erythrina*). In addition to the public buildings common to provincial towns, few, if any, of which claim special regard, there are various others connected with the military, whose presence has so greatly contributed to the rapid increase of the town. Places of worship are numerous and creditably built; of these the great majority belong to the Wesleyans and Independents, who constitute by far the most influential section of the community. The town is governed by a municipality, composed of six commissioners, elected by the householders generally, and eight ward-masters, chosen by the inhabitants of the respective wards.

There is no port in this division except the *Kowie Mouth*, which is unfortunately barred by so large an accumulation of sand as to render its entrance hazardous even to small vessels. Persevering attempts have been made to effectually deepen the channel, by the proprietor of the adjacent land, but with scarcely any success.

PORT BEAUFORT DIVISION.—*Fort Beaufort* has been recently elevated from a mere military post, to be the chief place of a division, which, though small, is valuable, from comprising some of the finest sheep and grain farms in the colony, several of which, notwithstanding their contiguity to the Kafirland, were considered, at the close of 1850, worth from £4000 to £5,000.—(See *Van de Sandt's Cape Almanack* for 1851. It is situated on a small peninsula formed by a bend of the Kat River, and contains various substantial dwellings and stores, as well as extensive military buildings. The neighbouring country affords excellent grazing ground, and is of a pleasing character, the absence of trees being to some extent compensated by abundance of low shrubs entwined with flowers of various kinds, especially a sweet-scented jasmine, and several species of geranium.

A few miles above *Fort Beaufort*, keeping the course of the river, the road leads through a narrow poort, or defile, to a stream called the *Blinkwater*, to the right of which lies the devastated *Stockenstrom District*, more generally known as the Hottentot or Kat River Settlement. In September, 1851, the population amounted to about 5,000, the great majority of whom were connected with the London Missionary Society. The chief stations were those of *Philipton*, *Balfour*, and *Blinkwater* or *Tidmanton*; there were also eleven out-stations, namely, those of *Buxton*, *Lushington*, *Bruceton*, *Vanderkemp*, *Mancazana*, &c., occupying altogether an extent of about 160 square miles. This tract may be described as a basin, surrounded by lofty mountains, whose rugged sides are in many places clothed with magnificent timber of the most useful description. The lofty ranges of the *Winterberg* form the northern boundary of the district. The smaller spurs sloping gently down to the lovely valleys at their base; the larger separating the various settlements already mentioned. Very interesting views are obtained from several of these heights, whence copious streams descend, and after irrigating the lower grounds, run off into the Kat, which is itself a tributary of the Great Fish River.

Immediately before the outbreak of the last war, art and nature seemed to have each done their utmost to adorn the prospect, for the eye feasted not only on the sublime scenery of the mountain, with its forests, ravines, and cataracts, but on the soft undulating surface of the cultivated land beneath. The corn springing up luxuriantly over acre after

acre, the orchards well stocked with the peach, nectarine, and apple; the humble cottages, and their native owners, all clad in European clothing, and possessed not only of sheep and goats, but also teams of oxen, horses, and waggons, then afforded ample evidence of the determined industry evinced by the settlers, who, after being twice reduced to beggary, had undauntedly commenced rebuilding their houses, and ploughing their land. Before the war of 1846, they had about 3,000 draught oxen; and poultry and pigs abounded; but all these perished. (Freeman's *South Africa*, pp. 154, '5, '6, '7.)

GRAAF-REYNET DIVISION contains the district bearing its name, and another called Richmond, which together comprise the first tract of country occupied by Europeans in the eastern province. It was formed into a district in 1806, by Governor Van de Graaff, and named after him and his wife Reynetta. The town or village of *Graaf-Reynet* is one of the most pleasing and regularly laid out villages in the colony. It is situated in an angle of the *Sneeubergen* (snow) Mountains, on the left bank of the *Zondag* (Sunday) River, from whence water is led out by a canal, yielding a plentiful supply. Its streets are spacious, intersecting each other at right angles. Most of them are planted with lemon trees, interspersed with the acacia, oleander, and the lilac-coloured syringa, the Kafir broom, and some very fine weeping willows. Almost every house has a garden abounding with the fig-tree, peach, vine, mulberry, pear, orange, pomegranate, apricot, &c. A handsome Dutch church is well placed in the centre of the town; there is an excellent market-place, and what is called the "Boers' place," a convenient open spot where the farmers unyoke their oxen and put up their waggons on coming to church. The public offices, court-house, and other buildings, are of a very substantial description, and the shops and warehouses well stored. The prosperity of the town is greatly attributable to the indefatigable exertions of Captain (now Sir Andreas) Stockenström, while holding the position of its chief magistrate. Its principal produce consists of dried fruits, oranges, wine, and brandy.

The division consists of upland and lowland, and the soil varies much, but is in general extremely rich, especially where watered by the Sunday River. The pasturage is diversified, and suited to various descriptions of stock,—the horse thriving in the upland, and fine-woolled sheep in the lowland, which latter abounds with a valuable shrub called *spekboom*, that affords excellent food for sheep and goats. Large tracts are entirely destitute of wood, and the farmers dig cowdung out of the kraals, cut it into square pieces, and stack it for fuel, as is the case in many parts of India. Game of all kinds is plentiful, sometimes superabundant, as herds of *springbok* and other animals, when driven by drought from the interior, migrate into the colony, and entirely consume the herbage. Landed property in this division has of late years greatly increased in value.

SOMERSET DIVISION is very diversified in its soil and character; a considerable portion of it is occupied by the *Great Fish River*, which completely drains it (receiving nearly every smaller stream by which it is watered), and flows through a valley in many parts several miles in width. In dry seasons it is extremely arid, but after rains abounds in pasture of the best description.

The village of *Somerset* is a pretty but straggling place, plentifully supplied with water from the eminence named the *Bushberg*, at whose foot it stands. To the southward of it a fine open country stretches for many miles; a little to the northward lies the mountain basin (*Zwagers Hoek*), from whence issues the *Little Fish River*. This tract is very valuable, although from its alpine character the climate in winter is often extremely severe. It contains some good grain farms, and is famous for the rearing of cattle and horses. The region extending from the right bank of the Koonap River, and from thence to the *Mancazana* and *Baviaans* (baboons) Rivers, is occupied by British emigrants, some of whom possess immense flocks of fine woolled sheep.

COLESBERG DIVISION is bounded on the north by the Orange River for a distance of 200 miles, and owes much of its importance to the circumstance of the main-road leading to the fording-place on the river, and from thence to the Griqua and Bechuana countries, passing directly through it. *Colesberg* village is situated in a kind of valley between two rows of barren broken rocks, and was established by Sir Lowry Cole, in 1831. The manner in which the land was obtained, or rather seized from the Bushmen, is alleged to have been extremely discreditable. (*Vide Backhouse's Narrative*, pp. 344, '5.)

The general appearance of the surrounding country is dreary and monotonous, there being always great scarcity of wood, and frequently of water; but much has been done to remedy this latter defect by the construction of dams. Sharp frosts and violent snow-storms are common; yet in cattle and sheep this division is considered to be the richest in the colony, and the field-cornetcy of *Umtam* is remarkable for a hardy breed of horses.

CRADOCK DIVISION lies between Somerset, Graaf-Reynet, and Colesberg, and is like them exclusively inland. It contains some valuable and productive farms, but the greater part consists of Karroo land, which, though prolific where well watered, is arid and sterile in the extreme in recurring seasons of drought. Corn and fruit are largely produced in *Brak* (salt) River District; the *Achter* (little Sneeuwberg) is famous for fine cattle, and the Tarka district for sheep. *Cradock* village is situated on the left bank of the Great Fish River, and in consequence of the high road to the north passing through it, is a place of considerable trade. It has a Dutch church, Wesleyan and Independent chapels; but the members of the Church of England, who are in the minority, use the court-house as a place of public worship. Cold and tepid chalybeate springs exist close to the village.

UITENHAGE AND PORT ELIZABETH DIVISIONS are watered by the *Zwartkops* (black heads), *Zondag*, *Kromme* (crooked), and *Gamtoos* or *Chamtoos* Rivers, of which only the first, which falls into Algoa Bay to the north-west of *Port Elizabeth*, is navigable. This may be entered by small craft, and is deep and free from impediments for some miles up, but its mouth is obstructed by a bar of sand, upon which at spring tides there is about twelve feet of water; outside, the anchorage is said to be very good. *Uitenhage*, a neat and flourishing town, is built on the left bank of the *Zwartkops*, on the declivity of a hill distant twenty miles from *Port Elizabeth*. The streets are spacious, and intersect each other at right angles. The gardens are numerous, abounding with fine fruit trees, among which some rare kinds may be observed, and well irri-

gated by means of a streamlet, which rises in the eastern extremity of the *Winterhoek Mountains*, at a distance of some six miles from the town, and never fails even in the driest seasons. The celebrated mission station of *Bethelsdorp* (village of Bethel), about eleven miles to the south-east of Uitenhage, consists of a square of whitewashed, red tiled, stone buildings, including the chapel and schoolhouses, and several other houses and cottages arranged in little streets. The various natural disadvantages of the place, so bitterly complained of by Dr. Vanderkemp, its unfitness either for grazing or agriculture, and great deficiency of water, have proved an irremovable bar to its progress. In fact the people could not have subsisted on the lands belonging to the institution, which, however, fortunately for them, include a shallow lake, of about four miles in circumference, constituting a large natural salt pan; the salt, which forms a crust or deposit under the water, of about a quarter or half-an-inch in thickness, is scraped together in heaps, carefully washed, and sold for home consumption, manure, or for exportation. The price is 1s. 6d. per muid (containing four measures of a foot each), which, considering the amount of labour employed in preparing it, and the expense of conveyance by ox-waggon, affords but scanty remuneration. Hewing and carrying wood for fuel, &c., from the adjacent forests, have likewise proved a means of support to the Hottentots, as has the collection of the drug called aloes, the plant from which it is obtained growing abundantly in and about Bethelsdorp, as also in the poor, stony, and bushy tract lying between this place and Port Elizabeth, about nine miles distant.

Port Elizabeth has proved very useful, being the only anchorage between Cape Town and Natal really useful and available for commercial purposes at all seasons. I visited Algoa Bay in H.M.S. *Leven*, as long ago as 1823, when its value was but little understood, and during a heavy gale we rode in perfect safety, with a chain bent on to a hemp cable; the vessel absolutely rode by the weight of the chain without straining the anchor. The bay has, however, its disadvantages for shipping. The south-east wind creates a tremendous surf, and cuts off communication between the vessels and the beach. Greater facilities for loading and unloading, are much required; but these are difficulties which enterprise and science will probably eventually overcome. There are now generally from twenty to thirty sail of merchantmen lying at anchor in the roadstead. On Cape Recife, forming the western limit of Algoa Bay, a lighthouse has been lately erected by the colonial government at a cost of nearly £20,000; it is a handsome octagonal building of cut stone, exhibiting a fixed light visible to a radius of ten miles. Fort Frederic, an old Dutch fort, commands the anchorage, but it is in a very dilapidated condition. The town, founded in 1822, by Sir R. Donkin, is rapidly rising into importance, and contains now between 5,000 and 6,000 inhabitants. It possesses a bank, three newspapers, numerous stores, military and commissariat establishments, and good handsome places of worship belonging to the church of England, Roman Catholic, Wesleyan, and Independent congregations. Landed property of every kind is very valuable, and house-rent exorbitantly high. On a hill rising immediately above the town, there is a monument to the memory of the Lady Elizabeth Donkin, whose name it bears.

The chief advantages of the above divisions, but

DIV. VII.

more especially of Uitenhage, are, capabilities for rearing black cattle and fine-wooled sheep. The land varies greatly in quality; that bordering the sea receiving sufficient moisture, without irrigation, for the production of wheat, barley, rye, and oats. About ten miles from the shore the soil in many places consists of a clayish mould well adapted for horticultural purposes; at the same distance from the sea, towards Uitenhage, there are large beds of sea-shells and fossil shell-fish, which, when properly calcined, afford excellent lime.

ALBERT DIVISION.—The territory now designated by this name was annexed to the colony by Sir Benjamin D'Urban, in 1835; but, by order of the home government, the newly-assumed power was speedily renounced. In 1848, Sir H. Smith again included it within the limits of the colony, omitting, however, the only measure which could justify this step, viz.:—registering the number and claims of the native inhabitants, and securing a certain portion of inalienable territory for them. The Dutch farmers, whose aggressive and lawless state was the plea for this fresh widening of the boundary, were better cared for, farms averaging 6,000 acres each being surveyed, and legal titles granted them by the colonial authorities. Albert Division extends in an angular form between the sovereignty and Kafirland, and includes the country sloping down from the north-west of the Stormberg Mountains, to the Orange River; it is bounded on the east by the steep and lofty Wittebergen (white mountains), which may be considered as an offshoot nearly at right-angles to the Stormberg range, near its junction with the Quathlamba. It contains a superficies of nearly 8,000 square miles, very partially watered by the Great Orange, the Kraai, and several minor streams. The chief drawback is the absence of springs. Excepting in the immediate vicinity of the above-mentioned rivers, the water employed in irrigation and for the use of cattle, consists almost exclusively of rain collected in tanks, or procured by means of dams formed in the rocky gullies.

Many of the farms here are very cold, and wood for fuel or building is generally extremely scarce, except near the banks of the Orange and Kraai Rivers. Traces of coal and other minerals have been observed, and fossil remains in great numbers are found in the Wittebergen.

The seat of magistracy, *Burghersdorp*, on the Stormberg Spruit (water-course), is a desolate-looking place, built in a swamp, and surrounded by a very bare and uninteresting region. It has, however, a handsome church and parsonage, the former of which already shows signs of decay. One of the chief roads to the Sovereignty passes through Burghersdorp, and crosses the Orange River near where the Stormberg Spruit falls into it. The whole of this division is traversed by good natural roads, which may easily be kept in repair. The site of a new town called *Alival North*, has been fixed in a fine plain about four miles west of the Kraai River, near some celebrated hot springs called *Buffalo Vlei* (fountain). Lions and the larger antelopes are still common in the wild country at the head of the Kraai River. The Wesleyans have one or two mission-stations amongst the native tribes residing near the Wittebergen.

VICTORIA DIVISION comprises about a million acres of land, and is formed by nature into two distinct portions, of which the southern includes the

territory between the Fish and Keiskamma Rivers, celebrated in frontier history under the name of the neutral ground; and the northern, that part of Tambookie-land annexed by Sir H. Smith in 1848, bounded by the Claas Smidt River, and the Black Kei on the west; the Stormbergen on the north; and the Indive, White Kei, and Klip Plaat River, on the east and south. The Great Winterberg, Katberg, and Amatola Mountains, separate North and South Victoria, the prominent eminence named *Gauka's Kop* (head), 6,400 feet high, in which the Chumie River has its source, forming as it were the central point (like the narrow part of an hour-glass,) between the two divisions.

North Victoria is distinguished by the bare and rocky characteristics of the higher plateaux. Many of its mountains attain a considerable elevation. *Hanglip* rises 6,800 feet, and the Stormberg range has an average altitude of between 6,000 and 7,000 feet. It is well supplied with pure water by the numerous and overflowing streams which unite to form the Great Kei, including the Black and White Kei, and others before mentioned.

A village named *Whittlesea* has been commenced about five miles from the confluence of the Klip Plaat's with the Great Kei River, and an extensive coal deposit is alleged to exist in the neighbourhood. Two miles south of Whittlesea is the site of the deserted Moravian mission village of *Shiloh*.

South Victoria comprehends a sea-line of about thirty-five miles, and possesses the broken and bushy features common to the coast regions of the colony. Its only important streams are those (the Fish and Keiskamma) that respectively constitute its eastern and western boundaries, between which it forms a high, and in many places, very beautiful table-land, intersected with numerous deep kloofs and ravines, forming on the west side the most inaccessible part of the Fish River Bush. *Alice*, on the Chumie River, is laid out as the chief town, and occupies the spot where the kraal or residence of *Gauka* stood, when Dr. Vanderkemp visited him in 1799, and established the first mission in Kafirland. The military post of *Fort Hare* lies close by, but is included in British Kaffraria.

Fort Peddie, situated nearly in the centre of South Victoria, is the residence of a magistrate. The military villages of Ely, Auckland, Juanasburg, Woburn, and Kempt, destroyed at the commencement of the war, were placed along the right bank or in the vicinity of the Chumie stream. About 6,000 Fingoes are located in the neighbourhood of Fort Peddie; and 2,000 or 3,000 friendly Kafirs, part of the tribe of the exemplary Christian chief *Kama*, reside on the Oxkraal River, on the northern face of the Kat Mountains.

The tract known as Madoor's country, and occupied by a small and semi-civilized tribe of Bushmen, is situated in North Victoria, between the Black and White Kei. Madoor, the Bushman chief, has named his principal native village *Freemanton*, in grateful acknowledgment of the endeavours made by the late Rev. J. J. Freeman to procure a mitigation of the harsh measures pursued by the local government towards him. The great error connected with the increase of boundary so far as North Victoria is concerned, appears to have been not the assumption of sovereignty over it, which might have been, and probably was the sole means of checking the growing power of the boors over the weak and scattered aborigines, but the selling the best portions, regardless of the rights of its

native proprietors, every one of whom ought to have been registered, and land legally allotted amply sufficient for their maintenance, before an inch could be honestly sold or granted as crown property. In South Victoria the case was widely different: there were no boors there; the only plea for taking possession was the obtainment of a more defensible boundary, and the manner in which the soil already occupied and cultivated by large tribes has been sold to (in many cases absentee) holders, without any reservation or provision in favour of those to whom it had descended from father to son, admits of no excuse.*

KAFIRLAND (British and Proper) may be said to include the whole territory between the *Keiskamma* and the heads of the *Great Kei* streams on the east, and the *Umsimculu* on the west, which divides it from Natal, being separated from the *Bechuana Country* by the lofty range of *Quathlamba Mountains*, running nearly parallel to the coast, at an average distance of about 100 miles. In Kafirland the same terrace-like formation may be traced, although perhaps not so readily as in the Cape colony. Numerous ranges of hills of minor elevation, rising by the side of the principal range, form as it were the steppes of different plateaux or plains. The principal of these plains is the immense tract lying between the Quathlamba and Matuana mountains, watered by the great western branches of the *Umsimvooboo*, the *Tsitsi* and *Teua* rivers. It is a well watered and fertile country, affording good pasturage, but very cold in winter, devoid of wood, and at present almost uninhabited; nor is it likely that the Kafirs, whom we are now endeavouring to drive across the Kei, will ever willingly occupy it. Nearer the coast the country becomes better wooded, but extremely rugged and difficult of access; the numerous torrents rising in the different mountain ranges flow in deep beds, with frequent subsidiary ravines. The extent of some of these river valleys may be judged from the fact that, starting from the high ground on one bank of the *Umbashee*, it takes three or four hours to gain the opposite side. The country about the mouth of the *Umsimvooboo* is particularly rugged, and towards the sea two high mountains appear nearly to close its channel, leaving however a pass known by the name of the "Gates." Large forests exist along the shore, and on the declivities of the high lands near the coast. The mountains of Kafirland may be considered as prolongations of some of the colonial ranges. Very striking and bold features are presented by the *Matuana* and *Ukalo Mountains*, near the sources of the *Umbashee* and *Umtata Rivers*, and to the eastward near the Natal frontier. Various offshoots of the Quathlamba chain give a peculiarly wild and inaccessible character to the country. The average altitude of the Quathlamba may be estimated at 8,000 feet above the sea, or 4,000 higher than the great plateau that extends to their feet. The principal rivers are the *Great Kei*, and its tributaries the *T'Somo* and *Indive*; the *Umbashee*, *Umtata*, *Umsimvooboo*, and *Umsimculu*; none of them are navigable or of much importance, although often swollen by rains into for-

* The chief sources from which the topography of the divisions has been derived, are *Van de Sandt's Cape Almanack* for 1852, the *Bishop's Visitation Tours*, and the works of *Freeman*, *Buckhouse*, and *Chase*; aided by my own recollections, and the valuable assistance of Mr. Hall, Dr. Adamson, and other gentlemen well acquainted with the Cape.

midable torrents. The region between the Kei and Keiskamma, which forms the province of BRITISH KAFFRARIA, and is divided by the Kei from Kreili's country, in its general features resembles the rest of Kafirland. The formidable and far-famed *Amatola* are a continuation of the Katberg range; they present a steep and well wooded face to the southward, full of deep and almost impregnable ravines, and to the northward a high table-land called the *Bontebok Flats*, formerly a great haunt of lions and the larger game. Sir H. Smith, when he, in December, 1847, annexed British Kaffraria to the Cape colony, divided it into the following districts:—North of the *Amatola*, *Northumberland* and *Sussex*; west of the *Buffalo River*, *York*, *Middlesex*, and *Lincoln*; east of that stream, *Cambridge* and *Bedford*; but it is not likely that these divisions will ever be recognised either in a geographical or political point of view.

King William's Town, situated on the left bank of the *Buffalo River*, about forty miles from its confluence with the sea, is the head quarters of the troops, and at the mouth of the *Buffalo*, the town of *East London* has been founded, as the port of the province. The latter is at present a very small place, with but few natural advantages. The holding-ground is good, but there is no shelter whatever for vessels, the shore is rugged, and the surf heavy even without wind. At *Forts Hare*, *Cox*, *White*, *Murray*, and *Pato*, military posts are established. Fort *Murray* is the residence of a civil commissioner for the tribes of *Zlambie*; Fort *Cox*, of the commissioner for the *Gnikas*. The *Amatolas* to the eastward merge into the *Buffalo Mountains*, and gradually diminish towards the coast, terminating near the mouth of the *Kei River*.

THE NORTHERN OR ORANGE RIVER SOVEREIGNTY comprises an area of about 60,000 square miles, lying between the two great branches of the *Orange* or *Gariep River*, and the *Quathlamba Mountains*, which separate it from *Kafirland* and *Natal*. It consists of a large plateau, gently sloping from the mountain range towards the river valleys, and, except near the *Malutis*, or *Blue Mountains*, may be described as one vast grassy plain, destitute of trees, and abounding in immense herds of game. Its future value will probably be based on its peculiar adaptation for sheep farming. The country on the eastern border is rugged in the extreme, and there is hardly a practicable pass across the mountains from *De Beer's Pass*, leading into the *Natal* country, to the *Wittebergen*, a distance of more than 200 miles. These mountains, which form the line dividing the great *Bechuana* and *Kafir* families, in some places attain a height of 9,000 or 10,000 feet. The *Malutis* (peaks) form a parallel chain to the *Quathlamba*. They enclose the rocky and unexplored upper valleys of the *Orange River*, and present scenery of the most grand and picturesque character. Their native name is derived from the form of many of their summits, contrasting with the tabular tops common to South African mountains. The country is tolerably well watered, and supplied with permanent springs. The principal streams, besides the two branches of the *Gariep*, are the *Caledon* (rising in the *Maluti* chain, and, after a course of about 180 miles, joining the *Orange*, a few miles east of *Colesberg*), the *Modder*, *Riet*, *Vet*, *Zand*, *Valsch*, and *Eland Rivers*. The great plains are covered with numerous basaltic hills, generally 300 or 400 feet in height. The forms of many of these are very striking, and will be found well exemplified in the graphic sketches of this part

of South Africa, made by Mr. Bain. There are no chains of any importance except that already mentioned. The average height of the sovereignty above the sea-level may be estimated at 5,000 feet. Timber is very scarce, being found only beside the watercourses. Immense herds of both the larger and smaller species of antelope range the plains; and the lion, as a matter of course, is seldom absent. The elephant and rhinoceros are no longer to be met with south of the *Vaal River*; hippopotami are numerous in the *Vaal*. In the mountains there are leopards, hyenas, the scarce roan antelope, and hartebeest. Ostriches are very common, but will, it is to be feared, be soon extirpated. The curious manis or scaly ant-eater is often met with. The smaller game, such as partridges, pheasants, guinea-fowl, &c., are in great profusion near the rivers. The districts formed by Sir Harry Smith have been already stated (see p. 107), and likewise the positive compulsion used to obtain from the *Griquas*, for a very inadequate price, lands of which portions sold at small quit-rents, have already realized large sums. Thus the bishop of *Cape Town*, writing in 1851, mentions that at *Bloem Fontein*, "the capital and only [British] village in the sovereignty, where the population is nearly exclusively English, £1,400 have already been paid to government for erven" [building allotments.]

Bloem Fontein, the seat of government, is a very regular and well-built little town, containing about 200 houses, and places of worship for the Church of England, Wesleyan, and Roman Catholic communities. It has a military post called the *Queen's Fort*, mounting six guns, guarded by two companies of infantry, and a troop of cavalry. It is situated near the upper part of the *Modder* (or mud) *River*, and has some decided disadvantages, being absolutely devoid of wood, and very scantily supplied with water. But it is centrally situated in the heart of the region of which it is the capital, is midway between *Graham's Town* and *Port Natal*, being about 400 miles distant from each point, and is assuming a good deal of importance as a sort of entrepôt for the trade carried on between the colony, the emigrant boers, and the natives of the interior. The great road from the *Cape* to *Natal* traverses the sovereignty by a very circuitous route, owing to the difficulties of the country, and enters *Natal* by the *De Beer Pass*, not far from the newly commenced town of *Harrismith*, situated on the *Eland River*, near the eastern edge of the *Drachenberg*, which there presents the usual steep face towards the coast. *Winburg*, on the *Laay Spruit* (water-course), and *Smithfield*, on the *Caledon River*, are each the residence of a magistrate, but otherwise of no importance. The European population, amounting probably to 10,000 or 12,000, was at first composed almost exclusively of Dutch farmers, but latterly a large infusion of English settlers has taken place. The farms generally average 6,000 acres, and at present command very high prices. But little corn is grown, sheep and cattle farming being the principal occupation of the settlers.

The climate, although warm in summer, is healthy. Owing to the elevation of the country, the cold in winter is intense, the want of sheltering groves of timber, and even of bush for fuel being severely felt; yet the vine thrives well, as also the peach, and other European fruits. Snow lies on the peaks of the *Malutis* for some months in the year. Heavy thunder storms are common. Droughts are frequent

and severe, and hot winds, blowing from the Kalihan desert, occasionally exercise a destroying influence on vegetation.

No mineral deposits have been discovered in the sovereignty, although copper is believed to exist in large quantities in the mountain ranges, and several traces of coal are said to have been observed. Agates, amethysts, blood-stones, steatite, &c., abound in the beds of the Caledon and Orange River. The aborigines occupy the hills and the country along the Orange River; the remainder is in the possession of the white man. On the west side, the sovereignty embraces a large tract of country, partly taken from the natives under various arrangements, and partly found as unoccupied territory, having been bereft of its inhabitants either by internal wars, or by the aggression of the boors.

The tribes governed by their own chiefs are distributed as follows:—the Griquas under Adam Kok, occupy country along the northern bank of the Orange River; the Bassutos under Moshesh, and the Mantatees under Sinkonyella, dwell on the slopes of the Maluti Mountains; the Barolongs under Moroko, the Batlapi under Lepui, the Corannas under Gert Taaybosch, the Bastaards under Piet Davids, and the Bataung under Molitsani, inhabit territory west of the Caledon River. Besides these, numerous hordes of wandering Bushmen, Corannas, and poor Bechuanas, are scattered over the sovereignty; the whole population, white and coloured, possibly amounting to about 120,000 souls.

The most important tribe is that of the Basutos, whose chief, the remarkable Moshesh, can, it is said, bring 10,000 men into the field. His residence is a very singular spot, being on the summit of an isolated eminence named *Thaba Bossiou*, or the "mountain of night," accessible only by five ravines, which are capable of being easily defended against a native force. The plateau at the top of the mountain is nearly a league in circumference. On it there are three separate villages. Moshesh has two tolerably well-built and handsomely furnished stone houses. The mission premises, situated in a gorge near the base of the mountain, lend a peculiar charm to the landscape. The neighbouring French Calvinistic mission-station of *Morija*, is under the superintendence of M. Arbousset. Its neat and appropriately constructed buildings, surrounded with numerous native huts of the beehive shape, are interspersed here and there with more or less successful attempts at square houses, which, but for the scarcity of wood, and the consequent difficulty of procuring suitable roofs, would be more numerous.

M. Daumas, the companion of M. Arbousset in the memorable tour which resulted in the discovery of the source of the Orange and other rivers, is established at *Makquathin*, the native village of the chief Molitsani, and here also some Christian converts have built themselves houses after the European fashion, with nice gardens walled in and abounding in fruit trees—walnut, plum, lemon, and orange—introduced by the missionaries.

Thaba-Unchu, the chief place of the Barolongs, is a really well-constructed native town, containing about 2,000 round dwellings, built of clay and thatched, each environed by a low stone wall, forming a kind of court.* The inhabitants are said to be very rich in cattle and horses, some individuals possessing as much as 1,000 head of cattle and 100 horses. The Wesleyans have a station here.

* Bishop of Cape Town's *Journal*, 1850; p. 24.

Phillipolis, the capital of Adam Kok's territory, is a tolerable sized village, with a single row of neat cottages, a number of huts, and a stone chapel and school established by the London Missionary Society, whose Christian efforts on behalf of this people have been already referred to. The want of timber for building, which has to be brought a distance of 200 miles, has been a serious drawback to the improvement of the town. The people possess a large number of oxen and waggons. The territory of the other portion of the Griquas, under the Christian chief Waterboer, lies beyond the sovereignty to the westward; the country is fertile, but subject to long-continued and severe droughts. *Griqua Town* has about 400 inhabitants, and is situated at the edge of an extensive limestone plain, and at the foot of a range of low hills of silicious schistus, containing yellow asbestos. For the last few years, the town, its gardens, and adjacent grounds, have been desolated by drought, the fountain which formerly supplied it having been dried up.

Within the sovereignty, between the country occupied by the Barolongs on the west, and the Bassutos on the east, is a tract occupied by a tribe of Bastaards who still retain that name. They formerly inhabited a dry and open spot of ground in about 28° S. lat., 26° E. long., and there the Wesleyan missionaries laboured among them for twelve years. The name, *Plaatberg* (flat mountain), was descriptive of the locality; but when towards the end of 1833, the people migrated to a more fertile district, they applied to their new location the appellation of the old one, which chanced to be singularly inappropriate, as the chapel and parsonage of *New Plaatberg* stand on the brow of a narrow ridge of hills, in front of which the little village stretches in one long street, bordered by numerous kitchen-gardens watered by a pretty mountain stream, and walled in by an immense bank of rocks, whose towering and deeply indented crest commands the whole plain. Besides those above referred to, the London, Wesleyan, Paris, and Berlin missions, have stations among the Corannas, Bushmen, &c.

[For a more detailed description of the people and districts comprised in the sovereignty, see the *Exploratory Tour* of Arbousset and Daumas, the Bishop of Cape Town's *Journal*, and the works of Freeman, Backhouse, Harris (*Wild Sports*), and other travellers.]

INTERNAL COMMUNICATION.—Since 1843, most successful efforts have been made to remove the great barrier to the rapid progress of the colony, opposed by the difficulties of transit, either for individuals or merchandise, from one town to another. The extremely rugged nature of the country seemed to set road-making at defiance; but it has, in the end, only served to heighten the triumph of skill and perseverance. The employment of convicts on the roads, in compliance with the suggestion of the able colonial-secretary, Mr. Montague, was a most judicious measure; the only wonder is, that it had not been before adopted.

A great central road now connects Cape Town with Swellendam and Fort Beaufort,

George and Mossel Bay, Uitenhage and Algoa Bay, Graham's Town and Port Frances, and the eastern frontier generally. There are several excellent bridges on this line, including three of considerable span over the *Eerste, Louren, and Bot Rivers*, in Stellenbosch Division. A hard road twenty-four miles long, has been constructed across the sandy desert known as the *Cape Flats*,* *Montague Pass*, which crosses the Cradock Mountain, in George Division, is formed through a kloof 8,393 yards long. The former precipitous track lay 850 feet higher than the new route. The plan of this gigantic work would do honour to the genius of Telfair or Stephenson; its cost to the colony has been £36,000; the single item of gunpowder amounting to £1,753, as the solid rock had to be blasted for a distance of five-and-a-half miles. Several other important undertakings of a similar nature have been recently carried out, and new ones commenced. The *Mitchell Pass* (thus named in compliment to the late scientific surveyor-general of the colony), through the Mosterts Hoek, in Worcester Division, is now traversed by loaded waggons, when formerly, produce could only be conveyed in small quantities on horses. A fertile tract of 100,000 acres, termed the Warm Bokkeveld, which was effectually closed, has lately had its resources opened up. The distance from Cape Town to Worcester is reduced thirty-six miles by *Bain's Kloof*, which is ten miles in length; and on the line from the Karroo Poort to Cape Town, by Hottentots' Kloof, a saving of seventy-eight miles will be effected on a total of 171 miles. The produce of Somerset and Cradock, and the districts towards the Orange River, finds access to Port Elizabeth by a road over the Zuurberg Mountains, twenty-three miles long (steepest line gradient 1 in 17), constructed at a cost of about £20,000. Lines cut in the face of stupendous mountains, tunnels (one 336 feet long,) bored in decomposed clay slate, and cuttings, some,

* In 1848 a serious discouragement met the active "Board of Commissioners," arising from an extensive drift of sand suddenly covering about three-quarters of a mile of the main road, between Cape Town and Simon's Town, to the average depth of three feet. To remedy this evil, which it seemed probable would increase rapidly, most effective means were forthwith taken, by placing two screens, one 1,056, the other 784 feet in length, and both 12 feet in height, nearly parallel, but about 484 yards asunder, to the eastward of the road, to prevent any further accumulation upon it; the sand was then cleared away, and as soon as the wet season set in, the whole of the unreclaimed space,

fifty feet deep, with ponderous breast walls and stone culverts, attest the magnitude of works by means of which a coach-and-four may be driven where recently a goat could scarcely scramble.

CLIMATE.—The seasons are very nearly opposite to those of England; December, January, and February, being summer, and June, July, and August, winter. The temperature varies with the latitude and elevation above the sea. Generally speaking, the fine and dry summer of the western province is more agreeable than that of the eastern, which is apt to be wet and stormy, but favoured with a clear and bracing atmosphere in winter; whereas that of the western is then often inclement and disagreeable. On the whole, the climate is a temperate one,—the north-west winds, which prevail in winter, losing much of their sharpness in traversing the scorched plains of the interior; and the boisterous "southeasters" cooling the hot summer air with fresh breezes from the wide expanse of the fathomless Antarctic Ocean. The highest temperature may be taken at 80°, the lowest at 50°; and the mean of the year at 67°, Fahrenheit. At Albany the mean, during the three summer months, is 72°; that of the three winter months, 60°; the maximum mean of June, 75°, and the minimum mean of February, 57°. In the mountain districts, and on the elevated plateaux of the interior, the heat of summer and the cold of winter are, of course, proportionately greater. Sudden changes of temperature are common to the whole colony, but appear to exercise little or no injurious effect on the health of the community. Hot winds occasionally blow over the interior, but rarely affect the coast districts.

Earthquakes, though not (comparatively speaking) of a dangerous character, occur occasionally; and thunder-storms are frequent and violent in the interior, towards the tropics.† The inland districts are all more or less subject to droughts; but a good comprising about 2,000 acres, planted with the Hottentot fig, so that the once arid desert, the cutting drift from which, even in traversing the road was painful, is now converted into a garden very pleasant to look upon. And here it would be wrong to pass over in silence, the consistency and earnestness with which Mr. Fairbairn, in the pages of the *Commercial Advertiser*, had, month after month and year after year, urged the importance of improving the highways of the colony, and especially of forming a hard road over the Cape Flats.

† In July, 1822, the colony was visited by a terrific and most devastating storm of wind and rain. At

deal has already been done to remedy this grievance. The following meteorological table for the Cape district, shows the climate of that locality:—

Date.	Barom. correct-ed.	Thermometer.		Depth of Rain.	Rainy Days.
		Highest temp.	Lowest temp.		
1850.	Inches.			Inches.	
October . . .	29.984	76.7	47.1	3.435	8
November . . .	30.010	72.0	40.0	1.863	7
December . . .	29.965	75.0	54.5	.414	2
1851.					
January . . .	29.918	84.0	54.0	.259	4
February . . .	29.947	84.5	53.0	.036	1
March . . .	29.998	89.8	48.0	.153	2
April . . .	30.005	78.7	42.0	1.054	6
May . . .	30.033	71.1	40.5	2.920	12
June . . .	30.090	68.3	41.5	6.825	10
July . . .	30.148	68.0	40.9	3.851	11
August . . .	30.194	79.7	42.3	.594	5
September . . .	30.066	79.0	35.2	1.401	5
Ann. mean	30.030	Sum for the year . . . }		22.805	73

The salubrity of the Cape cannot be better illustrated than by the following comparative statement, showing the health of the troops in various parts of the empire; the annual ratio of mortality per 1,000 among them from every description of disease; the proportion attacked by pectoral complaints; and the average number of deaths resulting from these latter insidious maladies.

Place.	Annual ratio of Mortality.	Number of men attacked.	Average number of deaths.
Cape of Good Hope . . .	15	98	3.0
Australia	11	133	5.8
New Zealand	8½	60	2.7
Mauritius	30	84	5.6
Malta	18	120	6.0
Ionian Islands	28	90	4.8
Gibraltar	22	141	5.3
Canada	20	148	6.7
Bermuda	30	26	8.7
United Kingdom	14	148	8.0

Note.—The mortality among officers serving at the Cape is 1½ per cent., and in the East Indies 4½ per cent.

Tulbagh every building, public or private, was either totally destroyed or rendered uninhabitable, the bridge blown up, and the roads around made quite impassable. At Stellenbosch, 94 buildings were injured; at the Paarl, 69; at Wagonmaker's Valley (now Wellington), 40; at Hottentots' Holland, the new church and parsonage were quite destroyed; at Caledon, the public and private buildings, mill, and bath-house, were materially damaged; at Groene Kloof, the beautiful church and the gardens were ruined; at Simon's Town, the barracks gave way; and at Cape Town, there were upwards of 100 cases of damage; and eight vessels out of sixteen were wrecked

DISEASE.—It cannot be said that there are any disorders peculiar to the colony. Fever is of rare occurrence, but dysentery sometimes affects new comers, and severe rheumatic complaints are very prevalent. The Hottentots often die of consumption, and present occasional cases of leprosy; but the Kafirs are a peculiarly healthy race, and the colonists, both Dutch and English, are, generally speaking, singularly exempt from constitutional maladies.

GEOLOGY.—The peninsula of Southern Africa has evidently been formed by vast subterranean upheavings, and by the subsidence of the surrounding waters. A broken coast fringe of the oldest rocks (crystalline gneiss or clay-slate, here and there penetrated by granite, and surmounted by sandstone) surrounds the western and eastern shores. These primeval strata dip inland, and are overlaid by the most ancient fossiliferous formations. A vast central basin, now occupied by the Great Karroo, lies within the coast ridge, and at some distant period must have formed a marshy or lacustrine country. In it are found fossils, and saurian remains, together with the relics of some peculiar and gigantic quadrupeds.

During the last few years much has been done to develop the position, extent, and constituents of the fossiliferous rocks of South Africa, from the lowest up to the Triassic period, by the labours of Mr. Bain. Other geologists have likewise described small cretaceous deposits in the eastern districts of the colony, so that these regions now take rank among the most interesting geological provinces of the world. Between Graaf-Reynet and the Tropic, trap and the granitic series constitute a large portion of the structure; there are extensive limestone formations, with a distinct stratification, and abounding in caverns.

MINERALS.—The available deposits of coal said to have been discovered in Victoria Division and Kafirland, have been

at the anchorage. The deluge of water washed away the vineyards from the hill-sides, and the corn lands were seriously injured.—(Parl. Papers, May, 1827; pp. 17, 18.) The governor, Lord Charles Somerset, proposed to Earl Bathurst the negotiation of a loan of £100,000 in England, at five per cent. interest, on the security of the land revenue, such loan to be appropriated for the repair of the damage done; H.M. government promptly acquiesced, and Lord C. Somerset was authorized to draw, upon H.M. treasury, for £125,000; £100,000 to be applied for the relief of the settlers, and £25,000 for the restoration of churches, barracks, and other public buildings.

already mentioned in the geographical account of these regions, as also the traces of the same valuable mineral met with near the junction of the Caledon and Nu Gariep River, apparently extending to Natal; ores of copper are found at the mouth and at the sources of the Gariep, and elsewhere, in or near the colony; lead has been worked near Algoa Bay, and manganese occurs in conjunction with the granite of the west. The Dutch had a strong impression that silver was obtainable, and I am, from various geological indications, inclined to entertain the same opinion.

ZOOLOGY.—Africa has long been famed for the unparalleled magnitude and variety of its animal kingdom. The elephant, rhinoceros, hippopotamus, lion, leopard, panther, buffalo, zebra, nilgha, gnu, wolf, hyena, jackall, baboon, and monkey; almost every species of deer and antelope, from the cameleopard or giraffe, of seventeen feet high, to the elegant blauwe bok of thirteen inches high, are, or at least were, found in the colony, until the advance of cultivation banished some, and exterminated others. The domestic animals, such as cattle, sheep, and dogs, were all possessed by the aborigines at the time of the discovery of the Cape. The tiger,* bear, horse, and a few species, such as the kangaroo, and others peculiar to certain regions, form the exceptions to the extensive catalogue of indigenous mammalia found in South Africa. I have unfortunately no space to devote to this interesting subject, and can but point to the elaborate volumes of Dr. Andrew Smith,† where those who love to study the varieties of form and colour, of "habitat" and character, in birds, beasts, and fishes, may find an almost inexhaustible fund of delight, as well as of scientific information. Le Vaillant, Harris, the redoubtable Cumming, and other sportsmen, on a gigantic scale; beside numerous intelligent naturalists and travellers, among whom may be named Barrow, Lichtenstein, Burchell, Sparrman, Paterson, Steedman, Thompson, Moodie, and the intelligent and truthful Backhouse, have recorded much interesting detail respecting South African zoology. The introduced animals, such as the European ox, horse, mule, sheep, goats, and swine, thrive well, and multiply very quickly.

* The animal to which the name of "tiger" was applied by the Dutch, is the true leopard, *Felis leopardus*; what they termed the leopard was the cheta, or hunting leopard, *Felis jubata*.

The old Cape or Barbary sheep, with hairy fleece and large fat tails, are now being rapidly supplanted by the fine woolled Merino breed. To the former description the Dutch farmers long remained attached, the much prized tails being regarded as an indispensable article in cookery. Several attempts were vainly made by the Dutch East India Company to introduce a better description; one of these efforts, though but partially successful as far as the Cape was concerned, proved an immense boon to Australia, for the Merino flock sent out as a present to colonel Gordon, the commander of the forces, was at his death in 1793, sold to some settlers touching at the Cape on their way to New South Wales, and thus fell into the hands of the enterprising John M'Arthur.—(See volume on Australia, p. 533.) The British settlers of 1820 brought with them some superior flocks, but many of these perished either from unsuitable pasturage or careless tending; and it was not until some years later that the rearing of fine woolled sheep became an important item in the industrial resources of the colony. Horses are reared in great numbers, and great pains have been taken in improving the breed, especially by the late Lord Charles Somerset. They are now of a very useful description, being capable of undergoing almost incredible fatigue; a journey of 120 miles in two consecutive days, being a common occurrence.‡ Oxen are still used by the Kafirs for riding as well as draught. The beef is good, and forms excellent sea-stock.

Among BIRDS, there are varieties of the ostrich, eagle, vulture, kite, pelican, flamingo, crane, ibis, owl, geese, duck, teal, snipe, bustard, partridge, turtle-dove, loxia, kingfisher, woodpecker, and several species peculiar to this portion of Africa. Proximity to the Cape, in the South Atlantic, is recognised by the abundance of albatrosses, blue petrels, and the beautiful fantailed Cape pigeon. The absence of permanent lakes render swimming birds and waders rare inland; but some of this class are singularly beautiful. Food for soft-billed birds is scarce during the prolonged dry season, and the smaller species are not generally numerous, though they collect in considerable flights in cultivated districts,

† *Illustrations of the Zoology of South Africa*, published by Smith, Elder, and Co., London, 1839.

‡ *Cape of Good Hope*, by J. C. Chase, edited by J. S. Christophers; p. 157.

where fruit is abundant. Those kinds are more common which feed on hard-shelled insects. On the whole, the African birds are remarkable rather for their handsome form and matchless brilliancy of plumage, than for sweet voices, none bearing a comparison in this respect with our homely English songsters—the nightingale, lark, or linnet. All kinds of poultry are good and plentiful at the Cape.

REPTILES, including numerous descriptions of alligators, snakes of all sizes, venomous and harmless, from the boa-constrictor, the cobra capella, and the puff-adder, downwards, exist in South Africa, as also chameleons and lizards; toads and frogs abound.

INSECTAL life is equally varied and prolific with the larger forms. Ants are very numerous; some nests have a circumference at the base of twelve feet, and are six in height. Locusts occasionally migrate in almost incredible numbers, devastating whole tracts of country by literally devouring every blade of grass. They then deposit their eggs and die, leaving their dry shelly carcasses to decay, and in decaying, contribute an element of fertility to the desert they have created. Their young come forth, and either swarm off or die. This plague has latterly diminished in frequency and severity. It is a strange sort of retaliation for the mischief done by the devouring red locust, that not only the natives, but also all carnivorous animals, use it for food, as do also domestic fowls, pigs, and even horses.

FISH.—The shores of South Africa teem with life, and the great *Agulhas Bank*, which skirts, or, more properly speaking, is a submarine continuation of the south-eastern shore from Cape Town to beyond the Great Fish River, is a mine of wealth, scarcely, if at all inferior, to that of Newfoundland.

The western shores of the colony likewise abound with fish, from the larger inhabitants of the deep—whales, porpoises, and seals—to the innumerable variety of smaller species. The Cape forms the point of separation between two distinct marine zoological provinces, which are again subdivided, several sorts being peculiar to certain bays or inlets.

Of the numerous kinds available, uncured for home consumption, or salted for exportation, few are identical with those of Europe, although so far resembling them as to be called by the same names: thus there are the perch (or Roman-fish), herring,

macarel, sardinia, skate, sole, stockfish, crab, crayfish, prawn, and shrimp; besides many others with purely colonial names, such as the dageraad, galleon, geelbek, stompneus, steenbrass, snoek, and silver fish. The eggs of penguins and other seabirds are brought in from the islands on this coast in great numbers. Turtle is occasionally found in the bays, and the water-tortoise, which abounds in the rivers, is edible. There are numerous varieties of shell-fish, including delicious rock-oysters, mussels, cockles, and perriwinkles.

VEGETATION.—The varied and beautiful productions of the Cape Colony have been a source of delightful investigation to botanists since the day when Linnæus, in thanking a friend for a large number of specimens sent from thence, remarked, "You have conferred on me the greatest pleasure; but you have thrown my whole system into disorder." And to the present hour, new varieties are perpetually arising to charm and puzzle the botanist, while flowering plants of the loveliest description are still frequently added to the long list of pelargoniums, ericas, &c., which adorn the parterres and conservatories of Europe. Indigenous timber is scarce, though found in certain localities in luxuriant abundance. About fifty kinds are available for agricultural and domestic purposes. The native trees have, however, been almost wholly neglected, either because they have been found difficult to rear, or on account of the slow growth of the more useful kinds. The oak, stone-pine, and azederach—all three foreign—are planted throughout the colony, and the Australian gum-trees and casuarinas are spreading everywhere. An immense variety of the fruits and vegetables of different countries, from the strawberry and cherry to the melon and jambos or love-apple, have been acclimated in various parts of the Cape of Good Hope.

There would appear to be several distinct botanical districts in the colony. In the western province, *ericas*, *proteas*, *pelargoniums*, *diomeas*, *polygalas*, *cheronias*, *rogenas*, *stapelias*, *mesembryanthemum*, *cacti*, *indigoferæ*, and *acaciæ*, are found in great luxuriance. In the eastern districts of the colony, the *euphorbia*, *coralodendron*, *laurus*, *podocarpus*, *aloe*, *zamia*, *jessamine*, *brionia*, *erythrina*, and *strelitzia*, prevail. The cerealia all thrive; and large crops of maize and millet are produced, even by the imperfect agriculture of the natives.

CHAPTER III.

POPULATION—GOVERNMENT, MILITARY DEFENCE, LAWS—REVENUE, TARIFF, EXPENDITURE, MONIES, WEIGHTS, MEASURES, BANKS—COMMERCE, IMPORTS, EXPORTS, SHIPPING—LIVE STOCK, CULTIVATION, PRODUCE, LAND APPROPRIATED AND COMPARATIVE VALUE IN EACH DIVISION—WAGES OF LABOUR—RELIGION, MISSIONS, EDUCATION, PRESS, CRIME—GENERAL VIEW AND PROSPECTS OF THE COLONY.

WHEN the Cape was first visited by Europeans, the neighbouring country was apparently thickly peopled by the various tribes of a race whose generic name was Quæquæ, but to whom the Dutch applied that of Hottentots. The gradual subjugation of this people has been set forth in preceding pages. Of their numbers at any period there is no trustworthy record; it is only certain that they rapidly diminished after the establishment of European intercourse, and are still on the decrease. Intermarriage with the Malay, negro, and other slaves introduced by the Dutch, has contributed greatly to thin the ranks of pure

Hottentots; while, as we have seen, a more disgraceful intercourse has mingled their blood with that of the European, degrading both, and producing a race of mulattoes, who, under providence, were by the devoted exertions of the missionaries Anderson, Melville, and others who have followed in their steps, alone prevented from becoming the pests, as they were already the outcasts of society.

The following is a return of the white and coloured inhabitants, in the several districts of the eastern and western divisions, and also of British Kaffraria, taken from the census of May, 1849:—

Divisions.	Estimated area in square miles.	Whites.		Coloured.		Total.		Total, Male and Female.	Total.	
		Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.		Births.	Deaths.
Cape Town ¹ . . .	9½	—	—	—	—	11,517	12,232	23,749	—	—
Cape Division . . .	5,864	1,803	1,795	2,885	2,315	4,688	4,110	8,798	445	164
Malmesbury . . .		2,175	1,770	2,508	2,067	4,683	3,837	8,520	446	233
Stellenbosch . . .		1,000	950	1,600	1,400	2,600	2,350	4,950	350	100
Paarl . . .		1,871	1,787	2,813	2,504	4,684	4,291	8,975	398	198
Worcester . . .	20,000	2,299	2,278	2,471	2,303	4,770	4,581	9,351	372	133
Clanwilliam . . .	22,111	1,510	1,468	3,193	3,228	4,703	4,696	9,399	498	192
Swellendam . . .	7,616	3,540	3,302	2,649	2,631	6,189	5,933	12,122	605	158
Caledon . . .		1,526	1,267	1,929	1,826	3,455	3,103	6,558	202	168
George . . .	4,632	4,048	3,916	3,819	3,550	7,867	7,466	15,333	692	166
Beaufort . . .	13,060	1,952	1,761	1,696	1,722	3,648	3,483	7,131	337	139
Total Western Province	72,682½	21,724	20,294	25,563	23,546	58,804	56,082	114,886	4,345	1,651
Uitenhage . . .	8,960	1,962	1,703	1,955	1,857	3,917	3,560	7,477	403	172
Port Elizabeth . . .		1,596	1,293	694	663	2,290	1,956	4,246	232	101
Albany . . .	1,792	2,467	2,347	1,602	1,621	4,069	3,968	8,037	584	54
Fort Beaufort . . .		992	935	1,646	1,397	2,638	2,332	4,970	350	102
Somerset . . .	4,000	1,720	1,621	1,532	1,218	3,252	2,839	6,091	404	109
Cradock . . .	3,168	1,787	1,757	1,534	1,419	3,321	3,170	6,491	236	142
Graaf Reynet . . .	8,000	2,397	2,401	1,906	1,890	4,303	4,291	8,594	430	189
Colesberg . . .	11,654	1,916	1,848	1,528	1,473	3,444	3,321	6,765	532	120
Albert . . .	8,000	2,348	2,170	2,029	1,700	4,377	3,870	8,247	261	68
Victoria . . .	—	431	281	19,306	22,009	19,737	22,380	42,117	2,158	548
British Kaffraria . . .	—	500	—	30,957	35,901	31,457	35,901	67,358	—	—
Total Eastern Province	45,574	18,116	16,356	64,689	71,148	82,805	87,588	170,393	5,590	1,605
GRAND TOTAL ² Estimated at	118,256½	39,840	36,650	90,252	94,694	141,609	143,670	285,279	9,935	3,256

Notes.—¹ In the return furnished by the municipality no distinction has been made between the white and coloured population of Cape Town.—² Excluding Victoria and British Kaffraria, of which the area is not stated, there are 175,804 mouths on 118,256 square miles, or about 420 acres to each individual. The majority of the above returns must be regarded as merely approximative. Very little reliance can be placed upon the statements of births and deaths.

The community by which the aborigines were supplanted, increased at first but slowly (see pp. 13, 18), and in 1773 comprised less than 24,000 souls. Its gradual augmentation (exclusive of troops and the native

heathen inhabitants), from the date of British permanent occupation, may be traced in the following table, which likewise illustrates the numbers of the slaves, from the same period up to that of their emancipation :—

Years.	Christians.		Free Blacks.		Negro Apprentices.		Slaves.		Total.
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	
1807	13,624	11,990	529	605	—	—	18,990	10,313	56,051
1810	16,546	14,648	—	—	—	—	18,873	10,521	60,588
1813	17,714	14,154	—	—	—	—	19,238	11,081	62,187
1817	20,750	18,884	918	958	411	132	19,481	12,565	74,099
1820	22,592	20,505	905	1,027	1,061	492	19,081	12,968	78,631
1823	25,487	23,212	891	1,098	1,118	652	19,786	13,412	85,656
1833	50,881	45,210	—	—	19,409	—	19,378	14,244	129,713
1836	57,518	56,436	—	—	—	16,687	—	—	150,110
1849	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

Note.—Total population, including Hottentots, Negroes, Kafirs, and Fingoes, 285,279. Under the denomination of Christians there are free coloured people as well as whites.—In the year 1833 there were alleged to be about 15,336 male, and 15,313 female Hottentots, within the colonial boundary.

The motley population of the Cape includes English, Irish, Scotch, Germans, Danes, French, and other Europeans; Hottentots, Kafirs, Fingoes, natives of Mozambique and different parts of Africa, Malays, Chinese, &c., together with the offspring of intermarriages among the various colonists, and between the coloured races.

The British and their descendants possess the usual characteristics of their nation, leavened by a "colonialism" which it is easier to perceive than to describe. The Dutch and Germans are of a large and powerful build, often indolent and impassive, unless roused by strong excitement, and then energetic and determined. Their respect for the ordinances of religion is invariable, as is their hospitality. When educated they evince considerable, and in some instances, even extraordinary talent; but the less informed class are extremely prejudiced, and easily misled. They seem better adapted for pastoral than agricultural pursuits, and now that they have at length been induced to direct their attention to the rearing of fine-woolled sheep, will probably become very wealthy.

The French, who came hither on the revocation of the edict of Nantes, settled down on the *Breede* (broad) *River*, in what is now the Worcester Division, near a spot still known as the *French Hoek*, or *Corner*, and engaged in the cultivation of the vine. But their numbers being very small, they soon, in consequence of deaths and intercolonial marriages, ceased to form a distinct section.

The Hottentots are like the Chinese in

their habits, as well as in their complexion and cast of features; they delight in cultivating small plots of ground, and in tending cattle and sheep. When treated justly and kindly, and encouraged by judicious measures, they have proved active, brave, and worthy of the fullest confidence. Their number is not given in any authentic document, but the whole coloured population, exclusive of Kafirs and Fingoes, but inclusive of Negroes, Malays, Chinese, &c., is loosely estimated at between 80,000 and 90,000.

The Fingoes resemble the Kafirs in appearance, and in the love of cattle, but are decidedly inferior in manliness of deportment and of character. Since their naturalization as British subjects, they have learned the value of money and other property, and diligently labour for its acquisition and increase. Their number is supposed to be about 25,000.

The portion of the Kafirs over whom the British, at the conclusion of the war of 1846, claimed sovereignty, by right of conquest, occupied (before the present outbreak, 1852), the country between the Keiskamma and the Kei Rivers, and comprised the Gaika tribes under the young chief Sandilli, and his uncles Macomo, Botman, &c.; the T'Slambies or Zlambies, under Umhala, Toise, Siwani, and Jan Tzatzoe; and the Amagonubies under Pato and Cobus Congo. These belong to the great Amakosæ family, of which Kreili is the senior chief. There are, beside, the Tambookies under Mapassa, Umgeka, &c., who inhabit country along the Kei River.

The population located in the Zlambie

and Gaika districts of British Kaffraria, in December, 1848, was estimated by Lieutenant-colonel Mackinnon as follows:—"In the Gaika district, under Sandilli, 14,915; Tebe (?), 4,867; Macomo, 2,066; Botman, 1,455; Tola, 1,487; Sonto, 672; Tzatzoe, 1,717;—total, 27,179. In the Zlambie district, under Umhala, 10,018; Pato and Cobus, 8,527; Toise, 7,481; Siwani, 2,773; Stock, 3,342; Scyolo, 2,161; Tabai (?), 877;—total, 35,179. Grand total, 62,358." Mr. Brownlee, the assistant Gaika commissioner, calculated that about 20,000 to 25,000 of the Gaikas were then absent in consequence of the scarcity of food, large tracts having been overrun by the troops during the war of 1847, at the period of the sowing season.*

Eastward of the Kei River, the country is inhabited by the *Amagaleke*, a large branch of the Amakosæ, under Krcili, Bookoo, &c., who dwell between the Kei and the Umtata Rivers. The *Amatembu*, under Fadana, Tooi, and other petty chiefs, live in the neighbourhood of the sources of the Bashce and Umtata Rivers. The *Amaponda*, under Faku, occupy the country between the Umtata and Umsimeulu and the Amambaxa; various minor clans under petty chiefs reside in the territory beyond that of the *Amaponda*, on the Natal frontier.

Dr. Andrew Smith, in 1830, estimated the people of the following chiefs thus:—Gaika, 45,000; Zlambie, 35,000; Eno, Congo, and Botman, together about 20,000; Hintza, 40,000; Tambookies, 40,000; Umyeki, 15,000; Quanda, Depa, and minor tribes, 15,000; Fuku, 45,000; Kapai, 15,000; various scattered tribes, 10,000—making altogether, 280,000. Bassutos, 15,000; Mantatees, 10,000; Thaba Unchu tribe, 10,000; and the Lepui tribe 10,000. The proportion of fighting men, who could be spared from guarding the cattle, he calculated at one in six.†

At the close of the war of 1836, the total number of the aforesaid tribes was stated by Mr. Godlonton, the editor of the *Graham's Town Journal*, at 395,000.

The late Rev. J. J. Freeman thus estimates the amount of the tribes between the colony and Natal, exclusive of a "very numerous population," by which the country 300 miles east of Lake Ngami is occupied:—Amakosæ and Tambookies, 250,000; Amapondas and other tribes to Natal, 150,000; Zoolus and others in Natal, * Parl. Papers, 1849; p. 37-8. † *Idem*, 1851; p. 275.

100,000; independent Zoolus, at least, 500,000; Bechuanas, Mantatees, Basutos, and other tribes between Lattakoo and Natal, 300,000; the Matabele and other tribes, from the Zoolus to the lake tribes, 500,000; to these "conjectural calculations," he adds, 200,000 for other tribes east and west, making up, in all, "two million of the Kafir race now well known to us."‡

The Kafir character has been previously noticed (see p. 115). In symmetry and strength of limb, in manly bearing, martial spirit, and stoical endurance of suffering, perhaps no people in the world, savage or civilized, have ever surpassed them. The cast of their features is rather Asiatic than African; the nose is frequently aquiline, and the forehead lofty. The following remarks, contained in a letter recently addressed to me by the Rev. Robert Niven, who, with his family, resided many years in the heart of Kafirland, affords a graphic and concise view of the condition and habits of this people, and also, it seems to me, a triumphant refutation of the alleged impracticability of converting them by just measures into valuable friends, instead of dangerous and harassing foes, one of which they must be for at least some years, since the work of extermination can evidently be but a slow process.

Adverting to the harsh opinions promulgated respecting the Kafirs, that they are so stereotyped in paganism, so devoted to heathen practices, and so strongly bound by their attachment to their ancient feudal system, as to be hopelessly impervious to the influences of christian civilization, Mr. Niven writes:—

"What are the Kafirs then? Infidels! as their name imports. So the Mahommedan Arabs would have it, who gave the race this epithet of reproach for their resolution in declining the faith and practice of the Koran. There is character indicated by this very fact—that they, a race of African shepherds, should have advanced from north to south, with step firm and slow, along apparently two-thirds of the eastern side of the continent; predominate by conquest, and, at times, by paction and purchase, on the Hottentot soil, east of the Gamtoos; and only be arrested in their march to the Cape of Good Hope by a formidable European colony, reminds one of the shepherd kings of Asia, whose history became European. And although their martial bearing has not given law to the British, the fact that a people who never brought more than 6,000 warriors into the field, armed chiefly with spears, should in thirty years stand up in six wars against a civilized government with increasing deadly effect, disconcert able generals, involve the recal of three out of four successive governors, within a period of eighteen years; and in the ‡ *A Tour in South Africa*, London, 1852; pp. 198-9.

present campaign, one leader alone, at the head of 1,000 or 1,500 men, resist successfully an army three times that number,—the fact that the insurgent chief, Sandilli, with scanty precarious resources, and some 4,000 or 5,000 undisciplined barbarians, should be able for eighteen months to perplex double that number of troops, and when he sued for peace, should have still the confidence, ill-judged and impolitic I think, to refuse the promise of life, without soil or cattle, and, with his followers, prefer 'to die on their fathers' graves,' surely indicates a race of no common stamp. A firm believer in the unlawfulness of war by avowed Christians, cannot, in justice, withhold approbation from Kafir belligerents at least, when they retain sufficient international virtue to respect the truces dictated by our commanders, and display an assumed characteristic of civilization—humanity in war—for which they are not indebted to their superiors in knowledge and arms. They were not the first to mutilate the remains of the fallen warrior, and reduce to ashes the deserted homestead. They have not followed our example, of thirty years' standing, in destroying harvested grain and growing crops; and while we have negligently shot women and children, they have systematically, and in every instance save one of accident, saved these unoffending victims of war. At Woburn, on the second day after the outbreak, the Kafir besiegers began by collecting the women and children, whom they ordered away to the Chumie station for protection. In the afternoon of the same day, at Auckland, where they are said to have surprised ten of the military settlers, they stopped the siege on the fortified barrack, whither the inhabitants had repaired, to separate the women and children, whom they took out of the building, through an aperture at the top of the wall, and directed them away down to the same mission station, where their wants were supplied, and whence they were safely escorted to the nearest garrison. A fine opportunity occurred at Waterkloof, in the last assault made on that natural stronghold by Sir Harry Smith, to show how a British commander can requite such generous martial bearing in a rude pagan enemy. Macomo had retired before our advance, and left a body of Tambookies, headed by Qweshia, at the camp, called by the ex-governor, Macomo's Den, where the women and children were collected. An indiscriminate fire was opened on the inmates of this natural rendezvous, and did appalling execution on the helpless sex and their offspring, which shocked the bravest men in our ranks, and stained indelibly our humanities in the eyes of our more scrupulous and chivalrous foe.

"A nearer insight into the native character will not be found inconsistent with these exponents in the field. After the most careful scrutiny, on an extended view of fourteen years' intercourse, the most intimate possible for an European, the Kafir claims to be regarded as a person of frank and affable manners; he is unassuming, yet self-possessed; and retains a respectful unembarrassed demeanour even in the presence of pomp and state. Cool, collected, and cautious in conversation, especially with strangers, he dexterously answers questions which may commit him, by asking others of similar compass. He is penetrating and acute in his observations on others, yet tractable and confiding when his honour is trusted, and is neither vindictive nor malicious in the popular sense. Capable of restraining his feelings until a fitting occasion, he is equally successful in the manly concealment of the keenest bodily suffering; pursues resolutely his object, and only relapses into inaction

when it is achieved. A model of hospitality, but no less decidedly covetous, he yet is grateful for favours, however slow to evince his gratitude by acts of self-denial. Frugal in the use of his slender means, he is equally concerned for the steady increase of his property; and to get and keep cattle, which is the standard wealth of his race, he lets out the baser elements of his character—those moral stains of our tainted humanity, such as dishonesty, cunning, deceit, and falsehood. This latter trait has often reminded the writer of the test a friend once gave him of the men of his own county:—'You will never know a Yorkshireman,' said he, 'until you buy a horse of him;' nor, it may be added, a Kafir before you have dealings with him in cows, which need not be of rare occurrence, as contracts for service are usually paid in cattle. The native credulity in rain-makers, and the magician tribe generally, is quite reconcilable with a quick perception of professional imposture. Tyalie, a firm believer in 'doctors,' witnessed an European conjuror bear to be shot at, with what seemed a loaded gun; 'let me have one shot at him with my long rifle,' said the chief, coolly, 'and he will not stand another.'

"The social character of the Kafir race, is just that of the individual generalized. 'They are not mere wanderers,' to adopt the language applied to a different Ethiopian race, 'over an extended surface, in search of a precarious subsistence; nor tribes of hunters, or of herdsmen [merely], but a people among whom the arts of government have made some progress, who have established, by their own customs, a division and appropriation of the soil; who are not without some measure of agricultural skill, and a certain subordination of ranks and usages, having the character and authority of law.' Their government is feudal. Chiefs claim authority on the principle of the divine right of kings, and hold an absolute property in their vassals. Every kraal, or hamlet, has its head; every glen, or river, its representative; every clan its chief; and the separate clans their paramount lord. Pato, a chief of 10,000 people, said to his Excellency Sir H. Smith, at an aggregate meeting, held in January, 1848, immediately after the assembled chiefs had gone through the ceremony of swearing subjection to our queen, 'wherever the great chief (Sandili, he afterwards explained) churns his milk, there will the little chiefs be to eat the butter.'

"The Kafirs have their local forms of justice and superior courts of appeal, and persons to fulfil the duties of judges, lawyers, and advocates, and several orders of the healing art—who are paid, the one when he brings off his client, the other when he restores his patient. Bad success, either in law or physic, is delicately marked by a trifling acknowledgment. The farm, managed by women chiefly, and the dairy, by men, with the results of the chase, supply the standard means of subsistence. They are a domestic people, fond of their wives and children, and, like all feudalists, despots at home, with many softening deductions, which do honour to their affections. Polygamy is prevalent, and purchase of wives, but neither is compulsory in the legal sense. Rain-makers, in a country subject to periodical droughts, and magicians, assume the place of darkened nature's priesthood, and minister to the antecedent belief in a supernatural power pervading all things, and affecting for weal or woe all their race. It is the notion simply of a diffused divinity, a sentiment derived from a vague perception of Providence, which the Kafirs never gathered up into the abstract idea, which we

represent by the collective term—God. Their repugnance to the touch of a dead body, and partial ablution after burial of it; observance of sacrifice to avert calamity, and meat-offerings in seasons of plenty; stations for prayer and thanksgiving, connected with critical enterprises; and the prevalence of the rite of circumcision at the age of puberty, accompanied by formalities emblematic of a moral transition in the subject of it, are notable religious facts, however unmeaningly perpetuated, which proclaim the ancestral antiquity of the Kafirs, and a remote connexion with the descendants of Ishmael, if not with the seed of Abraham in North Africa, where the Gallas and Somaulis, a portion of the parent stem, perhaps, of the same race, are found at the present day."

The total population of the "sovereignty" is estimated at 120,000, of whom about 12,000 are whites. In the territory of the emigrant boors beyond the Vaal, the settlers are stated to be from 10,000 to 15,000. But of the numbers of the coloured races comprised within its limits, I have been unable to obtain an estimate.

The Namaquas, a people of Hottentot origin, inhabit the west coast from the Orange River mouth towards Walvisch Bay. So late as 1820, they were scantily clad in skins, lived in rude huts of boughs and mats, and had some cattle, on whose milk, together with the flesh of wild animals killed by pitfalls or poisoned arrows, and the gum of trees, seeds, and roots, they managed to support life. Through the efforts of missionary societies, their temporal as well as spiritual condition has been materially improved, and most of them are now partially, at least, provided with European clothing. Although still a nomadic people, some have begun to cultivate the ground, others possess ox-waggons, and many have firearms.*

The Damaras, dwelling further to the northward, are a striking race; tall, upright, models for sculptors: facial angle about 70°, fine manly open countenances, and often beautifully chiselled features; their whole appearance highly imposing. Of the number of the Namaquas and Damaras, or of the other native races contiguous to the frontiers, we have no statistical information.

GOVERNMENT. — During the period of Dutch rule, the civil administration was conducted by a governor and council appointed by the directors of the Dutch East India Company at Amsterdam. The colony was divided into drostdies or districts, each having a Landdrost or civil magistrate, with an Heemraden or council. On our conquest in 1795, a military governor was placed

* Cape Town Mail, 23rd August, 1851.

at the head of affairs. After the restoration of the colony to Holland, the states-general proposed to establish a representative assembly, chosen by the people. Before this plan could be carried into effect, the Cape again came beneath the sway of England, and from 1806 to 1836, the chief authority was vested in governors sent from England, who were almost invariably military men. In 1837–8, a legislative council was formed, composed of the leading executive officers of the colony, and five unofficial members. This arrangement lasted until the anti-convict dissensions in 1849 unsettled everything. The colonists then "agitated" for a representative assembly and a constitution. This has been granted upon the basis of *two elective chambers*, with a high property qualification for the members of the upper house. The details have been left to the settlement of the colonists themselves, and are now in course of adjustment; the chief difficulty consisting in determining the franchise, one party desiring it to consist of a property valued at £50 per annum, their opponents of one valued at £25 per annum. The friends of the coloured race are strongly in favour of the latter, in order that the Hottentots and others may possess an interest in the government under which they live.

LAWS. — The "statutes of India," collected by the Dutch government towards the end of the seventeenth century, were applied to the Cape in 1715. The civil law has been modified by various colonial ordinances, or, where these have been found deficient, by the *corpus juris civilis*. Since our occupation, the severity of the Dutch criminal code has been greatly mitigated, and torture abolished. Criminals are tried by a jury of at least seven persons; and, where the offence is capital, a majority must agree in the verdict.

The tenure of land differs. The most ancient system is that on which *loan farms* are held, where the lease is perpetual so long as the stipulated rent is paid. *Gratuity lands* are customary copyholds, for which about the same price is paid as for "loan farms." Quit rents are demanded for the use of waste lands lying contiguous to an estate. Freeholds are now becoming general, especially in the eastern districts. Transfers or mortgages (except in the case of the bond called *schepens*) are legal only when registered in the debt-book at the colonial office, Cape Town, where commis-

sioners sit to superintend such matters. No sale or transfer can be made till after a settlement of all bonds, either by the mortgagee consenting to continue his loan on the securities of the new purchaser, or by repayment; a fresh transfer is then made, and the purchaser is placed in possession of a complete title, without the possibility of fraud, of claims withheld, or mortgages concealed, at an expense of a couple of sheets of paper, and a trifling payment—thus avoiding a ponderous mass of conveying.

There is usually an equal division of property among children on the demise of a parent. The Dutch language and forms are now superseded in the courts of law by those employed by the English at Westminster.

A supreme court at Cape Town holds yearly four civil and three criminal sessions, and is presided over by a chief and two puisne judges. Twice a year a judge of this court makes a circuit for civil and criminal business through the principal towns of each division. There is a high-sheriff for the colony, and deputy-sheriffs for each district.

The civil commissioner in each district is a resident magistrate, as also a financial officer; he is aided by a stipendiary magistrate, who holds frequent courts for the administration of criminal justice in petty matters, and for the recovery of small debts; the commissioner holds a matrimonial court for the settlement of conjugal differences, and the granting of marriage licences.

A court of vice-admiralty sits for the trial of offences committed on the high seas, and for the adjudication of maritime disputes. The commissioners appointed by letters patent under the great seal, dated 13th March, 1832, are the governor, or lieutenant-governor, members of council, the chief and puisne judges, the commander-in-chief and flag-officers of ships of war, and also the captains and commanders of ships of war.

The attorney-general, *ratione officii*, is the public accuser and prosecutor, and all suits in the court of justice, on the part of the government, are conducted by him.

The *Bar* is not numerous; several solicitors, as in Canada, practise as barristers: litigation is expensive on account of the numerous forms, and heavy stamp-duties. There is an insolvent and bankruptcy law in

force. By statutes 6 & 7 William IV., the authority of the British government in South Africa was extended for the maintenance of justice and the punishment of crime to all places without the colony as far as the 25° of south lat., "for the protection of native subjects of that country, as well as of H.M. subjects residing there." The mode in which the local affairs of the Orange River sovereignty is administered has been previously described.

The Trans-Vaal boors have established a republic in the *Grensgebied*, and their independence has been formally recognised by the British government. On the 16th of January, 1852, a conference was held at the *Zand River*, between H.M. Assistant-commissioners, Messrs. Hogge and Owen, for settling the affairs connected with the east and north-east boundaries of the Cape Colony; and Commandant-general Pretorius, Landdrost Lombard, Commandant-general Joubert, Commandant Kruger, and twelve other leaders of the boors. At this meeting the British government guaranteed in the fullest manner to the emigrant farmers beyond the Vaal River, the right to manage their own affairs, and to govern themselves, without any interference on the part of the Queen's government, by whom no encroachment should be made on the territory north of the Vaal River, and no alliances contracted with any of the coloured natives north of the said river. Slavery is not to be permitted or practised in the Trans-Vaal territories. Mutual facility to be afforded to traders on both sides. Ammunition-trade with the native tribes prohibited; the boors to purchase their ammunition in any of the British colonies or possessions in South Africa; certificates by a British magistrate to accompany all ammunition and fire-arms coming from the south side of the Vaal, and the waggons containing the same to be, under the jurisdiction of the emigrant farmers, admitted by permission of their nearest frontier magistrate. Criminals and other guilty parties flying from justice on either side, to be mutually given up, if required. Courts of law on both sides to be open for all legitimate processes, and attendance of witnesses to be compelled. Certificates of marriage among the boors to be held valid in the colony. All persons but criminals or debtors to be allowed to sell their property and remove from the British colony to the Trans Vaal territory, and *vice versa*. This convention

was signed by both parties, and duly ratified the 13th of May, 1852, by Governor Cathcart, who expressed a hope that "the freedom which the emigrants are thus permitted to assume, may result in lasting peace among themselves, and in fast friendship with the British government, neither entertaining past prejudices, nor adopting former causes of quarrel." The governor further assured them of his desire to contribute to their welfare, if in his power, by promoting religion and education amongst them.

MILITARY DEFENCE.—The disturbed state of the frontier has always been considered to necessitate the maintenance of a considerable force at the Cape, even during times of comparative tranquillity. Thus, in 1831, there were three regiments of infantry, detachments of artillery and engineers, and a very efficient corps of about 400 Cape mounted riflemen, composed principally of Hottentots. The military stations on the Kafir frontier were eight in number, and garrisoned by 474 men, while 366 were stationed at Graham's Town. Now (1852), upwards of 10,000 regular troops, including dragoons, lancers, artillery, engineers, rifles, and infantry of the line, are employed there in harassing and unsatisfactory war. Simon's Bay is our naval station for this part of the globe; it is under the command of a rear-admiral or commodore, whose authority extends along the east coast of Africa, and to Mauritius and St. Helena.

FINANCES.—The revenue of the Cape is fully adequate to its civil expenditure. Its increase, since 1795, is thus shewn:—1795, £22,252; 1828, £128,971; 1835, £133,417; 1848, £234,375; 1849, £237,805; 1850, £245,785. Within the last two years the revenue has been augmented by land sales, especially of the neutral territory, or Victoria Division. In 1849, the land fund yielded £8,880; in 1850, £16,575; these sums being chiefly obtained from the sale of country seized from the Kafirs.

The amount derived from the principal taxes in 1850, was, customs, £102,273; transfer dues, £24,928; land revenues, viz. quit-rents, £22,267; stamps and licences, £20,086; auction dues, £17,079; postage, £11,541; incidental receipts, £20,284. There are other items of minor amount.

GUANO.—A considerable but temporary accession to the local revenues, accrued from the granting of licences for the collection of a concentrated manure

called guano, from several rocky islets of the coast. In three months of the year 1845 nearly £29,000 were realized for licences granted at the rate of twenty shillings per ton, the selling price in Great Britain being from £10 to £15, and even £20 per ton. So great was the desire, both in Europe and in America, for this fertilizing agent, that in 1845-6, between 300 and 400 vessels might have been seen at anchor round the Ichaboe islet, near the mouth of the Orange River, loading or waiting to load; while some, in despair at the long period that must elapse before their turn could arrive, returned empty as they came. From Ichaboe alone 200,000 tons are supposed to have been obtained, the rock being, in a few months, scraped as clean as a well-kept pavement. The bird named the gannet, from which the African guano is chiefly derived, is about the size of the common domestic goose. Its exuviae, reduced by time to a fossil state, and found in hardened strata like shells in limestone rocks, consists of urate, phosphate, oxalate, and carbonate of ammonia, with a few earthy salts. Whether the effects of this powerful stimulant of the soil be wholly beneficial, time and experience alone can prove; but suspicions are entertained of its having increased the disease called rust in corn; and it is a singular fact that its introduction into Europe was contemporary with the commencement of that fearful, and, it would appear, permanent plague, the potatoe blight.

TARIFF.—Free warehousing ports:—Cape Town (Table Bay), Simon's Town, Port Elizabeth (Algoa Bay), and Port Natal. Sub-collectors are stationed at Port Beaufort, Mossel Bay, and East London (Buffalo Mouth), for the purpose of entering or clearing all vessels arriving from, and departing for the United Kingdom, or any of H.M. possessions abroad. **Import Duties.**—British goods, inclusive of British possessions abroad, 5 per cent., *ad valorem*; foreign goods, 12; by order of H.M. in council of 24th April, 1847. **Rated Articles.**—British coffee, 5s. per cwt.; foreign, 10s.; foreign fish, of all sorts, 12 per cent. *ad val.*; foreign wheat flour, 3s. per barrel of 196 lbs.; gunpowder, 3d. per lb.; British meat, 1s. 3d. per cwt.; foreign, 3s.; foreign oil, £3 per 252 gals. imp. measure; sperm, £7 10s.; pepper, 4s. per cwt.; rice, 1s. 6d.; sugar, (not refined, British possessions,) 2s. 3d.; foreign, 4s. 6d.; British, refined or candy, 3s.; foreign, refined or candy, 6s.; spirits, of all sorts, not exceeding the strength of proof by Sykes' hydrometer, and so in proportion for any greater strength, 2s. per imp. gal. (By H.M. order in council, dated 31st October, 1848, one gallon of spirits is allowed to be imported *duty free* for every ten gallons of Cape wine exported, or deposited in the bonded warehouse for exportation.) Tea, 4½d. per lb.; tobacco, unmanufactured, 12s. per cwt.; manufactured, 20s.; cigars, 5s. per 1,000; wine, bottled, 6 to the gallon, 4s. per dozen; ditto, 12 to ditto, 2s.; in wood, 1s. 6d. per imp. (Except at Port Natal, where the duties are the same as above upon foreign, but only *one-half* upon wine from British possessions.) Unmanufactured mahogany, rosewood, and teakwood, 3d. per cubic foot; all other foreign, 2d. Foreign articles, re-exported from the United Kingdom, without any drawback of duty, are admitted upon the same terms as British goods, viz., 5 per cent. *ad val.*; foreign goods, imported from bonded warehouses of the United Kingdom, or, upon which the duties there paid have been drawn back, are charged the duty upon British goods, with three-fourths of the difference (if any) between such duty

and that charged upon foreign goods added thereto; being equivalent upon manufactures, to 10½ per cent. *ad val.* Free.—Bottles, of common glass, imported full; bullion; oaks, staves, hoops, and coopers' rivets; coin; diamonds; horses, mules, asses, sheep, cattle, and all other live stock and live animals; seeds, bulbs, and plants and specimens illustrative of natural history. *Prohibitions and Restrictions.*—Gunpowder, arms, ammunition, or utensils of war, are prohibited to be imported, except from Great Britain, or some British possession. Base or counterfeit coin; books, such as are prohibited to be imported into the United Kingdom, are likewise prohibited to be imported here.

EXPENDITURE has kept pace with increase of revenue. The salaries of public functionaries at the Cape, and various other disbursements, are as follows:—

Governor, £5,000; colonial secretary, £2,000; chief justice, £2,000; first puisne judge, £1,500; second ditto, £1,200; attorney-general, £1,200; treasurer, £1,000; collector of customs, £800; master of supreme court, £800; auditor-general, £700; surveyor-general, £700; post-master, £600; high-sheriff, £600; superintendent of police, £600; superintendent-general of education, £500; chief commissioner and commandant, British Kaffraria, £500. There is a civil commissioner, and also a resident magistrate, in each district; the salaries of the former vary from £100 to £200 a year, those of the latter are £300 per annum. The civil establishment (including the above salaries) amounts to about £120,000 per annum. The pensions on the civil list of the colonial revenue in 1850 amounted to £10,087. The allowance for ecclesiastical establishments is about £16,500; for educational, £5,000; medical,

£3,500; police and prisons, £16,000; judicial, £11,000; and administration of justice, £3,800. Divisional courts, £16,000; for aborigines, £6,500; of this the Kafir police for 1850 was placed at £5,355. The presents to Kafirs, rations, &c., amounted only to £586; the allowances by treaties and engagements to native chiefs, £457; contributions towards a botanic garden, £300.

The amounts expended by Great Britain in the colony, during 1850, for military purposes, were:—royal artillery, pay and allowances, £5,470; royal engineers, £1,386; royal sappers and miners, £5,925; ordnance and artillery labourers, stores, &c., £11,516; barrack and commissariat, £16,936; supplies, military allowances, ordinary and commissariat services, £303,276: total expense by Great Britain, £344,511. The government contract for supplying the troops with food, is 6d. per day for each man; the rations consist of 1½ lb. of good meat, 1 lb. of excellent bread, and groceries according to dietary table. During peace, government makes a profit of 2d. to 3d. on each ration, but probably loses in proportion during war.

BANKS.—Ten joint-stock companies are in operation, most of them issuing notes for £5, and upwards, over which issues government has no control; the amount of their paper in circulation in 1851, was about £135,000. The state of the Banks and other companies, in 1851, is thus shown:—

Name of the Company.	Established.	Number of shares.	Subscribed value.	Amount Paid up.	Price.	Last Dividend.
Exchange Buildings	1819	159	£37 10s.	£37 10s.	£20 0 0	£2 0 0
S. African Fire and Life Assurance Co. .	1831	200	100 0	10 0	70 0 0	3 5 0
S. African Association for Administration and Settlement of Estates . . .	1834	42	375 0	375 0	453 0 0	35 0 0
Cape of G. Hope Trust and Assurance Co.	1835	900	25 0	19 0	17 5 0	0 5 0
Cape of G. Hope Joint-Stock Co. . . .	1835	40	22 10	22 10	20 0 0	—
Cape of G. Hope Bank	1837	1,500	50 0	40 0	70 10 0	5 0 0
S. African Bank	1838	2,000	50 0	30 0	40 0 0	3 10 0
Cape of G. Hope Marine Assurance Co. .	1838	1,500	50 0	10 0	16 10 6	1 10 0
Board of Executors	1838	60	*200 0	200 0	260 10 0	5 0 0
Protecteur Fire and Life Assurance Co.	1838	2,000	20 0	5 0	15 15 0	1 0 0
Eastern Province Bank	1838	1,600	25 0	16 13½	29 0 0	†1 5 0
Eastern Prov. Fire and Life Assurance Co.	1839	400	50 0	5 0	15 0 0	—
Cape of G. Hope Gas-Light Co.	1844	600	15 0	15 0	21 0 0	0 10 0
Colonial Bank	1844	2,000	50 0	30 0	40 0 0	3 0 0
Equitable Fire Assurance and Trust Co.	1844	1,000	25 0	5 0	10 0 0	0 6 0
Eastern Province Trust Co.	1845	150	50 0	10 0	12 0 0	2 0 0
Port Elizabeth Bank	1846	1,600	25 0	10 0	13 10 0	0 12 0
Frontier Commercial and Agricultural Bank Union Bank	1847	1,200	50 0	25 0	24 10 0	†0 15 0
Natal Cotton Co.	1847	15,000	10 0	5 0	5 13 0	0 6 0
Western Province Bank (Paarl)	1847	2,000	10 0	4 0	1 5 6	—
Graaf-Reynet Bank	1847	1,000	20 0	10 0	15 0 0	—
Natal Fire Assurance and Trust Co. . .	1848	1,600	25 0	12 10	12 15 0	0 11 8
Equitable Marine Assurance Co. . . .	1849	500	20 0	3 0	3 0 0	—
Eastern Province Mining Association . .	1849	1,000	25 0	5 0	5 0 0	†0 4 6
Worcester Bank	1849	2,000	5 0	0 5	0 5 0	—

Note.—The £200 marked thus (*) was paid £10 in cash and £190 by bond.—The dividends marked thus (†) are paid half-yearly.

MONIES of account, English. — British coin in circulation, about £600,000. The quantity imported from 1825 to 1849, inclusive, has been £1,226,522; exported, £482,605.

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.—For government purposes, the English standard is used; for private dealings, the Dutch standard is still in operation. The following table shows their relative proportions:—

Weights.

91 $\frac{1}{10}$ lbs. Dutch (92 nearly) . = 100 lbs. English.
1 lb. Dutch, nearly . = 1 lb. 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ oz.
1 lood, = $\frac{1}{4}$ oz.

Liquid Measure.

A leagner = 152 Dutch gal., or about 126 $\frac{7}{10}$ imp. gal.
A pipe = 110 do. " 91 $\frac{1}{11}$ "
An aum = 38 do. " 31 $\frac{1}{2}$ "
An anker = 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ do. " 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ "

Corn Measure.

A schepel = 744 imp. bushel.
A muid = 4 schepels = 2 $\frac{976}{1000}$ "
A load = 10 muids = 29 $\frac{72}{100}$ "

Land Measure.

1,000 Rhyndland feet = 1,033 English.
1 Rhyndland rood = 12 Rhyndland feet = 144 Rhyndland inches.
144 square inches = 1 square foot Rhyndland.
144 square feet = 1 square rood.
600 square roods = 1 morgen.
1 morgen = nearly 2 English acres.
49 $\frac{72}{100}$ morgen = 100 English acres.

STAPLE PRODUCTS, EXPORTS, IMPORTS, AND SHIPPING.—Corn, wool, wine, aloes, hides and skins, tallow, whale oil, ivory, gums, provisions, live-stock, feathers, &c., constitute the principal articles of traffic. The export of some of these items is thus shown at different periods:—

Year.	Ivory, in lbs.	Number of Hides.	Number of Skins.	Aloes, in lbs.	Wine, in gallons.	Wool, in lbs.	Tallow, in lbs.
1800	1,500	300	—	71,834	—	—	—
1820	9,510	—	—	348,000	—	—	—
1830	25,497	264,105	—	375,736	1,548,085	33,280	13,333
1840	12,359	29,250	311,491	485,574	952,000	911,118	15,444
1849	38,367	52,223	449,938	348,814	443,245	5,024,946	68,832
1850	54,061	26,513	419,121	227,612	374,803	5,912,927	25,308

The augmenting value of trade and tonnage, inwards, is stated in the annexed table, at intervals, since 1836:—

Year.	Imports.	Exports.	Shipping, Inwards.
			Tons.
1836	£541,038	£362,280	134,875
1840	732,494	775,060	184,442
1849	944,535	594,920	204,049
1850	1,277,101	637,252	224,126

The shipping visiting the Cape has largely increased. The tonnage, inwards, of each port, is thus shown:—

Year.	Table Bay.	Simon's Bay.	Algoa Bay.	Total.
	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.
1824	19,525	1,300	—	20,825
1829	66,736	2,206	4,274	73,216
1844	171,599	16,096	19,626	207,311
1848	172,577	15,268	24,900	212,745
1849	166,063	13,279	23,291	202,533
1850	175,228	17,896	29,626	222,750

No'e.—East London Port had inwards, in 1849, 1,417 tons.

There is a considerable coasting-trade, which has of late years augmented. In 1835, the coasting tonnage, inwards, was, tons, 11,313; in 1844, 30,000. Steam-vessels are now being brought into operation, which will promote the trade from Walvisch Bay, on the west, to Delagoa Bay,

DIV. VII.

on the south-east shore of Africa. In 1850, there were thirty-nine vessels, including one steamer, registered in the colony as colonial property; their aggregate burthen was 4,940 tons, giving an average of nearly 130 tons for each vessel.

The commerce of Algoa Bay, Port Elizabeth, has risen rapidly into importance.

Year.	Imports.		Exports.	
	Vessels.	Value.	Vessels.	Value.
1822	—	£13,000	—	£5,200
1832	46	20,000	44	90,304
1842	95	162,252	92	94,674
1844	114	135,919	113	118,860
1849	134	253,685	137	193,794
1850	155	354,749	146	294,905

The declared value of British manufactures exported from England, in 1849, to the Cape of Good Hope, was, £520,896; and of other articles, £52,535. Of the manufactures, there were cottons, 6,200,000 yards; woollens, 260,000 yards, and 17,400 pieces; linen, 442,000 yards; soap and candles, 483,000 lbs.; hats, 4,000; hardware, £24,280; iron and steel, £36,500; lead and shots, 200 tons; leather, 164,400 lbs.; saddlery, £10,300; earthenware, 347,700 pieces; glass, 6,488 cwts.; haberdashery, £82,233; beer, 2,390 brls.; coals, 7,261 tons.

U

146 PRODUCE OF EASTERN AND WESTERN PROVINCE; VALUE OF LAND.

The mercantile progress of the eastern, as compared with the western province of the colony, is shown in the following comparative table of some of their staple exports:—

Western Province.

Year.	Value of Wool.	Wool, in lbs.	Hides, Value.	Skins, Value.	Total.
1838	£16,555	286,246	£8,178	£16,639	£41,372
1839	19,257	377,639	8,794	18,168	46,219
1840	24,962	509,597	5,604	13,811	44,377
1841	29,416	536,979	6,522	15,045	50,983
1842	28,937	616,807	—	—	28,937
1843	27,030	534,377	9,545	10,949	47,524
1844	45,872	936,269	7,560	11,460	64,892
1845	46,837	1,109,554	12,042	13,468	72,347
1846	58,553	1,082,191	13,288	19,387	91,228
1847	54,068	1,135,638	9,721	13,172	76,961
1848	57,293	1,590,952	7,013	15,452	79,758
1850	—	1,589,277	—	—	—

Eastern Province.

Year.	Wool, Value.	Wool, in lbs.	Hides, Value.	Skins, Value.	Total.
1838	£10,072	204,508	£13,001	£7,252	£30,325
1839	10,923	208,338	8,578	6,726	26,237
1840	21,023	401,521	13,042	7,289	41,354
1841	22,190	479,828	19,494	10,079	51,763
1842	43,560	811,986	—	—	—
1843	56,582	1,220,380	26,400	11,174	94,156
1844	67,635	1,297,677	19,998	4,848	92,481
1845	127,004	2,085,064	21,092	6,374	154,470
1846	119,458	2,188,637	19,489	13,269	152,216
1847	132,167	2,583,399	18,889	13,137	164,193
1848	86,010	2,079,968	4,480	9,315	99,805
1849	143,384	3,467,734	4,858	7,652	155,894
1850	—	4,323,650	—	—	—

Note.—The wool was shipped from Table Bay for the Western Province, and from Algoa Bay for the Eastern Province.—In 1833 the exports of fine wool were, from Table Bay, 73,324 lbs., and from Algoa Bay, 39,753 lbs.

LANDS.—About two-fifths of the whole colony, comprising, without the recent additions, about 120,000 square miles, or 76,000,000 acres, are supposed to consist of mountain ranges and arid plains, almost entirely unfit for agricultural or pastoral purposes. The quantity of land granted to December, 1848, was 43,276,504 acres; of the remainder ungranted, some is held by farmers on loan tenure, included in the Kat River settlement, or appropriated for missionary stations, town commons, &c. It is estimated that of the ungranted lands, no more than five million acres are in any degree fit for cultivation. The average price, per 100 acres, for land in the western province, is £12 to £15; in the eastern, £21 to £22. The quit-rent charged, averages 6d. per 100 acres; this may be

redeemed and land converted into freehold, on payment of fifteen years' purchase.

In 1844, about 549,000 acres were held under lease at 3s. 10d. to 13s. 3½d. per square mile; the quit-rents extended over 44,420,350 acres, at ⅓ of a penny per acre.

The value of *landed* property, not including government, military, municipal, or recently acquired territory, is thus stated in 1851:—Cape Town, Cape, and Malmesbury Divisions, £1,905,087; area in square miles, 3,593; value (in round numbers) per square mile, £550.

Divisions.	Value.	Area, in square miles.	Value, per square mile.
Western Province:—			
Stellenbosch . . .	£630,447	2,280	£276
Swellendam . . .	572,820	7,616	75
George . . .	284,522	4,032	65
Clanwilliam . . .	192,462	22,111	9
Worcester . . .	253,272	20,000	12
Beaufort . . .	162,196	13,050	12
Total . . .	2,095,719	69,089	—
Eastern Province:—			
Albany . . .	530,535	1,792	300
Uitenhage . . .	348,625	8,960	39
Graaf-Reynet . . .	276,641	8,000	34
Colesberg . . .	145,647	11,654	12
Somerset . . .	179,366	4,000	45
Cradock . . .	184,940	3,168	60
Total . . .	1,665,754	37,574	—

The grand total of the whole is £5,666,560 sterling. The value of the assessed immoveable property in the colony, is, under the divisional road board's assessment, £5,822,390; municipal, £2,028,620; total, £7,851,010. The number of rate-payers in the municipalities, is 5,591; in the divisional road board's assessment, 17,474.

Land is sold, in freehold, by public auction, at an upset price of 2s. per acre; the cost of survey is added to the sale price.

Wages.—Domestic, 15s. to 60s. per month; farm, 45s.; tradesmen, 3s. 6d. to 7s. 6d. per day.

Provisions are very cheap; meat, 1d. per pound; bread and other necessities of life in proportion.

The colony affords a good opening to labouring-men and mechanics of steady habits and sober character, and an opportunity of becoming proprietors and employers of labour. The voyage between England and the Cape is now performed in thirty to thirty-six days, by the monthly packets of the *Screw Steam-Ship Company*.

Live Stock, Animal Productions, Agriculture and Agricultural Productions, in the Cape Colony, for the year 1849, collected and arranged from the Blue Book for 1850:—

Live Stock, Agricultural Productions, &c.	Cape Division.	Malmesbury.	Swartkops.	Port Elizabeth.	Albany.	Port Beaufort.	Somerset.	Crabtree.	Great Bay.	Colony.	Vic-toria.	Albany.	Total.
Horses:—													
For husbandry . . .	1,500	5,557	731	2,145	2,943	1,473	2,965	4,175	3,917	2,170	426	218	41,917
For breeding . . .	600	3,979	223	2,241	2,934	1,617	501	1,922	1,617	501	192	1,077	64,970
Cattle, foals, &c. . .	800	1,385	100	1,361	1,385	1,067	263	1,01	617	353	1,266	2,218	25,863
Asses	80	83	18	15	24	2	2	23	707	100	31	100	612
Mules	100	767	625	562	116	2	2	273	707	100	31	100	3,305
BLACK CATTLE:—													
Oxen	3,000	10,376	2,869	6,415	10,504	9,715	3,612	16,887	24,818	7,072	5,006	1,902	191,586
Cows	2,000	9,219	1,055	1,866	6,200	16,715	1,306	11,198	10,316	4,383	6,127	640	1,988,889
Heifers, &c. . .	1,159	3,615	474	1,110	3,615	3,620	860	13,764	9,759	2,728	6,364	740	184,865
SHEEP:—													
Woolled	5,000	21,992	20,046	16,023	14,856	7,042	187,268	276,992	123,938	48,460	26,383	4,846	2,283,232
Goats	4,500	40,392	1,411	6,341	223,561	253,303	2,236	17,865	7,511	298,954	14,440	200	2,114,919
Pigs	1,257	23,059	3,678	4,518	47,594	87,971	8,082	117,005	54,347	82,051	14,250	1,014	711,618
ANIMAL PRODUCE:—													
Wool lbs.	61,440	28,100	29,091	25,144	17,330	—	343,171	347,871	107,429	102,400	22,150	6,150	2,821,901
Butter	1,128	7,350	7,859	3,482	20,290	570	3,048	37,080	39,620	623	53,708	2,200	2,900
Tallow	1,128	3,750	2,400	3,180	11,180	2,450	6,536	47,940	39,459	23,240	3,000	680	268,613
Soap	150	580	22	22	9,976	2,650	2,410	25,030	34,415	13,315	1,500	110	1,060
Hides No.	96	525	440	1,081	1,950	65	1,364	2,075	1,516	215	75	600	146,819
Skins	1,356	9,933	13,875	24,511	29,079	750	7,049	54,960	36,535	10,811	3,190	500	34,089
AGRICULTURE:—													
Wheat	1,065	19,864	4,082	1,046	5,319	5,110	5,290	5,600	9,316	1,171	3,044	1,164	75,528
Barley	1,860	2,045	380	90	1,547	804	762	2,072	2,440	439	440	337	16,209
Oats and rye . . .	6,360	14,900	3,800	1,500	2,247	2,358	2,180	4,194	2,914	196	4,532	337	46,389
Maize and millet .	78	2	160	77	56	18	42	141	3,178	66	716	467	1,282
Peas, beans, &c. .	20	112	68	68	92	128	56	400	1,223	54	122	86	38
Potatoes and veg- tables	150	68	460	161	115	53	61	314	807	52	278	175	5,248
Vine	110	503	5,000	2,300	6,42	85	352	1,042	1,552	730	96	76	10,869
Gardens and orn- aments	600	565	1,000	729	623	215	244	1,893	1,879	406	349	491	35
Tobacco	—	8	4	—	14	24	1	382	443	12	70	32	1,020
Total in Crop . .	10,263	38,057	11,576	5,571	10,435	8,735	8,978	16,038	24,052	3,126	9,636	3,171	198,466
AMOUNT OF PRODUCE													
Wheat	69,200	38,721	5,136	6,849	51,769	40,845	88,284	68,649	73,889	16,455	9,210	12,192	585,325
Barley	17,665	12,880	3,753	5,004	26,566	11,493	26,758	68,412	1,649	6,369	2,640	5,322	295,453
Oats and rye . . .	46,300	60,903	8,070	10,761	29,560	16,604	29,832	18,577	5,867	984	1,860	3,768	249,307
Maize and millet .	63	120	3,123	4,164	689	210	426	2,004	7,095	894	524	4,812	180,251
Peas and beans . .	136	136	753	1,066	795	426	402	5,133	2,706	755	2,379	292	66
Potatoes	321	8,214	10,962	1,110	60	1,822	5,766	2,656	3,75	4,080	2,349	3,006	18,373
Wine pipes	260	833	11,640	12,000	1,102	85	322	1,120	350	290	12	43	28,870
Brandy	—	15	43	621	500	248	67	28	680	500	90	8	3,114

Note:—The Cape Division does not include Cape Town, for which there are no returns.—In 1836, there were in the whole colony 6,301 horses, 224,549 cattle, 1,510,194 sheep, 306,785 goats. The quantity of land in cultivation was 57,813 acres; the produce was,—wheat, 463,299; barley, 218,400; rye, 34,258; oats, 241,186; maize, 7,333; peas, beans, &c., 9,254; potatoes, 8,945 bushels; wine, 16,683; brandy, 1,282 leaguers, of 162 gallons each.

RELIGION.—The following abstract of the latest ecclesiastical returns, shows the numerous denominations of Christians included in the colony, and their distribution :—

Divisions.	Dutch Reformed.	Scottish Presbyterians.	Church of England.	Lutherans.	Independents and Congregationalists.	Wesleyans.	Moravian, Rhenish, and other Protestant Missions.	Roman Catholics
Cape Town and Cape Division	18,834	1,145	7,300	1,500	994	2,325	5,058	2,000
Stellenbosch	8,277	—	100	—	—	890	700	—
Worcester	2,400	—	—	—	—	—	3,182	—
Clanwilliam	3,000	—	—	—	—	1,100	814	—
Swellendam	6,400	—	—	—	—	—	6,511	—
George	1,950	—	200	—	2,900	100	—	280
Beaufort	7,600	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Uitenhage and Port Elizabeth	2,800	—	1,750	—	1,357	—	308	550
Albany	1,942	—	1,560	—	900	3,855	—	600
Somerset	3,530	—	—	—	—	250	—	—
Cradock	3,300	—	—	—	400	382	—	100
Graaf-Reynet	2,800	—	109	—	—	—	—	50
Colesberg	1,200	—	—	—	275	350	—	—
Total	64,033	1,145	11,510	1,500	6,826	9,752	16,573	3,580

Note.—No return has been made of the number of Jews, Mahomedans, Heathens, and others not included in the above table. There are probably about 6,000 Mahomedans in Cape Town, but their number is small in other parts of the colony.

The proportion per cent. of the Christian population, in connexion with the principal denominations, has been thus estimated :—

Denominations.	White.	Coloured.
Church of England	9.36	.55
Dutch Reformed	63.12	6.45
Presbyterian . . . . .	.92	3.58
Wesleyan	5.31	6.46
Independent	1.49	11.30
Moravian . . . . .	.04	5.93
Lutheran	1.45	5.56
Roman Catholic	4.34	.14

The Dutch Reformed Church in the sovereignty and in the republic beyond the Vaal River, is extensive and increasing; in the former there are five pastorships, and two in the latter. The Church of England* is presided over by a bishop (Dr. Gray), who was consecrated in 1847, to the see, which had been mainly formed through the munificence and piety of Miss Burdett Coutts. There are about forty clergymen distributed over the deanery of Cape Town, and the archdeacons† of George and Graham's Town. The Dutch Church is governed by a synod composed of the officiating clergy

* For twenty years after the permanent occupation of the Cape by Great Britain, no place of worship was erected for the celebration of the services of the Church of England. Even now the colony is but scantily endowed with English churches, though the untiring energies of Bishop Gray have been successfully directed to the establishment of a larger number.

† The venerable N. J. Merriman, archdeacon of

and elders of all the parishes in South Africa. A moderator, assessor, actuaries, scribes, and quæstor, form the executive. There are thirty-seven clergymen. The Evangelical Lutheran Church (St. Martin's) is ruled by a minister, elders, and deacons, as is also the Scottish Church. The Roman Catholics have a bishop, two apostolic vicars, and nine priests. The Mahomedans‡ have three mosques in the colony, presided over by moollahs or priests.

CHRISTIAN MISSIONS.—It would require a fair-sized volume to set forth adequately the magnitude of the efforts made by various dissenting Christian communities to gladden with Gospel light the heathen darkness of South Africa, or to describe the devoted labours of individuals who have forsaken home and country, renounced the habits of civilization which had become a second nature, and braved death by violence, by starvation, and disease, with almost apostolic zeal.

The opposition which early missionary exertions met with from the Dutch government has been already related. At length, in 1792, permission was with great difficulty obtained for the establishment of a Moravian mission at Genandendal. The British, on assuming the government, in 1795, gave decided encouragement to the propagation of religion, and General Dundas especially evinced great interest in the labours of Vanderkemp and others. The Dutch, during their second brief period of dominion, made some change in the narrow and unchristian policy which they had previously dis-

Graham's Town, is one of the most self-denying and exemplary pastors in the colonial church.

‡ Mahomedanism was introduced into the colony, by the slaves imported from Malacca, and gained ground through the kindness shown by the priests to the coloured people generally. It was also favoured by the Dutch, because its disciples refrained from wine and strong drink.

played. Kicherer, and several other missionaries, despatched by the Rotterdam society, were, by a proclamation or ordinance, dated February, 1805, authorized to proceed to the interior, for the purpose "of teaching and promoting religion and civilization amongst the helpless heathens." The institutions or schools were however to be formed so far beyond the colonial boundary, as to leave no possibility for persons connected with them having "daily communications with the frontier inhabitants, much less with the inhabitants or original natives living within the boundaries." Other clauses of this proclamation indicate that the authorities, instead of viewing the promotion of Christian civilization as their first duty, regarded both spiritual and secular instruction with alarm. The same suspicious distrust was evinced towards the missionaries within as without the colony; they were allowed to pass its limits only by the express sanction of the governor, were forbidden to teach writing to the natives, save in certain exceptional instances; and, were directed to inculcate, "as far as the intellects of the natives would permit," the first ideas of social order, "as it was established in Holland and in the colony."

Upon the re-establishment of British power, less stringent restrictions were imposed upon the missionaries; but they were not destined again to receive the cordial support afforded them in the time of General Dundas. Many of the leading authorities, and of the best class of colonists, showed them the respect and countenance due to their holy calling, and exerted their best influence to support and sustain them; others, on the contrary, cherished and excited most unjust prejudices against them.

Amongst so large a body as the South African missionaries, it is more than possible that individuals may have erred in conduct and in judgment. Some may (as is alleged) have exhibited indiscreetly their sympathy with the sufferings of their coloured brethren, and even overstepped the bounds of their ministerial functions in striving for the concession of civil rights to the members of their flocks; but no impartial person, endowed with a right perception of the inestimable value of Christianity, and of its humanizing and ennobling influence, can, after a careful examination of the records of the colony, and the events connected with its past painful history, deny that, with the exception of slave emancipation

and the 50th ordinance (see p. 61), the missionary proceedings form almost the only redeeming features of European intercourse with the Hottentots, Bushmen, Kafirs, and other African tribes. Nor must it be forgotten that the 50th ordinance, that inestimable boon to the Hottentots, was itself the fruit of missionary pleading, especially of the labours of one honoured member, the late venerable Dr. Philip, whose intercourse with Fowell Buxton, and other members of the anti-slavery party, was directly instrumental in its obtainment and ratification.

The track of the white settler has been too generally marked by usurpation of territory, by the introduction of noxious spirits, by demoralization, by strife, and by bloodshed; the missionary has gone alone, unarmed, unprotected by man, but relying upon God, with the Bible in his hand, and its pure and elevating doctrines on his lips, and has found a home among the barbaric races who had only known his countrymen as the "Bedouins of the sea," the usurpers of their land, and the destroyers of what little domestic happiness heathenism and polygamy could suffer them to enjoy. Christian societies in England, Scotland, the United States of America, France, Germany, and Holland, have sent forth their emissaries. The Roman Catholics came late into this vast field of missionary labour; the Church of England has not entered it all; but, without doubt, many of her members contribute indirectly to the good work carried on there.

The missionary stations in South Africa, without the colony, as marked in Mr. H. Hall's recent map, are in number as follows:—Wesleyan, 36; London Mission, 26; United Presbyterian, 6; Moravian, 11; French, 12; Rhenish, 18; Berlin, 8; Americans (in Natal), 2; Norwegian, 1: total, 114.

The Moravian "Missions of the Church of the United Brethren," have the high honour of having made the first effort to evangelize South Africa, and have here, as elsewhere, accomplished much good. Established in 1732, and originally employing as missionaries, artisans or husbandmen of simple manners, few wants, and for the most part inured to toil and hardships, their zealous efforts were judiciously directed to the promotion of the physical, as well as the spiritual welfare of their converts. The following statement of their position is derived from the returns for 1850:—

Date of Establishment.	Name of Station.	Locality.	Under Instruction.	In Church Fellowship.	Communicants.	Baptised Adults.	Baptised Children.	Candidates for Baptism.
1792	Genadendal . .	Caledon . . .	2,846	2,283	949	423	911	563
1808	Groenekloof . .	Malmesbury . .	1,341	1,129	345	226	558	212
1818	Enon	Uitenhage . .	304	278	92	66	120	26
1823	Leper hospital .	Robben Island .	1,214	850	308	173	369	364
1824	Elim	Caledon . . .	45	29	13	12	4	16
1828	Shiloh	Victoria . . .	762	348	86	60	152	464
1839	Clarkson	Uitenhage . .	323	210	89	25	96	113
1848	Mamre	Kaffraria . . .	100	—	—	—	—	—
1849	Goshen	"	—	—	—	—	—	—

Note.—There are no completed returns for Mamre or Goshen.

Of the foregoing, 6,935 are Hottentots who have generally manifested loyalty to the British government; nearly 900 men belonging to the missions at Genadendal, Groenekloof, and Elim, are now encountering the privations and hazards of a Kafir war, and have gained the cordial approbation of their superiors by bravery in the field and good conduct in the camp. Shiloh, one of the most promis-

ing of the above stations, from whence 335 men joined the British forces in January, 1851, was positively driven into rebellion, as stated at p. 113. The missionaries have, for the present, at least, been obliged to abandon Shiloh, Mamre, and Goshen, to the sacrifice of most of their little property, and to the great detriment of the people among whom they laboured.

Statistics of the Wesleyan Missions in South Africa, 1852:—

Name of Station.	Established.	Denomination of People.	Languages spoken.	Chapels.	Other Preaching Places.	Missionaries and Assistants.	Paid Agents.	
							Catechists, &c.	Day-school Teachers.
Cape Colony—								
Cape Town . . .	1820	{ British, Dutch, Hottentots, Malays, &c.	English, Dutch . . .	3	1	4	—	1
Wynberg . . .	1834	Brit., Dutch, Hottentots, &c.	English, Dutch . . .	2	—	1	—	1
Simon's Town . .	1826	British, Dutch, Hottentots	English, Dutch . . .	1	1	1	—	—
Stellenbosch . . .	1834	Dutch, Hottentots	Dutch . . .	2	1	1	—	2
Somerset (West) .	1828	Dutch, Hottentots	Dutch . . .	3	1	1	—	1
Khamies-Berg . .	1816	Namaquas	Dutch, Namaqua . .	2	—	1	—	1
Colesberg . . .	1840	British, Bechuanas	English, Sichuana . .	2	4	—	1	—
Graham's Town . .	1820	{ British, Hottentots, Kafirs, Fingoes, Mosambiques, Bechuanas	English, Dutch, Kafir, Sichuana . . .	5	4	3	—	3
Salem . . .	1820	British, Kafirs, Bechuanas, Fingoes	English, Kafir . . .	3	3	—	1	3
Farmerfield . . .	1839	British, Kafirs	English, Kafir . . .	4	4	1	—	2
Bathurst . . .	1835	British, Fingoes	English, Kafir . . .	1	5	1	—	4
Fort Beaufort . .	1838	British, Kafirs	English, Kafir . . .	2	5	1	1	—
Port Elizabeth . .	1839	British, Kafirs	English, Kafir . . .	3	8	1	—	1
Cradock . . .	1842	British, Kafirs	English, Kafir . . .	2	8	2	—	1
Somerset . . .	1842	{ British, Kafirs, Fingoes	English, Kafir . . .	2	8	2	—	1
Burgher's Dorp . .	1850	British, Fingoes	English, Kafir . . .	2	5	1	1	6
D'Urban (F. Peddie)	1837	Kafirs	Kafir . . .	2	5	1	1	6
Newton-Dale . . .	1837							
British Kaffraria—								
Mount Coke . . .	1825	British, T'Slambie, Kafirs	English, Kafir . . .	6	2	2	1	1
Wesleyville . . .	1823	Kafirs and Fingoes	Kafir . . .	1	—	1	—	—
K. William's Town	1849	British, Kafirs	English, Kafir . . .	1	—	1	—	—
Haalope Hills . .	1840	{ Tambookies, Fingoes, Hottentots, Mosambiques, Malays	Dutch, Kafir, Sichuana	2	6	1	1	2
Kamaston . . .	1842	Tambookie Kafirs	Kafir . . .	1	3	—	3	1
Lesseyton . . .	1849	Kafirs	Kafir . . .	3	3	1	—	—
Wittebergen . . .	1839							
Kaffraria Proper—								
Butterworth* . .	1827	Amascora Kafirs	Kafir . . .	5	6	1	—	2
Beecham-Wood . .	1840	Amavelolo Kafirs	Kafir . . .	1	3	—	1	1
Clarkebury . . .	1831	Abatembu Kafirs	Kafir . . .	1	2	1	1	1
Morley . . .	1830	Abatembu Kafirs	Kafir . . .	4	6	1	2	2
Shawbury . . .	1841	Amampondo Kafirs	Kafir . . .	3	4	1	2	2
Buntingville . . .	1830	Amampondo Kafirs	Kafir . . .	1	5	—	1	1
Palmerton . . .	1846	Kafirs	Kafir . . .	1	12	—	3	1
Orange River Sov.—								
Bloom Fontein . .	1850	Brit., Bechuanas, Kafirs, &c.	English, Dutch, Kafir	1	3	1	1	—
Gt. Namaqualand—								
Nisbett Bath . . .	1834	Namaquas	Dutch, Namaqua . .	6	—	1	5	6
Hoole's Fountain .	1852	Namaquas	Dutch, Namaqua . .	1	1	1	1	1
Bechuana Country—								
Thaba Unchu . . .	1833	{ Barolongs, Basutos, Korrannas	Sichuana . . .	1	6	1	1	1
Lokualo . . .	1845	Basutos	Engl., Dutch, Sichuana	1	8	1	—	1
Plautberg . . .	1826	Newlanders, Basutos	Sichuana . . .	1	6	1	2	1
Lishuani . . .	1838	{ Griquas, Bastaards, Mantatees	Sichuana . . .	1	4	—	2	1
Umpukani . . .	1833	Mantatees, Bastaards, Basuto	Sichuana . . .	1	1	—	1	1
Imparani . . .	1838	Mantatees	Sichuana . . .	—	—	1	—	—
Tauane's Tribe . .	1851	Barolongs	Sichuana . . .	—	—	1	—	—
Natal—								
D'Urban . . .	1841	{ British, Dutch, Zoolus, Hottentots, &c.	English, Kafir, Dutch	1	5	1	—	4
Pietermaritzberg .	1846	British, Dutch, Zoolus, &c.	English, Kafir, Dutch	3	1	2	1	1
Kwagubeni . . .	1849	British, Zoolus	English, Kafir . . .	1	2	1	4	—
Indaleni . . .	1849	British, Zoolus, Baraputsi	English, Kafir . . .	1	2	1	2	1
Totals . .				85	141	40	39	58

Note.—* Abandoned on account of the war.

The above table shows the wide sphere of usefulness occupied by the Wesleyans, whose annual expenditure in South Africa is £15,000; aggregate expenditure, since 1816, £286,036 : 15s. : 4d.

The French protestant "*Société des Missions Evangelique*," was founded in 1822, and maintained a college for the instruction of young men destined for missionaries, until the month of March, 1848,

when its useful labours were interrupted by the outbreak of the revolution; but it is to be hoped they may now be again resumed. A singular circumstance induced the selection of the Bechuana country (now comprised in the Orange River Sovereignty,) as the chief field of its operations. In the year 1830, the three first missionaries (Rolland, Lemue, and Pellisier), on their arrival at the Cape,

WESLEYAN AND FRENCH PROTESTANT MISSIONARY SOCIETIES. 151

Statistics of Wesleyan Missions in South Africa, 1852, (continued) :—

Name of Station.	Established.	Unpaid Agents.		Full and Accredited Church Members.	On trial for Membership.	Sabbath Schools.	Sabbath Scholars of both sexes.	Day Scholars.	Day Scholars of both sexes.	Scholars, deducting those who attended both Sabbath and Week-day Schools.			Attendants on Public Worship, including Members and Scholars.
		Sabbath school teachers.	Local preachers.							Male.	Fem.	Total.	
Cape Colony—													
Cape Town	1820	60	9	293	26	4	432	1	136	232	302	534	1,550
Wynberg	1834	5	1	81	11	2	106	1	60	80	72	152	500
Simon's Town . . .	1826	9	—	44	1	1	71	—	—	29	42	71	300
Stellenbosch	1834	5	2	125	22	2	92	2	185	113	116	229	500
Somerset (West) . .	1828	10	2	204	69	2	188	2	242	110	153	263	800
Khamica-Berg . . .	1816	9	3	134	28	1	205	1	95	160	70	230	1,000
Colesberg	1840	10	—	30	3	2	120	—	—	70	35	105	200
Graham's Town . .	1820	92	16	445	26	4	751	1	78	369	440	809	2,200
Salem	1820	24	4	217	—	3	231	3	130	105	126	231	1,000
Farmerfield	1839		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Bathurst	1835	17	5	132	10	3	143	2	80	70	79	149	700
Fort Beaufort . . .	1838	21	—	130	30	5	329	3	150	139	190	329	1,200
Port Elizabeth . . .	1839	24	5	75	—	2	217	—	—	110	107	217	500
Craddock	1842	24	4	87	—	2	180	—	—	83	97	180	500
Somerset	1842	11	2	77	29	3	155	1	12	74	81	155	680
Burgher's Dorp . . .	1850		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
D'Urban (F. Peddie)	1837	6	2	152	52	6	120	4	100	40	80	120	1,800
Newton-Dale	1837		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
British Kaffraria—													
Mount Coke	1825	7	1	51	5	1	96	2	122	55	67	122	800
Wesleyville	1823		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
K. William's Town .	1849	7	—	—	—	1	56	—	—	33	23	56	160
Haslope Hills . . .	1840	8	5	19	—	2	125	2	125	55	70	125	1,000
Kamaastun	1842		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Losseyton	1849	3	3	100	—	3	130	1	130	71	59	130	1,200
Wittebergen	1839	10	12	40	—	4	300	1	20	140	160	300	2,000
Kaffraria Proper—													
Butterworth	1827	10	7	54	5	3	326	2	150	150	176	326	5,000
Beecham Wood . . .	1840	4	1	137	—	1	40	1	40	20	20	40	1,000
Clarkebury	1831	6	3	81	6	1	192	1	154	83	109	192	1,800
Morley	1830	8	7	115	—	3	100	1	86	80	106	186	3,000
Shawbury	1841	4	4	97	—	2	185	2	185	75	110	185	2,000
Buntingville	1830	4	5	66	—	1	180	1	120	82	98	180	1,500
Palmerton	1846	6	4	63	16	1	120	1	80	50	70	120	6,000
Orange River Sov.—													
Bloom Fountain . . .	1850	—	—	30	3	1	50	—	—	20	30	50	200
Gt. Namaqualand—													
Nisbett Bath	1834	30	1	302	64	6	540	6	450	210	240	450	1,200
Hoole's Fountain . .	1852	7	1	35	28	1	294	1	294	118	170	288	600
Bechuana Country—													
Thaba Unchu	1833	8	8	220	17	2	300	2	70	100	200	300	8,000
Lokualo	1845		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Plaatberg	1826	12	10	202	30	1	120	2	120	140	60	200	8,000
Lishuani	1838	4	4	26	10	1	100	1	50	40	60	100	
Umpukani	1833	2	2	3	3	2	100	2	80	50	80	130	8,000
Imparani	1838	6	5	50	—	1	60	2	50	25	35	60	
Tauane's Tribe . . .	1851	—	—	15	13	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	8,000
Natal—													
D'Urban	1841	6	—	163	45	5	223	1	50	122	101	223	2,235
Pietermaritzberg . .	1846	8	5	122	11	2	110	2	45	60	50	110	400
Kwangubeni	1849	4	—	29	4	3	30	1	10	20	10	30	5,000
Indaleni	1849	2	—	38	1	2	125	1	—	53	72	125	2,000
Totals		491	143	4,284	568	92	7,242	57	3,699	3,636	4,171	7,807	58,525

Note.—There are two Printing Offices belonging to the Mission, one at King William's Town, and one at Plantberg, in the Sovereignty.

were told that the powerful Bassuto chief, Moshesh, urgently desired that missionaries should be sent to instruct his tribe. The new-comers proceeded to his country, and on arriving near Thaba Bossiou, received a forcible proof that their presence, though unlooked for, would be welcome, by meeting a large herd of oxen proceeding to the colony by order of Moshesh, there to be disposed of in exchange for

a missionary. From that day to this, the Bassuto chief has protected and upheld the ministers of the gospel; but though he listens attentively and with reverence to their teaching, he has not yet been prevailed upon to avow himself converted to a creed which would require the renunciation of polygamy, and consequently of forty-nine out of the fifty wives he is at present reported to possess. (Freeman, p. 311.)

152 FRENCH, LONDON, RHENISH, AND GLASGOW MISSION STATIONS.

There are now twenty French missionaries in South Africa, all of whom, with the exception of the single station at Wellington, near the Cape, are distributed among the Bechuanaas, but chiefly among the Bassutos; almost all are married, and, with their families, number about ninety persons. They have founded the stations of Béthulie, Carmel, Beer-sheba, Morija, Thaba Bossiou, Béréé, Hebron, Hermon, Cana, Mekuatleng, Bethesda, and Motito. The total number of communicants connected with them is about 1,000; the number baptized about twice as many. Bechuana labourers are much esteemed in the colony, especially such as bring with them recommendations from mission stations. From Morija alone more than 300 labourers went into the colony

during 1851, all of whom had received religious instruction. The missionaries have translated the four Evangelists, the Acts, the Psalms, and other portions of the Bible, into the widely-disseminated Sichuana tongue, concerning which one of them (M. Casalis) has published a remarkable work. The yearly expenditure of the society upon its African missions is £3,000. (For the above particulars I am indebted to M. le Pasteur, J. H. Grand Pierre. The efforts of the London Society (Independents) are second only to those of the Wesleyan in extent and importance; their stations in South Africa are shown in the following table: their annual expenditure there is £7,000, and their aggregate outlay, since 1812, has been £266,154 : 16s.

Station.	Com- menced.	Popula- tion.	Language.	Congre- gation.	Church members.	Scholars.
<i>Within the colony:—</i>						
Barrack Street, Cape Town	1812	—	Dutch and English . . .	200	23	500
Paarl	1819	—	Dutch	800	100	200
Caledon	1815	1,166	Ditto	400	262	260
Pacaltsdorp	1813	572	Ditto	250	73	140
Dysalsdorp	1837	—	Ditto	280	91	123
Hankey	1824	1,036	Ditto	500	186	300
Bethelsdorp	1807	430	Ditto	250	100	130
Port Elizabeth	1828	—	Dutch and English . . .	—	70	230
Uitenhage	1828	800	Kafir and Bassuto . . .	500	230	234
Graham's Town	1828	—	Dutch	500	262	135
Graaf Reynet	1806	—	Dutch and Kafir	250	65	140
Theapolis	1814	350	Dutch	200	50	139
Colesberg	1840	979	Ditto	200	40	70
Somerset	1842	—	Ditto	200	155	130
Kat River	1817	2,700	English, Dutch, and Kafir	700	730 ^a	600
Tidmanton	1839	622	Ditto	500	150	210
Cradock	1839	2,200	Ditto	215	33	125
Long Kloof	1840	—	Dutch	300	73	313
Fort Beaufort	1848	—	English, Dutch, and Kafir	500	146	300
George	—	—	—	—	—	—
<i>Beyond the colony:—</i>						
King William's Town	1826	—	Dutch and Kafir	330	146	146
Knapp's Hope	1835	174	Kafir	100	22 ^a	50
Peelton	1848	—	Ditto	200	52	120
Griqua Town	1806	3,600	Dutch, Sichuana, and Coranna	1,180	550	830
Lekatleng	1840	1,183	Sichuana	700	300	300
Philippolis	1825	5,200	Dutch and Sichuana . . .	450	—	70
Kuruman	1816	2,492	Sichuana	300	161	168
Mamusa	1846	8,200	Sichuana and Sakosa . . .	230	115	230
Mabotsa	1843	—	Sichuana	—	7	20
Kalobeng	1817	3,284	Ditto	400	—	50
Matebe	1847	2,000	Ditto	100	7	50

Note.—¹ Broken up and abandoned in consequence of the war.—^a Including out-stations.

The Rhenish Missionary Stations in the colony and Namaqualand have wrought much good, as have also, though on a smaller scale, the *Berlin*, and especially the *Glasgow* missionaries, whose labours among the Kafirs have been so sadly interrupted by the renewal of war. In the course of the foregoing pages, many missionaries have been incidentally mentioned in connection with their writings and public labours. To enumerate these, and add to them the names of those who have distinguished themselves by their exertions in the same cause, would indeed offer a long and glorious list, from which, however, even then many omissions might be made from ignorance. It only remains to pay a passing tribute to the valuable labours of the late Rev. C.

J. Latrobe, of the Moravian; of Campbell, Moffat, and Livingston, of the London; of Shaw, and others of the Wesleyan; and of Niven of the Glasgow Mission.

EDUCATION was formerly much neglected; in one district, in 1812, only 100 children in 3,400 were under instruction; and it is to be feared the rest of the colony was as badly provided for. Schools are now numerous; those receiving some aid from government, comprised, in 1850, 6,350 male, and 5,576 female scholars; the contributions by government, fixed and contingent, amounted in 1851 to about £7,000. Each district has a government free-school.

A *South African College*, founded in 1829, and ably superintended for several years by Dr. Adamson, is in operation, but awaits the restoration of

internal tranquillity for its establishment on a broader basis. The bishop of Cape Town has purchased a house, with fifty acres of adjoining land, for the erection of a Collegiate Institution, in connection with the Church of England. Dr. Gray, the present diocesan, has spared no exertion to administer to the spiritual and educational wants of the members of his church, and recently made a tour of 4,000 miles to make himself acquainted with its condition and necessities. The hardships incurred in this remarkable journey, prove that the diocese is beyond the powers of any one pastor. Natal will, it is understood, be formed into a separate see.

NEWSPAPERS.—Nine at Cape Town, three at Graham's Town, three at Port Elizabeth, one at Cradock, and one at Bloem-Fontein, in the Orange River sovereignty. There are several monthly and annual periodicals; one, *The Cape of Good Hope Almanac*, contains useful statistical information.

CRIME.—The number of male convicts in the colony, sentenced for various crimes to imprisonment with hard labour, was, for the five years ending 1848, 1,089. Annual average 224, or 1 in 893 of the colonial population. Of the foregoing 11 were for murder, 30 for culpable homicide, 2 for assault with intent to commit murder, 88 for assault, 16 for rape, &c.; 155 house-breaking, 16 robbery; 711 cattle, horse, and sheep stealing; 6 forgery, 4 perjury; 13 military desertion, 6 drunkenness and military insubordination. The police returns of Cape Town for one year (ending June, 1850) show that of 1,329 male convicts, 1,157 could neither read nor write, and but 39 could read and write well. Of 276 female convicts, 244 could neither read nor write. Mr. Montague, on assuming the office of colonial secretary in 1843, laid down, and successfully carried out, a just and humane system of prison discipline, which has tended to check crime, to promote reformation, and to make the labour of the prisoners conducive to the public weal by employing them in the construction of roads, where, on an average, about 500 men are daily occupied at a cost of £12,000 a-year, which is about the value of their labour. No violent coercion is used; and criminals are encouraged to return to a life of industry and virtue by a judicious system of rewards.

CHRONOLOGY OF LEADING EVENTS.—Diaz doubled the Cape of Good Hope, 1486; occupation by the Dutch E. I. Com., 1652; Gamtoos River declared the E. boundary, 1770; E. boundary extended to the Fish River, 1780; British take possession on behalf of the Prince of Orange, 1795; Sir James Craig made gov., 1795; Earl of Macartney (gov.), 1797; Sir Francis Dundas (lt.-gov.), 1798; Sir George Young (gov.), 1799; Sir Francis Dundas (lt.-gov.), 1801; colony ceded to Batavian government, 1803; Gen. Janasens (gov.) 1803; conquest by Great Britain, 1806; Sir David Baird (gov.), 1806; Hon. H. G. Grey (lt.-gov.), 1807; Earl of Caledon (gov.), 1807; Sir F. Cradock (gov.), 1811; first Kafir war, 1811-'12; Lord C. H. Somerset (gov.), 1814; Col. Brereton's commando, 1818; second Kafir war, 1819; extension of colony to the Keiskamma, 1819; Sir Rufane Shaw Donkin (act.-gov.), 1820; four thousand British emigrants arrived, 1820; Lord C. H. Somerset (returned from England), 1821; Sir Richard Bourke (lt.-gov.), 1828; fiftieth ordinance enacted, 1828; Sir Galbraith Lowry Cole (gov.), 1828; expulsion of Macomo from his land on the Kat River, 1829; Hottentot settlement formed on the Kat River, 1829; Lt.-col. F. F. Wade (act.-gov.), 1833; Sir Benjamin D'Urban (gov.), 1834;

slave emancipation, 1834; third Kafir war, 1834-'35; Hintza slain, May, 1835; colony extended to the Kei, Sept., 1835; great emigration of the boors, 1835-'36; Sir A. Stockenström appointed gov. of the Eastern Province, 1836; country between the Kei and Keiskamma restored, and treaties entered into with Kafirs, 1836; Sir G. T. Napier (gov.), 1838; Sir Peregrine Maitland (gov.), 1844; alteration of Kafir treaties, 1844; fourth Kafir war, 1846; Sir Henry Pottinger (gov.), and resumption of hostilities, 1847; Sir H. G. W. Smith (gov.), 1847; assumption of Orange River Sovereignty, 1848; anti-convict agitation, 1849; attempt to seize Sandilli, and fifth Kafir war, Dec., 1850-'51; Gen. Cathcart (gov.), 1852; recognition of independence of boors in the Grensgebied, 1852; representative constitution conceded to the Cape Col., 1852.

CONCLUSION.—The peninsula of Africa, with its southern cape midway between Europe and Asia, and also between England and Australia, communicating with the Atlantic on the west, and with the Indian Ocean on the east, occupies a maritime position of the highest importance. In addition to a vast extent of upland soil, park-like downs, and sheltered vales; a climate well adapted to the English constitution, and so fine and dry as to necessitate no winter provender or shelter for sheep or cattle,—it affords suitable temperature for an endless variety of culture, by means of proximity to the ocean on either shore, and by the diversified elevation of its lofty mountains and immense plateaux; here wheat (bringing nearly the best price in the London market) may be grown to an incalculable extent; there two crops of maize or millet may be annually reaped. The vine flourishes over large tracts, and where the grape ripens, the olive and mulberry will thrive; animal food of the best quality abounds, and the fishery on L'Agulhas bank is scarcely inferior to that of Newfoundland. The sugar-cane, tea and coffee plants, flax, and cotton, may be eventually added to the present staple colonial products; minerals of several descriptions are known to exist, and gold will, I doubt not, be obtained in several localities. Enjoying these and other advantages, the material prosperity of this fine colony seems to depend, under providence, upon the adoption of a conciliatory and just system towards the aboriginal races. No greater benefits could accrue to the colonists than would be derived from the steady progress of the frontier tribes, while their civilization would doubtless rapidly spread to more distant nations, and aid directly in the extension of those Christian doctrines by whose holy influence Africa can alone be relieved from the curse under which she has groaned for ages.

BOOK II.—NATAL.

CHAPTER I.

HISTORY AND OCCUPATION AS A BRITISH COLONY.

THE territory thus designated from the discovery of the inlet of Port Natal, by the Portuguese, on Christmas-day, 1498, is situated on the south-eastern coast of Africa, to the north-eastward of the Cape of Good Hope. (The leading features of its history are given in small type to economize space.)

In October, 1689, the governor and council of the Cape ordered the commander of an expedition (despatched in the galliot *Noord*, to explore the south-eastern coast, as far as Delagoa Bay), "to buy from Ingese, the chief, the Bay of Natal, and the adjacent country, for beads, copper, cutlery, or what might please the natives, to the value of 29,000 guilders.* In December, 1690, the purchase was made for merchandise to the alleged value of 20,000 guilders. The extent of the land acquired is not stated.† The Directors of the East India Company then declared Natal a dependency of the settlement of the Cape of Good Hope. An expedition left Cape Town 14th of February, 1721, to establish a trading post there, but being unable to find the place, settled at Delagoa Bay instead. No other attempt at occupation appears to have been made by the Dutch from this period to the 19th of January, 1806, when Governor Janssens surrendered to His Britannic Majesty "the whole of the settlement of the Cape of Good Hope, with its dependencies, and all the rights and privileges held and exercised by the Batavian government." England evinced no desire to take possession of Natal; but the reports of shipwrecked persons and traders drew attention to the place, which Dampier had described, in the 17th century, as a very eligible position. Captain (now Admiral) W. F. W. Owen, during his survey and exploration of the eastern coast of Africa, in 1822-5, advised the establishment of trade with this part of the coast.

In 1823, I met, at the Cape of Good Hope, a Lieutenant Farewell, R.N., who was very sanguine in his expectations of becoming a great chief at Natal. On proceeding thither, in September, 1823, he found that Chaka, the celebrated Zoolu leader, had conquered the country, destroyed or driven away the native inhabitants, and formed his military station within 100 to 150 miles of Port Natal. Farewell, who was favourably received by Chaka, returned to the Cape, and obtained permission from Lord C. Somerset to endeavour to establish commercial intercourse, but was told that the acquisition of territorial rights could not be sanctioned except after full examination of the circumstances under which they might be offered, and were intended to be received. He then, accompanied by a Mr. Fynn, several

Europeans, and some Hottentots, returned to Natal, and, on the 14th of September, 1824, informed Lord C. Somerset that Chaka had expressed great pleasure at his coming to reside there; and had made him "a sale and grant of a part of his country in that neighbourhood" (amounting, it is said, to about 2,000,000 acres), and freely given a number of cattle for the support of his party.‡ The territory thus bestowed had, however, just been ravished from its native owners, of whom some hundreds appear to have still remained.

Messrs. Farewell, Fynn, and King (the commander of a trading brig), made great exertions to establish a British community; but their efforts were not only coolly received, but even ungenerously checked. On one occasion they built a small vessel at Natal out of their scanty resources—their own ship having been wrecked at the entrance of the harbour. The new craft was named the *Chaka*, freighted with ivory, &c., and sent to Algoa Bay, where it was seized by the authorities, and left to rot on the beach, *because she had no register*!§ The little band, persevered, nevertheless, in their proceedings; and being thus prevented from holding communication with the colony by sea, opened up a route by land, between Natal and Graham's Town.

In one of the early attempts made to establish this line of communication, Lieutenant Farewell and his party were murdered by a treacherous chief, a little to the eastward of the Umzimvoobu River, in 1829. This was a melancholy termination to the career of one who had proved a useful pioneer in the foundation of a promising settlement.

Chaka had perished shortly before, having been stabbed in his own kraal, in September, 1828. The latter acts of his life had been a series of atrocities, which, if one-half of them be true, give to this heathen tyrant a fearful pre-eminence over a Nero or Domitian in the amount of suffering inflicted. A few months before his assassination, Chaka sent about 30,000 fighting men to the eastward and northward of Mozambique, for the express purpose, as it is supposed, of weakening his own tribe, and exercising upon them more than his usual brutality. This force marched with provision only for the advance, and with orders not to fight until it was expended. The tribe against whom they proposed to war, drove off the whole of their cattle, and having surprised and cut to pieces a detachment of about 8,000 Zoolus, necessitated the remainder to retire. The invading force was subsequently so reduced by famine and casualties, that not more than 10,000 are supposed to have returned to their country. Chaka, on learning their ill success, ordered the massacre of 2,000 of the wives of the defeated warriors, at the rate of 300

* Parl. Papers, 1st June, 1835; p. 95. † *Idem*.

‡ Parl. Papers, June, 1835; p. 96. § *Idem*, part ii., p. 97

a day. These and other almost incredible excesses led to the formation of the conspiracy against him, headed by his brother Dingaan, the fatal result of which has been stated.

Such is the account given by Sir Lowry Cole, on the authority of Lieutenant Farewell, of the conduct of Chaka, and the circumstances which led to his death. But more intimate acquaintance with native character and customs affords reason for doubting its authenticity. In the first place, Chaka is described, by later authorities, as having been popular among his own subjects, the Zoolus or Amazoolus, whom, from a very small and insignificant tribe, he had rendered a powerful and dreaded people. Like most great conquerors and slave owners, he was utterly reckless of the value of human life, except as a means necessary to the accomplishment of his own ends; and an abundant supply of "bone and sinew" never failed him, since he had only to make war upon some small neighbouring clan, slay the chiefs, or degrade them to the position of cowherds, and incorporate their people, (whose very name was thenceforth obliterated) among his own tribe. So perfectly unfettered was this South African tyrant by any humane scruples in the accomplishment of his purposes, that, on a sudden demand for ivory, he would order out large bodies of his warriors, and compel them to rush in upon a herd of elephants while grazing, though these attempts frequently involved the destruction of several hundred lives. Still he is said not to have been bloodthirsty, and therefore would scarcely have put 2,000 unoffending women of his own tribe to death. The story, again, is incredible, because, among the Zoolus, *married men* composed a sort of trained militia, and were never sent out on commandoes or warlike expeditions, except in cases of extreme emergency. For these and other reasons, it seems probable that the fate of Chaka was immediately caused by the ambition and treachery of Dingaan, who slew him, and procured himself to be named his successor by a majority of the chiefs. Dingaan was less bold and talented than his brother, but far more crafty and cruel. Dr. Andrew Smith, who resided about a week in his kraal, in 1830, declared that he saw "portions of the bodies of eleven of his own wives, whom he had only a few days previous put to death, merely for having uttered words which annoyed him." The same witness attests the fact of his "murdering, torturing, and destroying hundreds of his own subjects in the course of a day."* Dingaan, however, professed great friendship to the English, and desired the formation of a trading post, for a very obvious reason. Ivory, the chief article sought for by traders, was, according to Zoolu law, regarded as the exclusive property of the king, who, consequently, as the principal dealer, was solicitous for the continuance and increase of a profitable traffic.

Captain Campbell,† the civil commissioner of Albany, strongly advised the British occupation of the Natal territory; but no heed was paid to his representations, or to those of several English settlers, who knew the value of the country, having been residing there since 1824.

In 1830, the Americans opened a trade with Natal, and landed a quantity of muskets, cutlasses, gunpowder, and salt; and a rumour was circulated that the government of the United States intended to form a settlement on this part of the coast.

In June, 1834, the merchants and other inhabitants of Cape Town addressed a memorial to the king in council, praying that measures might be taken for the occupation of Port Natal and the depopulated country in its vicinity. This was sent by Sir B. D'Urban to Mr. Spring Rice, at that time Colonial Secretary. The memorial was supported by an able, conclusive, and statesmanlike document, drawn up by Dr. Andrew Smith, then staff-assistant-surgeon in South Africa, who had recently returned from an exploratory tour in Natal. The prayer of the memorial was rejected, on the ground that the finances of the Cape colony could not bear any additional expense; although all that was required was, the stationing of a magistrate, and a few police or soldiers to maintain order, ample funds for which would have been furnished by the gradual sale of territory in moderate allotments, even after the deduction of liberal reserves, both in land and money, for the sustenance of the few and scattered native proprietors.

In 1834-5, Captain Allen F. Gardiner, R.N. (whose Christian sufferings and death on the inhospitable shores of Terra del Fuego, in 1851, are so well known), proceeded to South Africa, with a view to the introduction of Christianity among the Zoolus and other native tribes.‡ He was well received by Dingaan, who, on the 3rd of May, 1835, entered into a convention with him and about fourteen resident Englishmen, by which he waived all claim to the person and property of any native who should have deserted from him to reside with the Europeans at Port Natal. It is alleged that Dingaan then made an extensive grant of territory (7,000,000 acres) to Captain Gardiner, inclusive of that which Chaka had previously presented to Lieutenant Farewell. General D'Urban signified to Dingaan, in writing, his approval of the convention, and promised to send an officer, on the part of the king of England, to reside at Natal in the absence of Captain Gardiner, who had proceeded to Europe.

The British traders and residents, now considering themselves securely established, commenced the laying out of a town, which they called D'Urban. They set aside 3,000 acres of land for the endowment of a clergyman of the Church of England, and collected subscriptions for the construction of a church; selected a site for the erection of a free school, and appropriated 2,000 acres for its support, and 3,000 for the formation of an hospital. A town committee was organized, and the rudiments of municipal government introduced. Cultivation was extended, and trade increased; still the British government refused to recognise the existence of the small but prosperous settlement, planted by its energetic subjects. Circumstances, however, compelled that which principle and policy ought to have dictated. The boers, on the frontier of the Cape Colony, having resolved to *trek*, or migrate, in search of new homesteads and fresh pastures, sent out an exploring expedition to ascertain the most eligible location. The favourable report brought back by their agents respecting Natal; the exaggerated reports circulated within the colony, respecting its really considerable natural advantages; and the tacit refusal of the government to acknowledge it as a British settlement, induced the migration of about 1,000 boers, with their wives, children, servants, waggons, horses, oxen and flocks, under the guidance of Pieter Retief, Maritz, and Uys. On

* Parl. Papers, 1st June, 1835; part ii., p. 100.

† *Idem*, p. 57.

‡ *Narrative of a Journey to the Zoolu Country*, by Captain Allen F. Gardiner, R.N. 8vo. London: 1836.

arriving, in October, 1837, within a few days' journey of Dingaan's kraal, the party encamped, and their leaders had an interview with the crafty chief, who agreed to grant land to them, provided they recovered some cattle for him from his enemy Sinkonyella, a Mantatee ruler. This they appear to have done. They were then suffered to remain unmolested, offering alliance and friendship to the English settlers at D'Urban. Dingaan granted to the new comers the land between the Umzimcoolu and Tukela Rivers, which had been previously given to Farewell and Gardiner; and invited Retief, on the 6th of December, 1837, to witness a sham fight, requiring however, that he and his body-guard should attend unarmed. Maritz and others advised Retief not to go; but in vain. At a pre-concerted signal, Retief, and all his attendants, 100 in number, were massacred; and a strong party of Zoolus was sent to surprise the Dutch camp, which was done effectually; and many of the inmates perished. The numbers slain are stated to be 120 boors, 55 women (their wives), 191 children, and 250 Hottentots and other servants.

After this, the English settlers joined the boors against Dingaan, sent a commando into his country, and brought off about 4,000 head of cattle, and 500 women. The Zoolus retaliated; attacked the English settlement; killed about 13 Europeans; obliged the remainder to flee; and seized all the property in D'Urban.

Maritz, who succeeded Retief, had still with him 640 white men fit to bear arms, 3,200 women and children, and 1,269 blacks. His camp consisted of about 1,000 waggons, 3,000 horses, 40,000 cattle, and 30,000 sheep.

Animated by a strong desire to revenge the death of Retief and their friends, the boors met and fought the Zoolus with great fury, and after a series of contests, defeated them with much slaughter. Their leader sued for peace, restored some prisoners and horses he had taken, and assigned over the whole territory of Natal to the conquerors.

In a subsequent conflict, Dingaan was supposed to have fallen with a body of his men, in a ravine where he was hemmed in and fired upon by the boors; but it has since been asserted that he escaped and proceeded to the northward, and eventually perished in a contest with a petty native chief. After his downfall, some of the various tribes, forcibly comprised by Chaca under the denomination of Zoolus, again separated under chiefs of their own. The principal of these were the Quabies, over whom their chief, Panda (whom Chaca had made one of his cow-herds), resumed authority.

In December, 1838, the governor of the Cape resolved to despatch a small military force by sea to Natal, for the restoration of order, and to take possession of the place in the Queen's name. The troops were sent under the command of Major Charteris, but recalled to the Cape, after being a few months at Natal, without having effected any object whatever. The boors were then absent, and engaged up the country in warfare with Dingaan, which having brought to a satisfactory conclusion, they returned, and finding that the British troops had quitted the place, they took possession of the deserted buildings at D'Urban, settled down unmolested, and founded their town under the name of Pieter-Maritzburg, the present capital of the colony. Towards the end of 1839, Maritz, the president, and seven members of the assembly, entrusted with the management of their

affairs, put forth a manifesto, stating the causes which had brought them to Natal; declaring that the soil had been bought with their blood; that they would hold it until subdued and slain; and that emigrants arriving without their consent should be treated as enemies. A correspondence was commenced between them and the governor at Cape Town, but led to no definite result.

In the beginning of 1841, the governor sent from Graham's Town, by land, under the command of Captain Smith, a force consisting of 150 men of the 27th regiment, 50 of the Cape mounted rifles, and a small detachment of artillery and engineers with two or three guns, to take up a position on the Umgazi, near the Umzimvoobu River, for the purpose of protecting the native chiefs in that quarter against the attacks of the Natal immigrants, who, about this time, formally declared that they had renounced their allegiance to the British government, were an independent state, and were establishing diplomatic relations with European powers. To permit the formation of a hostile settlement at the only port between Algoa and Delagoa Bays, and the high road from the coast to the interior of Southern Africa, was manifestly impossible; Captain Smith was therefore ordered to push forward with his detachment from the Umzimvoobu to Port Natal, which place he reached in May, 1842. The boors did not at first forcibly oppose British occupation, but commenced seizing their cattle and herds, and closing around their encampment. Their leader then ordered the English to retire from the place. Captain Smith refused to withdraw; and having failed in a night attack, a desperate contest ensued, in which he was defeated, with a loss of killed, wounded, and prisoners, amounting to one-third of his few soldiers, and a considerable proportion of guns and stores. He then entrenched his men within a rude barricade of waggons and a breast-work of earth; and by means of a bold and trustworthy messenger named King, forwarded to Graham's Town an account of his position. The boors are said to have had 130 killed and 70 wounded; but this is probably much beyond the truth. They closely besieged the English troops; cut off all communication by land: seized two vessels that were in the bay; and kept up an almost unceasing assault on the small but resolute force, who defended themselves bravely, refusing all terms of capitulation, though reduced to eat horseflesh, or anything that would sustain life. The governor, on receiving intelligence of these disasters, forthwith despatched a frigate and troop-ship, with a strong reinforcement of the 25th regiment, under Colonel Cloete. The boors were unable to withstand the fire of the heavy guns of the frigate, and the rockets, and, after an ineffectual attempt to prevent the landing of their opponents, fled in confusion; the troops disembarked, and were received with grateful cheers by their brave comrades, at length set free, after a long month of peril and privation. The British flag was permanently hoisted, and Colonel Cloete granted an amnesty to all the boors who would surrender, except three of the leaders. This was by some accepted; but the majority fled across the Drakenberg range, and joined their countrymen on the Vaal River. No alternative now remained but to establish the actual sovereignty of England over Natal.

On the 31st of May, 1844, letters patent were issued, annexing the district to the Cape Colony. By subsequent letters patent dated, 31st of April, 1845, Natal was made a distinct and separate government;

but power was still entrusted to the authorities of the Cape colony to make laws for the new province, should it be deemed necessary. On the 2nd of March, 1847, a royal charter was conceded, whereby the power granted to the Cape legislature was revoked, and vested in the officer administering the government of Natal, and in certain public functionaries, who were to constitute a legislative council.*

Dissatisfaction arose for want of timely arrangements with respect to the farms which the remaining boors claimed; and in January, 1848, they quitted Natal in large numbers. Sir H. Smith says: "I was almost paralyzed to witness the whole of the population, with few exceptions, *treking* (emigrating), exposed to a state of misery which I never before saw equalled, except in Massena's invasion of Portugal, when the whole of the population of that part of the seat of war abandoned their homes and fled." The ruins were then extremely heavy, and the country was intersected by considerable streams, which were frequently impassable. Three or four hundred fathers of large families assembled, and, with tears, represented their grievances to the governor. They alleged that they had abandoned their houses, the gardens planted with their own hands, and the standing crops, to seek a home in the wilderness, because they were refused a title to land, or even permission

to purchase it. Sir H. Smith promptly appointed a land commission to investigate their grievances; and nominated, as one of the members, A. W. J. Pretorius, the leader of the emigrants, who was then greatly excited in consequence of having vainly proceeded from Natal to Graham's Town to place the position of his countrymen before the then governor, Sir Henry Pottinger, who unwisely and ungraciously refused him an audience. Sir H. Smith ordered that farms, not exceeding 6,000 acres, should be given to such of the original emigrants as had strong and peculiar claims to this indulgence; or, in ordinary cases, that they should be allowed to purchase the same extent of land. This measure but partially checked the emigration movement towards the Vaal River, as the boors had become exceedingly averse to the British government;† while the lavish grants made in consequence, could scarcely fail to retard the progress of the infant colony, by injuring its first resource, the land-fund.

Between March, 1848, and December, 1850, a large immigration took place: 35 vessels, containing 3,812 emigrants, and 12 vessels from London and Liverpool, whose passengers are not stated, having arrived at Natal within that period. The settlement is now fairly established, and is desirous of obtaining a Representative Government.

CHAPTER II.

POSITION, AREA, PHYSICAL FEATURES, DIVISIONS, TOWNS—CLIMATE, GEOLOGY, SOIL.—GOVERNMENT, LAWS, POPULATION, LANDS, REVENUE, COMMERCE, AND GENERAL VIEW.

THE COLONY OF NATAL lies between 27° 10' and 30° 40' S. lat., and between 29° and 31° 10' E. long. It is bounded on the eastward by the Indian Ocean, on the westward by the Quathlamba, Kathlamba, or Drakenberg range; on the north and north-east by the Buffalo, or Umzinyati, and its prolongation, the Utukela, or Tugela River; and on the south by the southern branch of the Umzimkulu, or Umzimkuluana, which separates it from the territories of the Kafir chief, Faku. The length from north-west to south-east is about 200 miles, the breadth between the coast and the mountains varies from 60 to 120 miles; the area is estimated at 18,000 square miles. The coast-line extends in a north-east and south-west direction for 200 miles, affording sheltered anchorage only at Port Natal, which is situated about midway.

PHYSICAL FEATURES.—A marked character is imparted to Natal by the lofty and table-topped

Quathlamba chain, which forms a background from whence numerous offshoots stretch out, generally from west to east, in some instances approaching the sea-shore and dividing the country into distinct portions. From the main range, as well as from the lateral spurs, numerous streams descend by short and generally direct courses to the ocean, affording never-failing supplies of water, and extraordinary facilities for irrigation. The land exhibits successive terraces rising from the coast to the mountains, occasionally broken by rocky gorges and steep ravines.

Dr. Andrew Smith, who traversed this region in 1830, declared the principal part of it to be well fitted either for grazing or agriculture, and added, "such an effect was produced upon one of my party (a Dutch farmer), on our entrance into this beautiful country, that for several days he could scarcely give utterance to anything but, 'Almighty! I have never in my life seen such a fine place. I shall never again reside in the colony, if the English government make this a drostdy.'" The more westerly portion presents numerous extensive flats, thickly covered with luxuriant grass, and abounding in watercourses. The middle and eastern districts exhibit a broken and undulating surface, dotted

* Parl. Papers, July, 1848.

† Parl. Papers, July, 1848; pp. 212-14.

over with low knolls, in some places clustered together, in others separate, connected by rich meadows, in many of which water is seen oozing out in every direction, so that what the traveller in other parts of South Africa watches for with anxious solicitude, here constitutes a positive inconvenience. Some of the rivers whose sources are far in the interior, are of considerable size, and commonly run in deep channels with rather precipitous banks. Timber trees exist everywhere in sufficiency, but are most plentiful towards the eastern and western boundaries, in which situations considerable forests are met with free from the great proportion of underwood found in those of the Cape Colony. (*Vide* Dr. Smith's memorandum, Parl. Papers, June, 1835, part ii., p. 99.)

MOUNTAINS.—The Quathlamba, or, as they are here called, the Drakenberg Mountains, are considered by Dr. Stanger, the surveyor-general of Natal, to consist of two distinct ranges, differing in geological structure and direction; the Great Drakenberg constituting the western, the Lesser Drakenberg, the north-western boundary of Natal. The average altitude of the latter is 5,000 feet above the sea, and about 1,500 feet above the general level of the country at its base. The outline is in general round and soft, presenting some remarkable features, and occasionally high table-lands with precipitous sides. These mountains are composed of beds of sandstone cut through by veins of trap; according to Dr. Stanger, they diminish in height as they advance towards the north-east, until at some distance beyond the source of the *Umzimvati* River, they appear to terminate in low hills. They are traversable in various places by horses and cattle; but De Beer's Pass, in $28^{\circ} 20' S.$ lat., $28^{\circ} 52' E.$ long., is the only one in common use for waggons. There is another near Bezuidenhout's farm, in $28^{\circ} 33' S.$ lat., and $28^{\circ} 44' E.$ long., which is just practicable, and is sometimes, though rarely, resorted to by farmers or travellers, in ponderous unmanageable waggons, with their teams of twelve to eighteen oxen. Timber abounds in the kloofs, and on the south-eastern side of these heights. On the north-west the country forms a plain of considerable elevation.

The Great Drakenberg joins the Lesser Drakenberg ten or twelve miles to the south-west of Bezuidenhout's farm, and is much loftier, and quite impassable, presenting a rugged outline and bold precipitous escarpments, and being apparently of granitic formation. The summit of the Drakenberg is a table-land which extends for about 500 miles; in travelling from the Orange River Sovereignty, towards the mountains, there is an undulating country with occasional hills, giving no indication of a lofty plateau; but suddenly, on arriving at the top of one of these ridges, the whole country of Natal is seen below, with an apparently perpendicular descent of several thousand feet.

The RIVERS of this part of South-eastern Africa may be conveniently classed under three heads, according to the distance of their sources from the ocean, and elevation above its level; unfortunately, none of them are navigable, but all more or less barred at the mouth. The first class includes the *Utukela*, the *Umzimkulu* or *Umzimcoobu*, and the *Umzimvati*, which either through their own channels, or those of their tributaries, drain the Drakenberg mountains. Of these, the principal is the *Utukela*, whose chief source, the *Buffalo*, or *Umzin-*

yati, which bounds Natal on the north, rises at the base of the Small Drakenberg, and pursues a south-eastern direction to its confluence with the *Utukela*, entering the Indian Ocean in $29^{\circ} 18' S.$ lat., after a course of about 150 miles. Among the tributaries of the *Utukela* are the *Blue Kranz* or *Umsuluzi*, the *Bushmans*, the *Mooi* or *Impafane*, and others which join it on either bank, forming a considerable volume of water. The *Umzimkulu*, on the southern boundary, is a much smaller stream, about eighty miles in length.

The second class of rivers, such as the *Umtoti*, the *Ungeni*, and the *Umkomazi*, have shorter courses, and drain a country having an elevation of about 2,000 or 2,500 feet. The third, and most numerous class, rise at a height of 1,500 feet, or less, above the sea-level, and are very inconsiderable in size. The abundant irrigation of this coast may be understood from the fact, that in travelling from the *St. Lucie River* on the north of Natal, in about $28^{\circ} 30' S.$ lat., to the Great Kei River of Kafirland, in about $32^{\circ} 40'$, there are more than 150 rivers or watercourses to be crossed.

DIVISIONS.—The explored portion of Natal has been divided into six magistracies, and sites for towns and villages have been selected by the local authorities, (Dr. Stanger the surveyor-general, Mr. Shepstone the diplomatic agent to the native tribes, and Lieutenant Gibb, R.N.,) from whose report the following statements are chiefly derived:

D'Urban Division includes the township of D'Urban, the seaport of the province, which is built on the shores of Port Natal. The town is laid out for 450 allotments, and when visited by the bishop of Cape Town, in 1850, was rapidly increasing in the number of its buildings and population (*Journal* for 1850, p. 51.) There are many extensive stores, and a large amount of business is carried on. The bay of Natal, which is about three miles long, by two and a-half broad, is easy of access for vessels not drawing more than eight feet of water for the last of the flood tide; on its bar there are eleven feet at high water spring tides, and occasionally a greater depth. Vessels of 400 tons cross the bar, and find good holding-ground outside until the tide serves. Inside the harbour is perfectly sheltered from all winds, and sufficiently large even at present to contain a considerable fleet, with soundings of nine to eleven fathoms, sandy bottom.* It has been proposed to deepen the entrance by a steam dredger, as has been done at the harbour of Adelaide, South Australia. M. Delargorgue suggests rendering the entire port a wet dock, by erecting tidal lock-gates, which, when opened, would cause the water to force a deep passage over the bar. Dr. Stanger advocates a process founded on a somewhat similar principle. He argues that the bar being formed by the tide in ebbing out of the bay, meeting with the coast current, and its velocity being thus diminished, and, consequently, its transporting power causing the deposition of sand, a stream dredger would be inefficient unless constantly kept at work. The only way to permanently remove the bar, he considers to be by increasing the velocity of the ebb tide to such an extent that, on coming in contact with the current, it might either mingle with or force a passage through it, and thus, by its increased transporting force, carry the sediment out to sea. This object might be accomplished by diminishing the outlet of

* See Mr. S. Christopher's work on Natal, published by E. Wilson and Trelawny Saunders.

the bay, straightening the channel within the bar, and deepening the inner bay. A steam tug would most materially assist the transit of ships across the bar, and is indeed essential to the prosperity of the port. A lighthouse on the Bluff, which forms the western head of the harbour, is also of great importance.

The scenery around D'Urban is pleasing; a dense bush runs parallel with the sea-shore, generally extending down to the sand. In some places this forest is composed of large trees, in others of thick underwood, consisting of a variety of shrubs, intertwined with creeping parasitic plants, adorned with gaudy flowers. After two hours' ride through the bush the country becomes undulating and studded with clumps of trees. At twenty-five miles from D'Urban there is a bare and very hilly tract, varied occasionally with pretty spots, and at thirty miles the country becomes undulating, continuing so to Pieter-Maritzburg, fifty-one miles distant from D'Urban, by a road which is naturally good throughout, with a few exceptions, where the hills are very steep, but these places are now in course of improvement. Cotton has been planted in the vicinity of the Bay, and yields a superior and abundant produce. The sugar-cane and indigo plants thrive here as elsewhere, and the coffee tree has been introduced, and grows well; but time is required to show whether it can be successfully cultivated. The soil is rich, and favourable to the growth of barley, oats, &c., as well as of most descriptions of vegetables, especially beans, which form a valuable article of export to the Mauritius. The grass is at present rank for want of use, and the prospect for agricultural appears better than for grazing purposes. Mangrove is the chief building timber found in this division, but valuable hard wood for waggon making is obtained in a few localities.

Pieter-Maritzburg Division includes the town of the same name, which is the seat of government, and the head-quarters of the military. The town is finely situated; the ground sloping away from a hill crowned by a fort towards the Little Bushman's River, which winds almost entirely round the hill, and is a constantly running stream, while a fine background is formed by a chain of high hills rising gradually at a short distance, dotted with bush and forest timber. The plan of the town is a parallelogram, extending about a mile and-a-half in length, and a mile in breadth, divided by nine parallel streets, intersected at right angles by five others, each seventy-five feet wide. There are 400 building lots (many of which are still unoccupied), but there are already above 2,000 European or colonial inhabitants. Streams or water-courses are conveyed through all the streets, and many trees, chiefly syringas and willows, are planted in front of the houses. There are several good stone or brick buildings, including a town-hall, extensive barracks, Wesleyan chapel, and a large government school. A commodious English Episcopal church, and other structures, are in course of erection. Maritzburg Division is throughout abundantly watered, and capable of irrigation to almost any extent. Vegetation is very rapid in this and all the other districts; the grass, consequently, grows rank and strong, so as generally only to admit of the larger description of stock, such as cattle and horses, being depastured upon it with advantage in summer. Valuable timber, adapted for building purposes and furniture, is found in several localities.

Umvoti Division, to the north of D'Urban (on the

coast), comprises some of the finest land in Natal. The capabilities of the south-eastern portion of it are similar to those of D'Urban; but cattle thrive better. The locality stated by Dr. Stanger, the surveyor-general of Natal, to be best adapted for a European settlement, is the country on both banks of the *Umvoti* and *Nomoti*, and as far south as the *Tongati*, and the intervening space of about eight miles, for a distance of ten or twelve miles from the sea-coast. The land is not thickly covered with brush-wood, but abounds in large plains, with occasional clumps of thorns: along the banks of the small streams, which are numerous, masses of the useful timber, called *waterboom*, are found. The bed of the *Umvoti* is a rich alluvial deposit of great fertility; that of the *Nomoti* not so good.—(Parl. Papers, 14th August, 1850; p. 70.)

Impafane Division, to the north of Maritzburg, inland, was the favourite location of the boers before they quitted the province, being regarded by them as the best adapted for cattle. Sheep have also thriven well in certain tracts, and although generally less abundantly watered, and therefore perhaps not so capable of sustaining a dense population as the three former divisions, it is quite able to compete with them in many parts even in that respect; for instance, at the village of *Weenen*, and along the banks of the *Mooi* and *Bushman Rivers*. Wheat and oats have been grown largely, and with success. The soil of *Weenen* is particularly fertile; the vine, fruit trees, vegetables, &c., thriving well; but the place has made, and is likely to make, little progress, being situated off the main road in a basin, the approach to which is very difficult on all sides. Small quantities of coal, of inferior quality, have been seen along the banks of the *Bushmans' River*, near the surface. Building timber is procured at the base of the *Quathlamba*.

Upper Tsekela and Umzinyati Divisions are both inland, and lie to the north of *Impafane*, which they much resemble in character. Cattle thrive well here; and sheep in certain portions. Yellow wood abounds near the mountains; and anthracite coal, of good quality, is found in various localities, especially in the ravines near the *Umzinyati*.

Two additional magistracies, *Umsimkoolu* and *Umbezana*, will probably be formed in the extensive tract situated between the *Umkomanzi* and *Umsimkoolu Rivers*, which is described as an open hilly country, well watered, and in parts wooded with fine timber. The Bishop of Cape Town, during his recent long and hazardous episcopal visitation, passed from Pieter-Maritzburg to the *Umsimkoolu River*, at a distance of about thirty-five to forty miles from the coast, and found a very difficult route, with precipitous mountains and steep defiles.

To the westward of the country above described, and between it and the *Quathlamba* range, lies a mountainous, grassy, and well-watered tract, considered well adapted for both sheep and cattle. Two further divisions (*Drakenberg* and *Ingali*) are likely to be formed here. The country to the southward of the colonial boundary, extending between the *Umsimkoolu* to within a few miles of the *Umsimvoobu* or *St. John's* (which latter is navigable for small vessels) is reported to be extremely fertile. The Kafir chief, *Paku*, holds the greater part of it by treaty, as about 10,000 of his people do by birthright, having very recently returned here, after the final defeat of their enemy *Dingaan*.

GEOLOGY.—Very little has been noted on this head. The rocks examined by Dr. Stanger con-

sisted of granite, basalt, and members of the trap family, slate, sandstone and shale; the two latter prevailing in the northern portions of the province. Basalt, greenstone, porphyritic and compact felspar, cut through the sandstone and shale in many places, and sometimes form stony ridges extending along the surface of the country for a great distance, and at others rise in small hills. No minerals, with the exception of anthracite and slightly bituminous coal, have yet been found. The latter occurs in a bed six feet thick, near Biggar's Berg, in 28° 7' S. lat., 29° 25' E. long. It is of good quality. In July, 1852, a seam of good coal was discovered in the cliffs overhanging the sea, about forty miles from D'Urban. Limestone has not been discovered, but sea-shells and concretionary lime furnish the necessary supply. Building materials are obtainable in most places, and in some, excellent freestone is abundant. Fossil silicified dicotyledonous wood is found on the surface of the country throughout the whole of the north-west portion of the colony, occasionally imbedded in sandstone.

The SOIL is divided by the natives into two descriptions:—the *first*, by its name, signifying mimosa, or *thorn* land, occurs on the banks of all the principal rivers, and is generally rich and strong, adapted for grazing purposes, fruitful in good seasons, but easily affected by drought: the *second* comprises forest and open, as well as table-land, more exclusively adapted for agricultural purposes, where droughts seldom occur, and where there are great facilities for irrigation. Cattle do well on this description of land for nine months in the year. The sea-coast belt, for about five miles inland, where the soil and productions are peculiar, and which seems well adapted for cotton, is not included in the above-mentioned classification.

CLIMATE.—The annual range of the thermometer on the the coast, is from 47° in July, to 88° in January. Winter temperature, 50° to 60°; summer average, 76° Fahrenheit. The following table shows the mean temperature of each month in the year 1849, at 9 A.M., and the number of days in which more or less rain fell at Pieter-Maritzberg, about 1,800 feet above sea-level:—

Months.	Mean Temperature.	Days in which Rain fell.
January	73.5	15
February	80.5	14
March	71.0	13
April	67.5	6
May	62.5	4
June	57.5	2
July	55.0	0
August	60.0	3
September	66.0	2
October	72.0	14
November	67.5	22
December	73.5	12

The rainy season begins the first week in September, and ends in March, comprising the summer months of the year; during this interval thunder-showers are of almost daily occurrence. In May, June, and July, refreshing winds blow; hot blasts are rare, as the Quathlamba range affords a cooling medium. Long droughts are almost unknown. On the coast the seasons are not so well defined

as in the interior. The climate is, on the whole, extremely salubrious.

GOVERNMENT AND POPULATION.—There has been an organized administration at Natal since 1845-'6, under two successive lieutenant-governors, yet no annual "Blue Book" has been forwarded from thence, and the archives in Downing Street are totally devoid of any statistical returns respecting the condition of this province. The white population may be about 6,000; the coloured race are supposed to be about 115,000, and consist of the remains of numerous tribes broken up by Chaka, a few of whom maintained their position, while some have returned to Natal, and others have taken refuge thither from the sway of Panda, a Quabie chief subdued by Chaka, and by him reduced to a cow-herd, who, since the destruction of Dingaan, has in some measure succeeded him in authority over the heterogeneous mass comprised under the name of Zoolu, or Amazoolu Kafirs.

The native government in Natal is very simple, and apparently very efficient. The British diplomatic agent (Mr. Shepstone), who evidently fills his difficult position with much tact and judgment, is looked up to as the paramount chief, and is assisted by a body of councillors, sixty in number, who are chosen for their intelligence; a few of these men are in constant attendance. "Every day, sitting cross-legged on the ground, they hear cases. Their decision is generally a very sound one, and almost always confirmed by the 'Kose.' There is no lack of litigation. They are very fond of going to law, and plead acutely, and almost interminably. The process is very tedious. They begin from the beginning, and mention every circumstance, whether relevant or irrelevant. If you cut them short, and tell them to get to the point, they will begin all over again. It is of no use being impatient, you cannot hurry them. A Kafir can always talk against time. Every morning a knot of suitors may be seen sitting on the ground round the chief's house, awaiting his appearance."—(*Bishop's Visitation Tour*, 1850, p. 67.)

LAWS.—The *Roman Dutch* code, as in the Cape of Good Hope, modified by the English law. As in the older colony, there are small debt courts, similar to those more recently established in England. There is trial by jury in criminal, but not in civil cases. Lands are held as freehold, and at a quit rent, redeemable on payment of fifteen years' rent in one sum. The same mode of transferring landed property is adopted as in the sister colony: for the following clear view of this important subject I am indebted to a practising lawyer at Cape Town, Mr. J. A. Merrington:—"Transfers of landed property are effected in a very simple and cheap, yet efficacious manner, before an officer called the registrar of deeds. The transfers are prepared by conveyancers for a small fee, and the whole expense of transferring the most valuable property rarely exceeds £10, including stamps, and every other charge. A dispute as to the title to property seldom arises, the system being so complete as almost to obviate the possibility of this. Mortgages are also passed before the registrar of deeds, whose duty it is to see that a memorandum of the mortgage is endorsed on the title-deed of the mortgage property; and a debt register is also kept in his office, in which every mortgage is regularly entered; so that an intending purchaser of property can, on payment of a small fee, in a few minutes learn whether the property he

wishes to buy is free from incumbrances; a precaution which is usually adopted when an instalment of the purchase-money is payable in advance and before transfer; because no transfer can be made of any property until after the settlement of existing mortgages, either by payment, or by the consent of the mortgagee to adopt the purchaser as his debtor. Their consent is usually given on condition that a new mortgage bond is to be passed at the time of transfer; and thus the purchaser is placed in possession of a complete title without the possibility of fraud, and the rights of the mortgagee are fully secured. The ordinary rate of interest on mortgages is six per cent. per annum. On the demise of a parent the joint property is divided into two equal parts; one half is the property of the survivor, the other half forms the estate of the deceased. In the event of intestacy the property of the deceased is divided among the children; but either parent has a right of disposal of his or her property by will, as he or she may think fit; except as to the 'legitimate portion' of the children, which, if there be four or more, consists of one-half, and under that number of one-third of the estate of the deceased parent. Of this portion children can never be deprived, except for grave offences against the parents, which the law defines. There is no right of primogeniture, all the children sharing alike."

LAND.—Before the British government was established at Natal, the average market value of unoccupied land, among the European settlers, was two-pence per acre, and it subsequently increased to four-pence per acre. Now the upset price by auction is four shillings. For each £100 deposited with H.M. Emigration Commissioners, the depositor is authorized to name seven qualified emigrants, independent of the land to which he will be entitled for this sum. A Mr. Byrne has recently expended large sums in promoting emigration to Natal; he availed himself of the above-mentioned regulation of the commissioners, and for £10 promised every emigrant a free passage to Natal, and twenty acres of land. Mr. Byrne and his associates paid £14,000 into the Bank of England, as a guarantee for the fulfilment of their promises, and spared no pains to induce the British public to consider Natal an El Dorado. Unfortunately, as in the case of the New Zealand Company, the emigrants were badly proportioned, the labouring being far too numerous for the capitalist class; in eighteen months 3,500 emigrants, principally of the poorer order, proceeded thither; they suffered much hardship; were unable for months to procure the twenty acre allotments promised, and when they did obtain them, found them quite insufficient for their support. The local government then added twenty-five acres to their respective allotments. Some quitted the colony, others have struggled against circumstances, and it is to be hoped are now beginning to reap the fruit of their toil, privation, and perseverance. New villages are springing up; the land, which yields two crops of maize in the year can scarcely fail to supply the rude elements of existence, and though wealth may be unknown, poverty is absent. In addition to English, Irish, and Scotch, there are about 300 Germans, introduced by a Mr. Bergtheil, who has formed a small settlement, called Little Germany. He is said to have invested a capital of nearly £10,000 in the undertaking, and to have scrupulously abided by his contract with the emigrants. The lavish grants of territory made by Sir Harry Smith and the land commissioners ap-

pointed by him, have completely upset the calculations of Messrs. Bergtheil, Byrne, Christopher, and others, and, it is to be feared, will long and materially obstruct the progress of the settlement. The endeavour to retain the boors was in itself beyond doubt a wise one, but the means taken have almost wholly failed. While land has been thus profusely squandered on the white-coloured man, the rights of the native proprietors have been, as usual, disregarded. I allude here not to emigrant Zoolus, or rather Kafirs, but to those comparatively few aborigines who had been enabled to hold their own against barbarian, but could not withstand civilized encroachment. In illustration of this may be quoted the case of Umneni, the chief of a small tribe comprising about 6,000 souls, who dwelt in the neighbourhood of the Bluff, a projecting hill of about 300 feet high, which runs out into the sea, and forms the western bank at the entrance of Natal harbour. Respecting "this chief and his people, the bishop makes the following entry in his journal for June 9, 1850:—"I have heard to-day from a lady who lives in the neighbourhood, that the chief Umneni, of whom I have before spoken, removed from his lands on the Bluff last Friday. He came to bid her farewell before he left; for they had been kind neighbours to each other. 'It was not without sorrow that he quitted his birthplace, where he has resided all his life, and withstood in his fastnesses the victorious troops of Chaka, who conquered the whole country, and brought into subjection all the native chiefs except this one and another. But now we want his land. It is important for our growing settlement at D'Urban that it should be in our possession; therefore he must go. He is weak, and we are strong.'" The writer adds emphatically—"If we are to pursue the system which we have already in some degree adopted towards the native tribes, the same judgments from a just God which have already overtaken the boors for their cruelties and injustice towards the poor heathen will assuredly come upon us. I fear we are treading in their steps."—(*Visitation Tour*, p. 58.)

But it is not only proprietors by birthright whose names, ages, &c., ought to be registered and their rights secured, while it is yet possible, without any fear of causing strife or rebellion on the part of usurpers; steps ought to be forthwith taken for the permanent appropriation of land to the use of the remaining and much larger portion of the coloured population, who at present squat very much where they please, paying a hut-tax to the British government. Lord Grey, some years ago, forcibly urged upon the local authorities the settlement of the natives in clearly-defined locations, but this has not yet been done, and they are still quite uncertain as to the proper boundaries of their reserves. The report of the committee appointed for locating them, dated so far back as March, 1847, strongly recommends that all lands set apart for their use should be vested in trustees. The bishop, adverting to this recommendation, makes the following excellent remarks: "I believe this to be a point of deep importance. Unless it be done, the natives will be gradually deprived of their land. No local government will be able to withstand the restless and insatiate demands of the white man, even if its own wants did not tempt it to sell, from time to time, under various pretences which will always be forthcoming, property which has no legal owner, and is in the hands of government. The question is one which demands imme-

diate attention, and should not be postponed. The Zoolu has now a great respect for the English. He hates the Dutch for their injustice. There is now a saying which is becoming very common amongst them, which is, I think, a very affecting one; when he sees or feels a wrong, he is in the habit of saying, 'I should say it was wrong, if it was not done by an Englishman.' His reverence for the English will not allow him to believe that they would willingly do a wrong; and yet he cannot altogether stifle his convictions. How long will this last?"

The following return, with which I have been favoured by Dr. Stanger, the surveyor-general, shows the estimated quantity of land granted under the proclamations of 1843 and 1848, and the quantity comprised in the Kafir or Zoolu locations, at the end of the year 1850; also the estimated number of acres in the province of Natal:—Acres granted under proclamation of 1843, 1,708,000; acres granted under proclamation of 1848, 1,232,500; acres in Kafir locations, 1,000,000; total acres in Natal, 11,520,000.

FINANCE.—The income and outlay of the colony is thus stated in a recent Parliamentary Paper:—

Year.	Net Revenue.	Expenditure.
1846	£5,194	£6,960
1847	8,317	8,527
1848	9,268	10,101
1849	14,331	16,440

For the following statement I am indebted to Dr. Stanger:—*Revenue and Expenditure in 1850*—REVENUE:—Balance in treasury, on 1st of January, £1,469; advances, unrecovered on 1st of January, £1,459; customs, £11,200; pilotage, £177; land sales, £11,813; land revenue (quit rent), £410; transfer dues, £1,625; auction dues, £712; licences, £1,349; stamps, £936; taxes paid by aborigines (1s. 6d. for each hut), £9,251; postage, £355; fines, forfeitures, and fees of court, £273; fees of office, £646; advances refunded, and sale of presents, £350; interest of monies due to government, £9.—Total (sheep and produce excluded), £42,040. EXPENDITURE: Establishments, £8,126; pensions, £15; revenue services, exclusive of establishments, £6; administration of justice, £43; charitable allowances, £9; educational, exclusive of establishments, £123; hospitals, ditto, £125; police and gaols, ditto, £724; rent, £493; transport, £576; conveyance of mails, £335; works and buildings, £1,819; roads, streets, and bridges, £740; miscellaneous (advances for journeys, printing, &c.), £1,873; aborigines, inclusive of establishments, £3,654; immigration, £11,002; loans repaid, £3,000. Total, £32,698.

COMMERCE.—There are few details yet collected for three years it stands thus:—

Exports and Imports.	1847.	1848.	1849.	1850.
Imports . . . £	41,958	46,981	46,204	—
Exports . . . £	15,146	13,674	10,866	—
Ships entered . tons.	3,528	3,226	4,166	—
Exports of Produce—				
Sheep Wool . lbs.	4,206	4,389	2,927	—
Cotton . . lbs.	1,740	5,824	13,931	—
Ivory . . lbs.	24,022	18,507	29,321	—

The falling off in the exports is accounted for by the Dutch migrating from the colony into the interior.

Of the state of RELIGION, EDUCATION, and CRIME, there are no official returns. As regards the latter, Mr. Cloete, the recorder of Natal, stated in June, 1849, that for fifteen months there had not been a felonious case among 100,000 natives (British subjects), requiring the intervention of a jury.

The efforts made in the cause of religion by the Wesleyan Society, have been shown at pp. 150-1; much good has been wrought by them among the peaceable and well-disposed Zoolu Kafirs, especially by the labours of the Rev. Mr. Alison and his wife. The American Board of Missions is actively engaged in the same cause, and sustains about twelve missionaries in Natal, and the Berlin Society have a station in New Germany, about ten miles from D'Urban, partially supported by Mr. Bergtheil. So late as 1849, there was no clergyman of the Church of England in the colony; but in 1851, there were three, one of whom was sent out by the *Society for the Propagation of the Gospel*. The number will probably soon greatly increase, as Natal, as has been before stated, is about to be formed into a separate see, distinct from that of Cape Town.

GENERAL VIEW.—Every new field for emigration opened to the British public, seems doomed to run the gauntlet between unqualified praise and exaggerated censure. Natal has been no exception to this rule; it has been puffed up as an earthly paradise, precisely suited to the wants of every intending emigrant, and it has been cried down as a barren wilderness fit only for savage life. For my own part, judging from all that I have seen, heard, and read, I am inclined to think that the first of these two extremes approaches nearest to the truth. The verdant beauty of its coastline is all that I can speak of from personal knowledge, but the statements of several intelligent and perfectly disinterested witnesses concur in attributing to this new colony many elements of wealth and progress, combined with a delicious climate and charming scenery. Among the foremost of these may be named Dr. Andrew Smith, a wary, dispassionate observer, some of whose remarks have been already quoted. He expressed himself as early as 1830, in the strongest terms respecting the capabilities of Natal for the support of a large population.* Sir Harry Smith, addressing Earl Grey, in 1848, described the country in the most glowing terms. A recent visitor, the lamented J. J. Freeman, thus records his impression of the province as he found it in 1850:—"I saw much beautiful land, rich soil, numerous streams, and extensive forests. I found the air salu-

* Vide Parl. Papers, June, 1835; pp.

brious and pleasant, and I witnessed the rising prospects of many families. I often said to myself, as I passed through the colony, 'Were I now proposing to emigrate, I would choose Natal as the sphere of my enterprise.'" Both this writer and the Bishop of Cape Town, in describing the country they had traversed, speak especially of the neighbourhood of the Umgeni River, which forms probably the finest cascade in South Africa, the whole volume of water falling at once over a perpendicular precipice of yellow sandstone, into a wooded valley about three hundred feet below. The varied character of the indigenous vegetation lends a peculiar charm to the scenery, and the formation of the country in successive terraces rising from the sea-shore, favours the growth of productions requiring different soils and climate: thus cotton, (said to have been introduced from the Morley Mission Station,) coffee, sugar, tobacco, indigo, and hemp, thrive on the sea-belt; wheat, maize, and all the cerealia, on the second slope; while the third is more adapted for pastoral purposes. But few wild beasts now infest the inhabited districts, although the tiger, wolf, and wild-dog, are occasionally met with. Herds of elephants still range the wooded heights near D'Urban; but they have been so much hunted lately, that they will probably be soon exterminated. Further inland, and along some parts of the coast, are found the lion, buffalo, leopard, hyena, many kinds of antelope, and the wild-boar; the hippopotamus is common at the mouths of the larger rivers, as also the crocodile. The smaller description of game, comprising varieties of deer and antelope, and feathered fowl, abound on most farms.

The English settlers now established at Natal appear to belong to the energetic and persevering class, alone calculated to pass successfully the ordeal of labour and privation which, in a new colony, is the almost invariable introduction to success. The same remark applies to the three hundred Germans, whose frugal and sober habits deserve praise and imitation; and the remaining Dutch families, from their experience and friendly connexions with their brethren in the Cape Colony, the Sovereignty, and the Grensgebied, are likely to contribute materially to the peace and prosperity of the settlement; the more so because it is now generally believed that since the slave emancipation their sentiments and conduct

towards the coloured races have become much more favourable.

The treatment of the large and increasing coloured population, numbering, it is supposed, from 100,000 to 150,000, is a matter of vital importance. They are universally described as a mild, tractable, and thoroughly trustworthy race, and are employed as domestic or farm servants throughout the colony; their labour being obtained by the European settlers, at the rate of 5*s.* a month in money, and food, which costs about 5*s.* more. The remuneration being so trifling, it is not to be wondered that the natives now shrink from the self-denial necessary to continuous exertion; but by careful training, kind treatment, and the increase of wages in proportion to the increased quantity and improving quality of the work performed, this fitfulness and indolence may be removed, and the influences of civilization in inspiring new wants will lend the strongest incitement to industry. To develop the manifold resources of the colony, capital, skilled labour, and an exportable product, commanding a good price in England, are necessary. The latter is found in cotton, of which various qualities succeed perfectly, and bring a price at Manchester varying from 9*d.* to 1*s.* 6*d.* per lb. If wealthy Lancashire capitalists would appropriate £100,000 to insure a fixed and remunerative price for Natal cotton during the next three years, the twelve to fifteen millions sterling now paid to foreign countries for a raw product essential to British manufactures, might be disbursed within the limits of the empire among our fellow-subjects, who receive those manufactures at mere nominal duties, whereas their sale in the United States and elsewhere, is impeded by duties of 30 to 40 per cent. By such encouragement Natal might be made the lucrative cotton plantation of Lancashire, while its neighbour, the Orange River Sovereignty, promises to become the wool farm of Yorkshire and Somerset. No better policy could be devised for the general welfare, than to unite by the ties of reciprocity the wide spread domains of the British Crown. England cannot afford to neglect the welfare of any one of her colonies. Each one has its own distinctive and peculiar value; each one, if wisely and liberally governed, will do its part in rendering the mother country independent of the capricious regulations, or hostile tariffs, of foreign lands or rival states.

BOOK III.—WESTERN AFRICA.

CHAPTER I.

EUROPEAN POSSESSIONS—HISTORY—RISE AND PROGRESS OF THE SLAVE TRADE.

SEVERAL European nations possess forts and factories scattered along the western coast of Africa, between the tropics of Cancer and Capricorn. Colonies, considered as fields of emigration for the white man, there are none; the climate of the whole coast-line incapacitating him for labour, and proving, after a few years' residence, permanently injurious to health, if not destructive to life.

The names and situations of the various mercantile stations are as follows:—

ENGLAND.—Beginning from the north we have *Bathurst* at the mouth of the Gambia, positions on the main land, and trading posts on the river banks. One hundred and fifty miles to the south-east *Bulama*, one of the Bijuga or Bissagos Islands, between the estuaries of the Grande or Jeba and the Bulola river; 160 miles further to the south-east, the *Isles de Los*; sixty-five miles to the south, the peninsula of *Sierra Leone*, extending to the *Sherboro River and country*, and the *Banana Islands*. From thence in a south-easterly and easterly direction, for a distance of about 650 miles, there is no British settlement, until we arrive at the Gold Coast, where there are several forts and stations, viz., *Cape Coast Castle, Accra, (Fort James,) Dix Cove, Annamaboo, Winnebah, Quittah, Pram Pram, Appollonia, Tantamquerry*, and others, temporarily abandoned, or at present little used. In addition to these there are the newly-acquired stations at *Accra, Tasie, or Tessing, Temma, Ningbo, Atoko, Adda, Akropong, and Quittah*, including *Forts Christianborg, Augustaburg, Friedensburg, Konigstein, and Prinzenstein*, together with large tracts of country on the Guinea or Gold Coast, purchased by Great Britain from Denmark for £10,000, in August, 1850. About 200 miles to the eastward of Cape Coast Castle, is *Whydah*, situated on the northern shore of the Bight of Benin, on which we had a factory forty years ago.

FRANCE occupies *St. Louis Island*, near the Senegal River, on whose banks she has

several trading stations; the strongly fortified *Island of Goree*, near Cape Verd; various posts on the *Casamanza River*; a factory at *Albreda*, on the Gambia River; *Grand Bassam* and *Assinee*, on the Ivory Coast; and a position on the Gaboon River.

HOLLAND has its principal fort at *Elmina*, the earliest European settlement formed on this portion of Africa, situated a little to the north of Cape Coast Castle. She likewise possesses several smaller stations.

PORTUGAL has factories at *Cacheo, Bissao, St. Paul de Loando* (Angola), *Nova Redonda, Benguela*, and *Mayumba* or *Little Fish Bay*; the *Cape Verd Islands*, on the N.W. coast, and those of *Princes* and *St. Thomas*, to the southward of *Fernando Po*. SPAIN claims the island last-mentioned, and occupies the beautiful *Canary Islands* near Cape Bojador.

LIBERIA.—The settlement thus named, formed by manumitted slaves and coloured Africans from the United States of America, extends along the sea-coast border between the Gallinas River, and Cape Palmas, a distance of about 350 miles, with an inland breadth of about 40 miles.

HISTORY.—The progress of African discovery has been briefly stated at the commencement of this volume. Its annals from the earliest period of European intercourse, are written in blood. Its fair and fertile soil has eluded the grasp of civilized man, for fever and pestilence forbade his approach, and while occasionally scourging even the aborigines, visited with relentless fury every European attempt at permanent occupation. And then, when nations and individuals, professing to place all their hopes in this world and the next, on the mercy of Him whose death and incarnation had no other end than to impart to fallen man "the glorious liberty of the children of God," in place of the foul and oppressive yoke of sin—found that these poor heathens who had on their first arrival

kindly welcomed them, were strong and healthy, they with one consent determined upon turning these advantages to their own ends. And this, not by introducing the arts of civilized life, and sedulously turning the attention of an abundant population to the development of the natural resources of a territory capable of growing in luxuriant perfection those tropical products which find an ever-increasing market in colder climates; but, by an inhuman, fiendish practice, which it is scarcely possible to believe, was, in the open face of day, formally commenced by the most polished nations of Christendom, so late as the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Yes—kidnapping became a recognised trade, human flesh and blood an avowed article of traffic, and civilized governments fostered the noxious plant until it grew to an enormous stature, overshadowing like a deadly upas tree, the prospects of many lands.

In 1807, England renounced the traffic, and has ever since striven earnestly to protect the wretched Africans; but up to that time, their history is all comprised under the head of the—

SLAVE TRADE.—An indelible stain rests upon the fame of Prince Henry of Portugal, which his high reputation for science, and his love of adventure and discovery only render the more painfully conspicuous: his name has descended to posterity as the first promoter of the slave trade. His original intentions were at least professedly honourable towards the aborigines of the coast newly discovered by the navigators employed in his service, whom he especially urged to bring home some of the natives that he might have them baptized, educated, and sent back, so that the Portuguese might by their means open a commerce with their countrymen. In 1442, the desire of the Prince was gratified by Gonzales Baldeza, who, after a voyage of two years, returned, bringing with him ten negroes and some gold dust. Henry presented the captives to Pope Martin V., who, at his request issued a Bull, by which he granted to the Portuguese nation an exclusive right to the possession of all the territory which they might discover between Cape Bojador and the continent of India.*

In the following year, Nunez Tristan sailed on an African expedition; reached Arguim in 20° 30' N. lat., and meeting with some small boats close in shore, seized them and brought back their crews, amounting to fourteen persons, as slaves. An association was immediately formed for the express purpose of carrying on a trade in gold and slaves, in the profits of which a share was allotted to the prince, who eagerly promoted the transportation of the wretched Africans, though he endeavoured to mitigate the excessive atrocities connected, even at that early period, with their capture. In 1444, two hundred

slaves were brought to Portugal; and, very speedily, the annual average importation increased to 700 or 800, ("teste di schiavi, head of slaves.") The early and most distinguished of these men-stealers were not long permitted to continue their course of rapine and bloodshed. Swift and utter destruction, such is often the doom of those who take the initiative in some glaring sin, overwhelmed them in the very act. Gonzales was slain in 1445, while attempting to carry off some unoffending natives, and Nunez Tristan perished the following year in a similar manner.

From these and many other facts, handed down to us from this period, it appears that the natives did not then sell their countrymen, but resisted the nefarious attempts of their ruthless enemies, even to the death. Gradually, the Portuguese, by exciting the covetousness of the chiefs, induced them first to barter the bodies of their foes and then to make war upon weak tribes, for no other end than to gratify that desire of trading with Europeans which, honestly directed, might have proved the source of commercial prosperity alike to Africa and Portugal, while the slave trade has been an unmitigated curse to both.

The effect of the strong stimulus to cupidity and revenge held out to the heathens of Africa was terrific. The land became the arena of ferocious contests for the supply of the slave-dealers, who drafted the victims of their avarice by thousands to a distant land, there to toil like beasts of burthen, to perish like them when the power of labour had ceased, and to be replaced by fresh cargoes of wretched beings, whose very offspring were condemned to endure the same hopeless bondage, unless their parents, impelled by despairing love, dared the vengeance of their cruel taskmasters, and destroyed their children to preserve them from the rayless existence to which they were themselves condemned.

About the year 1460, the Spaniards seized as slaves some of the inhabitants of the Canaries, to which islands they laid claim.

In 1497, the Portuguese commenced what was called the "carrying trade;" that is, after supplying their own country with as many as were required, they transported them elsewhere, and in 1503 introduced a limited number into St. Domingo to supply the place of the unfortunate Indians who were rapidly perishing from the hard labour in the mines, and the excessive barbarities to which they were subjected by the Spanish settlers. In 1511, large numbers were imported by the formal permission of Ferdinand the Catholic. After his death, the celebrated Las Casas, Bishop of Chiapa, proposed to Cardinal Ximenes (regent during the minority of Charles V.) the establishment of a regular commerce in Africans, with a view to saving the remnant of the feeble and inoffensive American and West Indian aborigines. Ximenes refused, declaring that he considered it wholly unlawful to consign innocent persons to slavery, or to deliver one unoffending race from a state of suffering by reducing another to the same position. Ximenes died; Charles V. came into power, and was induced to permit the resumption of the slave trade,† which increased excessively, from 10,000 to 12,000 slaves being sold annually about the year 1539, in the slave market, established at Lisbon under Papal sanction.‡ Charles becoming aware of the iniquity and cruelty he had rashly authorized, forbade any

* See numerous quotations from the early Italian historian, Barros, in *Bandinel on Slavery*.

† *Clarkson on the Slave Trade*. Parker: 1839.

‡ *Edwards*, vol. iii. p. 202.

further importation of slaves, and ordered that all then in bondage throughout his American possessions should be set free. On his retirement to a monastery the traffic was revived, receiving occasionally some slight check from the indignant denunciations of such men as Leo X. and others.

The attention of England had been early turned to Africa as a field for legitimate commerce; and her merchants had endeavoured to open a trade during the brief reign of Edward VI., but were deterred by the Portuguese, who claimed the exclusive right in virtue of the Papal decree before alluded to. Portugal was not, however, long permitted to retain the power which she had so fearfully misused. In 1580, King Henry (the cardinal) died, leaving no heir; and Philip II. of Spain, on seizing of the vacant throne, was too much occupied with European affairs to be able to preserve intact that African trade which Portugal had spent years of unremitting exertion in establishing. Other European nations eagerly availed themselves of the opportunity thus afforded, and founded forts and small trading settlements on various parts of the coast. The English settled chiefly at Cape Coast Castle; the French at the Senegal River; the Dutch on the Gambia River; and the Danes at Christianborg. At each of these places strong fortresses were built, mounting fifty to sixty pieces of cannon; and with each several subordinate posts or stations were connected.

France appears to have engaged in commerce with Africa about 1556: in 1626 a Rouen Company existed, who soon after that time pursued the slave-carrying trade. The Dutch commenced voyaging thither in 1595; and following up the traces of the Portuguese with great ardour, soon supplanted them in all their objects of trade, including that of slaves, and took possession of their factories and forts, in addition to which they constructed some new ones. In 1588, Queen Elizabeth granted a patent to a company for the obtainment from the neighbourhood of the Gambia and Senegal Rivers, hides, gums, ivory, grains, ambergris, rice, ostrich feathers, and gold, all of which they succeeded in procuring. There is no reason to suppose that they intermeddled with the slave-trade; and most assuredly their queen would not have given them even tacit allowance, had they been so inclined; for when Captain (afterwards Sir John) Hawkins returned from his first voyage, during which he had conveyed slaves from Africa to St. Domingo, she sent for him and expressed her concern lest any of the Africans should be carried off without their free consent, declaring that "it would be detestable, and call down the vengeance of heaven upon the undertakers.*" Hawkins promised to comply with these injunctions, but, reckless freebooter as he was, repeated twice more the same lawless enterprise; and in the second attempt perished miserably, as his sovereign had predicted, in 1588.

In 1618, James I. granted a charter to Sir J. Rich and others who were bent on "adventuring in the golden trade." The company erected forts and factories at the Gambia and elsewhere, but their officers indignantly refused to buy "any that had their own shapes." (*Some Account of the Trade in Slaves from Africa*, by J. Bandinel, Esq., Foreign Office, London, pp. 39 and 42.)

In 1631, Charles I. granted to a second company, composed of Sir B. Young, Sir K. Digby, and others,

a charter for trade with Africa, under the provisions of which, in 1641 (passing over the solitary instance of Hawkins), Englishmen, incited by the want of labour in the British West Indies, first commenced taking part in the accursed thing, by transporting thither small numbers of Africans from the Guinea Coast.

Cromwell gave no encouragement to the slave-trade; but, on acquiring possession of Jamaica, took means for peopling it with British subjects only.

Charles II., immediately after his accession, granted a charter to a third African company, of which his brother, the Duke of York, afterwards James II., was a member. This company undertook to supply the British West Indies with 3,000 slaves annually; but although, like its predecessors, protected by patents and exclusive privileges, it failed like them.

In 1672, a fourth English African company was established. They enlarged Cape Coast Castle, built forts at Accra, and at five other places, imported large quantities of dye stuffs, ivory, wax, and gold, and supplied the British colonies with slaves. Their exclusive privileges were annulled by the "Declaration of Rights," in 1688, and African commerce was thrown open by Britain to all her subjects; but the company continued to exist, and in 1713 entered into a formal agreement with the Spanish government, which has become famous in history by a name formed of two words of the same signification, *Assiento Contract*, the company being called *Assientists*. It was signed by the King of Spain himself, and ratified by an article of the Treaty of Utrecht. By its provisions, during the ensuing thirty years, the English company engaged to supply Spain with 144,000 slaves, or 4,800 per annum, and in return for this privilege they agreed to advance to the Spanish monarch 200,000 crowns, to pay a duty of 33½ crowns for every slave, and, moreover, to allot to the sovereigns of Spain and of England each one quarter of the profits of their nefarious enterprise. They were to be at liberty to import into the Spanish West Indies as many slaves above the stipulated number as they could find a market for, and to sell them all for the highest price they could get, except at the ports of Santa Martha, Cumana, and Maracaybo, where the price was never to be raised above a certain sum, as it was considered desirable to induce the colonists at those places to introduce slaves on their own account.

The company were especially privileged to send an English ship of 500 tons burden, once a year, to the Spanish West Indies, with an assortment of general merchandise. For twenty years (up to 1733) the *Assientists* annually transported about 15,000 slaves from Africa to the West Indies, and for the following twenty years about 20,000 per annum. But this disgraceful traffic proved in the long run as unprofitable to the English as it had been to the Portuguese, French, and other nations;† and in 1739, the company were in debt to the king of Spain to the amount of £68,000 sterling. The outbreak of war interrupted the working of the contract. By the peace of Aix la Chapelle (1748), its renewal for four years was stipulated for, in consequence of its compulsory suspension; but by the Convention of 1750, the king of Great Britain, upon receipt of £100,000 in lieu of being allowed to send the annual trading ship, renounced, on behalf of his subjects, the stipu-

* *Hill's Naval History*.

† Declaration of the Spanish minister attached to

the treaty of Pardo, January, 1849.—*Vide Bandinel on Slavery*. London, 1842; p. 59.

lated prolongation of the Assiento contract. The slave-carrying part of the undertaking had been all along a losing trade—the prospect of profit having rested solely on the merchandise imported by the company, who, so early as 1729, applied to parliament for assistance to keep up their forts and factories in Africa. Occasional grants of money were thenceforward made them, amounting, up to 1749, to £80,000, when, finding themselves hopelessly indebted to sundry creditors in the sum of £107,262, they offered to surrender their charter, forts, and other property, if parliament would pay their debts and give the proprietors £25,000.

The first, and it would appear only the first, of these conditions was acceded to. They were enabled to pay their debts, the association was dissolved, and a “regulated” company, in which each member traded individually on his own capital, was formed, and entrusted with the command of the forts and settlements on the African coast; but the commerce itself was declared free and open to all British subjects, from South Barbary to the Cape of Good Hope.* The new company received large Parliamentary grants for 57 years, viz. from 1750 to 1807, at the rate of £13,431 per annum; and from 1807 to 1821, when it ceased to exist, at the rate of £23,000 per annum.

It is actually appalling to look back upon the judicial blindness which could have allowed the sovereign, both houses of parliament, and the people and press of Great Britain, in the middle of the eighteenth century, formally and fully to aid and abet the wholesale commission of a heinous crime, explicitly denounced by the Divine Law, for “he that stealeth a man and selleth him, or if he be found in his hand, he shall surely be put to death.”—(*Exodus*, xxi., 16.)

As corruption in one part of the body corporate speedily communicates its deleterious influence to the distant and most vital parts of the frame, so crime tolerated in a remote portion of an empire soon spreads to the metropolis; is first connived at, then openly practised, and finally stalks abroad in all its hideous deformity. Those who defend slavery, are in a fitting state of preparation for being themselves deprived of, at least, political liberty; and the nation once made aware of the fearful sin it sanctions, must, if it continues the same course, sink into an abyss of vice, and become the victim of its own criminality. Into this state England was being dragged by the slave-trade.

Even so late as the reign of George III., the London newspapers contained advertisements respecting the sale of slaves, to be sold either by themselves or in the same lot with horses, carriages, or any other stock of the proprietor. As illustrations, take the following:—“At the Bull and Gate, Holborn, a chestnut gelding, a tim whiskey, and a well-made, good-tempered black boy.”—(*Gazetteer*, 18th of April, 1769.) “To be sold a black girl, the property of J. B., eleven years of age, who is extremely handy, works at her needle tolerably, and speaks English tolerably well; is of an excellent temper, and willing disposition. Inquire of Mr. Owen, at the Angel Inn, behind St. Clement’s Church, in the Strand.”—(*Public Advertiser*, 28th of November, 1769.)

In 1745 the British government proceeded so far as to grant lands to its subjects in Jamaica, on the stringent condition that a certain number of slaves should

be settled thereon. In 1760, 1765, and 1774, the colonists, alarmed at the increasing number of slaves, endeavoured to impose a duty on their further importation; but the home government contravened their measures, on the ground that the inhuman traffic was beneficial to the nation!† Thus fostered and upheld, the slave-trade increased to an almost incredible extent—civilized states vied one with another in a career of wrong and robbery, in which, to her disgrace, England gained the undoubted pre-eminence. Austria, in 1782, set the example of ceasing to do evil, by abolishing the trade as far as she was concerned; but there then appeared little prospect of its being followed by other states.

In 1788 there were 450,000 slaves in the British West Indies alone, and the annual exportation from Africa was 100,000, the distribution being—English, 38,000; French, 31,000; Portuguese, 25,000; Dutch, 4,000; Danes, 2,000; and the same aggregate amount is stated to have continued annually up to the year 1805.‡ This estimate is considered below the truth. The waste of life, even after the slaves had reached the West Indies, was enormous. Up to 1787, the “number consumed by Europeans was computed by Mr. Cooper at 10,000,000.”§

But the darkest hour was the nearest the dawn, and the very excess of the evil tended, under Providence, to its abolition, at least with regard to England. A spirit had long been gaining ground in the nation, which led individuals to investigate the practical working of a system, the principle of which they felt to be indefensible.

The act *per se* of one nation, or one man enslaving another, had been indignantly reprobated by the most eminent writers, whether moralists, statesmen, or poets, from the time of Milton. Godwin, a clergyman of the Established Church; Baxter, the celebrated Nonconformist divine; and George Fox, the venerable founder of the Society of Friends, towards the end of the seventeenth century, protested loudly against the slave-trade, as did likewise Montesquieu in his *Esprit des Loix*, in 1750; Adam Smith, in 1759, in his *Wealth of Nations*, and elsewhere; Hutchinson, in his *Moral Philosophy*; Postlethwaite, in his *Commercial Dictionary*; Bishop Warburton, in a powerful sermon delivered in 1766; Robertson, the Abbé Reynal, and Paley, between 1776 and 1782; Sir Richard Steele, Pope, Thompson, Savage, Shenstone, and Sterne; and lastly, Cowper, Johnson, Hannah More, the Rev. John Newton (who before his reformation had himself been a slave dealer), did their part in inducing the public to view favourably the exertions of the Quakers and Wesleyans in England and America, commenced by the former body (including Anthony Benezet) in 1761, and by John Wesley, Whitfield, and their Christian followers, in 1762, for the abolition of this detestable traffic.

In 1765 Granville Sharp commenced drawing aside the thick veil of ignorance and indifference which had long hidden from the eyes of the British government and nation the hideous and revolting cruelties perpetrated under the direct sanction of the law. In 1772, in the case of James Strong, an African slave brought to England by his master, who endeavoured to seize him forcibly, and convey him thence to Jamaica, Granville Sharp obtained the

* Bandinel, pp. 60-2.

† *A Cry from the Middle Passage*; p. 3. Seeleys, Fleet-street; 1850.

‡ Evidence of Lord Palmerston, first report of Slave-trade Committee, 1848; question, 186.

§ *A Cry from the Middle Passage*, p. 5.

glorious decision, that "as soon as ever any slave set his foot upon English territory he became free." In 1783, he brought before the public, in illustration of the wanton and wilful destruction of life perpetrated in the slave carrying trade, the complaint of certain underwriters against the captain and officers of the ship *Zong*, whom they alleged had thrown overboard 132 sickly slaves, in order to defraud them, on the plea of the lives having been lost by casualty, not disease. The only extenuating circumstance offered on behalf of the captain (Collingwood) was that the vessel was short of water, and that he had missed his port, but even this wretched plea was shewn to be untrue.—(Clarkson, p. 81.)

In 1776, the good Bishop Porteus came forward in the same cause. In 1784, Dr. Gregory produced his "Essays," and circulated in them much information respecting the slave trade; against which a public petition was addressed by the people of Bridgewater to parliament in the following year; this was the second on this subject, a previous memorial having been presented in 1783 by the Quakers, who, having learned that the officers of the African Company were to be forbidden from exporting negroes, prayed that the same restriction might be extended to all persons whomsoever. Lord North declared that the request did credit to "the most benevolent society in the world," (Clarkson, p. 93,) but regretted that "the slave trade had, in a commercial point of view, become necessary to almost every nation of Europe." In 1786, Mr. Clarkson, one of the most disinterested, persevering, and devoted of the early opponents of slavery, commenced his labours by publishing a work against it. In 1787, Clarkson, Granville Sharp, Mr. Hoare, Mr. Wilberforce, and nine others, formed themselves into a private committee, with the object of procuring the abolition of the trade, and were soon joined by distinguished men of various religious persuasions and political opinions. In 1788, Mr. Pitt, after a searching investigation into the effects of the trade on Africa, on the West Indies, and on the crews employed in it, declared himself decidedly inimical to its continuance. By the examination of vessels then at Liverpool, he ascertained that the space given to a slave was five feet six inches in length, and sixteen inches in breadth; the deck was from four to five feet four inches in height. It was proved by evidence that the slaves were chained hand and foot to each other, and fastened besides by ringbolts to the deck; that their allowance was a pint of water a day each, and their food yams and horsebeans; that they were made to jump in their irons for exercise, and flogged if they refused to do so. The mortality among both the slaves and the crews was found to be enormous, so that the trade, instead of being a nursery for seamen, was in reality a grave.—(Bandinel, p. 81-2.) Mr. Wilberforce, in describing the effects of the slave-trade on Africa—"quoted orders given to British slave agents settled on the coast, to encourage the chieftains by presents of brandy and gunpowder, to go to war to make slaves. Youths came with vegetables to sell, families came to pay a friendly visit—one and the other were seized and sold. The country was made a field of warfare and desolation, a wilderness in which the inhabitants were as wolves preying on each other."—(Bandinel, p. 94.) In his evidence

before the privy council, he detailed the horrors of the carrying trade, the state of suffocation of the slaves, their eating by compulsion, their despair, insanity, their throwing themselves into the sea, and, in drowning, waving their hands in triumph, exulting that they had escaped from their tyrants. He mentioned a Captain Fraser, who, finding a man would not eat, caused hot coals to be held to his mouth to compel him to swallow nourishment wherewith to sustain a life of slavery.—(Vide Bandinel, pp. 94-'5.) Lord Grenville, Fox, Burke, and subsequently Lord Wellesley, Canning, Romilly, and other men of note, shared the views of Mr. Pitt; yet, so powerful was the interest of the West Indian party, that notwithstanding this auspicious commencement, the abolitionists gained their noble end only after a struggle of twenty years' duration.

In April, 1791, a motion for the abolition of the trade was lost in the house of commons, although supported most ably by Pitt, Fox, Burke, Sheridan, Grey (afterwards Earl Grey), Wilberforce, Martin, Ryder, Lyttleton, Thornton, Burgoyne, Montague, Banks, Elliott, Courtenay, Francis, Scott (Sir William), and Lords Apsley, Bayham, Arden, Carysfort, Muncaster, Barnard, North, and Euston. The minority, including the above illustrious names, comprised only 88 members; the majority, 163. The debate was remarkable for perhaps the most wonderful display of eloquence ever heard, even in the House of Commons of 1791. Lord Wellesley, who sat beside Pitt during his long speech, has frequently told me that it was like inspiration. Fox, also, is described as having surpassed himself; and though defeated, these worthy champions of a most righteous cause declared they would never cease to be its advocates until they ceased to live. Both nobly redeemed their pledge. Pitt would probably have carried the abolition through during his own brilliant administration, but for the strong opposition of two powerful members of the cabinet, Lord Chancellor Thurlow and Lord Liverpool; and the more dangerous because less open hostility of a third, Mr. Dundas (afterwards Lord Melville).

At this period, the Dutch alone successfully rivalled the English in the slave-trade. According to Edwards, forty forts were then established on the African coast, of which fourteen belonged to England, fifteen to Holland, four to Denmark, four to Portugal, and three to France.

In 1792, the King of Denmark prohibited his subjects from purchasing, selling, or transporting slaves in or from Africa or any other foreign place; and in 1794, the Americans passed a law to prohibit the carrying on the slave-trade from the United States to any foreign place or country. Slowly, but surely, a conviction of the abominable nature of the trade gained ground; and from this date almost every new member of eminence joined the Wilberforce* party, as did nearly the whole of the 100 Irish members who took their seats in parliament after the union of Great Britain and Ireland, in 1800.

In 1804, the Abolitionists' Committee added to a list, already famous for worth and talent, the names of James Stephen, Robert Grant, John Thornton, and William Allen; and were at the same time enriched by the brilliant genius of Henry Brougham, and the unwearied research of Zachary Macaulay.

* The various successive attempts made by Mr. Wilberforce, from 1788 to 1817, and the manner in which they were received by parliament, are detailed

in my previous works, viz., the *History of the British Colonies*, in 5 vols., published in 1834, and the *Colonial Library*, in 2 vols., in 1836.

Pitt died in January, 1806; Fox succeeded him in power, but only for a brief period, his own demise occurring in the following October. Conscious of his rapidly declining strength, he devoted his last energies to the cause in which he had long and earnestly laboured, and which engaged his last earthly thoughts. "Two things," said he, on his deathbed, "I wish earnestly to see accomplished—peace with Europe, and the abolition of the slave-trade. But of the two I wish the latter." The exertions of the dying patriot had contributed largely to both these objects. The second, so far as England was concerned, he had all but accomplished, with the aid of Lords Grenville, Henry Petty, Holland, Ellenborough, Lauderdale, Stanhope, Westmoreland, Grosvenor, Spencer, Sidmouth, and others.

Three acts of parliament had been passed for the regulation of the slave-trade. In January, 1807, Lord Grenville introduced a bill into the House of Lords for its complete abolition. The Duke of Gloucester supported, the Dukes of Clarence and Sussex opposed the bill, which was carried by a majority of 16; sent down to the House of Commons, where it was passed by a majority of 108; and received the royal assent on the 25th of March; forming the closing ministerial act of the Whig administration.

This parliamentary enactment declared that no vessel should clear out for slaves from any port within the British dominions; that no slaves should be landed in the colonies after the 1st of March, 1808; and that from and after the 1st of May, 1807, all dealing, purchasing, or barter for slaves on the coast of Africa should be utterly abolished, and unlawful; vessels found engaged in the traffic were to be forfeited, and bounties were held out for the capture of persons who had been seized as slaves. This act, however, was found insufficient; and in 1811, through the exertions of Mr. Brougham, another was passed, making it felony for any person to engage in the forbidden traffic.

Addresses were presented by both houses to the king, praying that measures might be taken to solicit the co-operation of other nations in what Lord Grenville emphatically declared to be "the most glorious measure that had ever been adopted by any legislative body in the world."

In March, 1807, the United States passed a law, forbidding the importation of slaves into any place within the jurisdiction of the Union. They had, as has been already mentioned, prohibited their foreign slave-trade in 1794.

Having gained this vantage ground, the abolitionists of the British slave-carrying trade turned their energies against slavery itself. With this branch of their labours we are not now concerned; it belongs to the history of the West Indies. Here, then, it would be well if the sad story of wrong and suffering connected with West Africa might be brought to a close; leaving the reader to suppose that the European nations, who had vied with England in wrong, would be induced to follow her example of repentance and reformation. But the truth may not be withheld. Africa is still convulsed with strife and bloodshed, though England takes rank now as her most powerful defender, instead of her greatest persecutor. International jealousies have arisen, which have favoured the continuance of the slave-trade. The United States and France have objected to con-

cede the right of searching vessels carrying their respective flags, although the same privilege was offered by the British government to their ships of war. Through the exertions of the Prince Regent and Lord Castlereagh, the assembled sovereigns, at the congress of Vienna, branded the slave-trade as "a scourge which had long desolated Africa, degraded Europe, and afflicted humanity." The diplomatic records of England during the last forty years, attest the untiring energy with which its foreign ministers have striven for the complete abolition of this great social crime; Viscount Palmerston, in particular, deserves cordial commendation for his long-continued and able negotiations with European powers, with a view to forming treaties which should prevent their flags being used by the buccaneers, whose merchandise is man.

Several parliamentary committees have sat in England of late years, to investigate the existing state of the slave-trade; and the evidence adduced has been, throughout, of the most painful and harrowing character. It is difficult to express in few words the facts connected with this revolting subject, and yet more difficult to find language wherewith to express a just idea of its horrors, from which the reader shall not turn away in utter abhorrence; but as the traffic still exists, and might, on the slightest encouragement, or by the diminution of our present exertions be renewed, even by Englishmen, with tenfold activity, it is necessary to enter into some details respecting that evil which Great Britain yearly devotes no inconsiderable portion of her revenue to suppress.

The state of society in a vast country, where a small but powerful class is constantly engaged in making war on scattered hamlets with intent to seize the people and sell them into slavery, may be conceived. Weeks and months are devoted to pillage and murder; sometimes the villages are attacked at mid-day—more frequently at midnight—when all that offer resistance are sacrificed on the spot. In these dreadful scenes death may be viewed in all its forms: here the warrior, expiring as he had fought for his hearth and home, conquered, but not enslaved; there a woman, with a child in her arms, staggering from her hiding-place which the flames of the burning village had reached, and perishing in a last effort of maternal tenderness to save her infant; while around are the shrieks of despair, the groans of the wounded, the fiendish shouts of the armed and often mounted captors, rising above the piteous moans and supplications of the young women reserved for their brutal lusts. Powerful chiefs, or kings, as they are termed, frequently set forth on these "slave hunts," in which the destruction of life is enormous in proportion to the number captured. In five such expeditions of the Chief of Bornou, at least 20,000 human beings are computed to have been slaughtered before three-fourths of that number had been obtained as slaves. (*Denham and Clapperton's Travels*, p. 214.)

Laird, during his ascent of the Niger, in 1832, states that scarce a night passed but the screams of the captured victims might be heard, and describes the advance of the robbers as having been marked by the smoke of the burning villages, five or six being in a blaze at once. (*Vide Laird and Oldfield's Narrative*.)

The manner in which the unhappy slaves are driven to the coast is equal in ferocity to their mode

* See *History of the Rise, Progress, and Accomplishment of the Abolition of the African Slave* DIV. VII.

Trade, by the British Parliament; a remarkable work, written by Thomas Clarkson.

170 HORRORS OF THE "MIDDLE PASSAGE" ACROSS THE ATLANTIC.

of capture. Attached to a long hide rope or chain, they are driven like cattle by the miscreants whose thirst for blood is stimulated by European gold, along a route which may be tracked by the whitened bones, or newly mangled carcasses of their victims. The whip and the goad are unsparingly used to hasten their speed; children are forced over stony paths until their little footsteps may be traced by blood; women, in a state unfit to travel, give birth to infants on the road; and, according to M. Mendez, five-twelfths of the whole perish on the journey from their sacked villages to the coast. (*Buxton on the Slave Trade*, p. 87.) Here new sufferings await the survivors; if not immediately embarked, they are kept, scantily fed, within the miserable sheds called barracoons, all huddled together in filth and misery. The cruelties, often wantonly practised by the keepers of these loathsome prisons, are too fearful to record. To avoid the expense of keep in case of a dull or overstocked market, the sickly, old, and infirm, are taken, says Lander, (describing what he saw at Badagry,) into the middle of the river, pinioned, weighted, and drowned.—(*Lander's Records*, Vol. II., pp. 241, 250.) The practice of destroying the unsaleable portion of the captives does not seem to have been at all an uncommon one. Several travellers allude to it: among others, Mr. Leonard says that, about 1830, a number of slaves who were unsaleable at Loango, were conveyed to the side of a hill beyond the town, and knocked on the head in cold blood; and this, as the simplest matter of course, to save the cost of maintenance.—(*Leonard's Voyage to Western Africa*, p. 147.)

We now come to the shipment, and the horrible interval commonly called "the middle passage." It being the interest of the skipper to land as many slaves as he can, he pursues, according to Captain Matson, R.N., the following inhuman course. If a vessel, moderately crowded, will carry 300, he crams 450 in her for the sake of testing the strength of the slaves, as those who are not likely to cross the Atlantic, sicken and die during the early days of the voyage. Directly any poor creatures show signs of weakness, they are put on one side on the deck—no food or water is given them, they are left to perish, and then thrown overboard to the sharks, who, in numbers, follow the slave ship during its entire voyage.—(Parl. Committee, 1st Report, 1848, p. 102.)

J. E. Cliffe, M. D., who had himself been engaged in the slave-trade, in his evidence before parliament, in 1848-'9, described the diabolical cruelties he had witnessed in the course of transporting from home and country these unfortunates, who might well envy the fate of convicted felons. "Boys," he says, "are laid parallel on their sides. If they do not lie so, a plank is put upon them, and a sailor will get upon it, and jam it down, so as to make them fit compact." He further states, "Slaves are packed in upon their sides; laid in, heads amongst arms and legs, so that it is very difficult frequently, till they have become very much emaciated, so as to leave a little room, for them to get up alone, without the whole section moving together; when some have died, that of course makes room for the remainder." According to this witness, three tiers of slaves are stowed away upon their sides in a space of six feet, viz., eighteen inches for each tier; the timbers of the ship occupying the rest of the room. Their sufferings from thirst are so intense that it is believed if brought on deck the mere sight of salt water would induce many to spring overboard.

This account, incredible though it seems, is confirmed by much good authority. Commander Montreson states (Sugar Committee, 1849,) "In the vessel I took with the *Cygnat*, the first man was placed against the side of the vessel with his legs pinioned, and another man was put between his legs, and another between his legs, and so on; and then on the other side of the deck, other men were placed, pinioned in the same way."

One witness (Hook, 2nd Report, 3,913) describes the packing of the slaves as being "like herrings in a barrel;" another (Hoare, 3rd Report, 6,099) "as more like a box of figs and raisins than anything else." Mr. Smith (2nd Report, 3,788) likens the position of the slaves on board to "a swarm of bees settled on the bough of a tree, and looking like one black mass."

Imagine a tropical climate, a narrow hatchway to admit air, thermometer 120° to 130° Fahrenheit, a short supply of water, various diseases and ulcers afflicting more or less every individual; no cleansing, no removal of filth, and an indiscriminate mingling of the comparatively healthy, the dying, and the dead; the putrifying corpses being left untouched sometimes for three or four days, and forming a dense mass of corruption, and there is a faint picture of that Gehenna of the waters, a slave ship. It can excite no surprise that half of those embarked never reach the intended port. Mr. Bandinel, after detailing one fearful case to the committee of 1848, in which an eye-witness could not "by any stretch of imagination, conceive how the powers of human existence could have supported twenty days in this floating hell;" yet he added that there were "quantities of such cases."

There is, I fear, no reason to doubt the exact truth of these horrible statements. When a very young man, I witnessed all the stages above mentioned, and can never think, even now, of any one of them, without a shudder of deep disgust. I have seen the unhappy negroes driven to the coast, pent up in barracoons, jammed together in that awful Middle Passage, sold as slaves, and finally worked to death in the few or many years their masters might think most profitable; and I am fain to use the words of other witnesses in describing scenes, at which my memory sickens, losing all power of conveying the details of a traffic which seems to have the direct effect of rendering all concerned in it, either as sufferers or sinners—lower than brutes, or worse than fiends.

Fearful, however, as are the pictures furnished by the slave-trade, even at the present moment, they do not awake any longer the unmixed horror they formerly did. It is unhappily only too true that the sufferings of the negroes in the Middle Passage are even enhanced by the necessity of concealing these now contraband cargoes; but is it nothing that the black night of despair is broken to the unfortunates by the fact that friendly vessels are watching to release them, and that some thousands are annually rescued from intolerable bondage? In such a cause, will not God be with us? Few that have witnessed the capture of a slave-ship will fail to rank the sight as the most exciting, the saddest, and yet the gladdest of their lives. One such scene I remember vividly: the boats of the frigate in which I served gave chase to a slaver; the commander (a ferocious-looking brigand) finding escape hopeless, and our fire beginning to affect his crew, set all sail and endeavoured to beach his vessel. As soon as she

struck, the slaves who crowded the decks were flung overboard in the hope that they would swim to the beach, despite the numerous sharks awaiting to intercept their passage. At length the commander and his crew, hard pressed by the rapidly advancing fire of our marines, themselves plunged into the surf, where several perished from the musketry, and by the sharks. When the ship was boarded, the stench was intolerable; notwithstanding the numbers who had been on deck, the hold was filled with slaves, jammed so closely together, that the flesh on many of their sides had mortified; and from being so long kept in a crouched sitting posture, few were able to stand upright. Some, on being released from their noisome dungeon, limped to the ship's coppers, where their daily scanty food was being cooked, and thrust their skinny arms into the boiling fluid, in their eagerness to obtain a handful of the scalding grain, which was devoured without cooling, with an avidity which, together with their famine-stricken appearance, told its own sad tale. Ophthalmia, and diseases without name or number, were rife among them; all were carefully nursed, but many were beyond human aid, and sunk, despite of medical attendance, and every restorative means. The remnant, when recovered from the idiotic stupor to which they had been reduced by brutal treatment, clung to the feet of our seamen, wept, cried, laughed, danced, alternately, and exhibited the most affecting indications of gratitude to their deliverers. I verily believe that there was not a man of the whole crew who would not have risked life and even liberty in their behalf; and if ever the shedding of blood be lawful, surely it must be when it is spilt in a struggle to "undo the heavy burdens, let the oppressed go free, and break every yoke."—*Isaiah lvi., 6.*

Would England, then, be justified in tamely sitting by to witness the commission of such atrocities, as she well knows to be of necessity involved in the slave-trade; and if she did, how long could she expect to retain that great maritime power—those unrivalled resources—which, together with her insulated position, peculiarly fit her to be the mediator between contending parties, and the defender of the oppressed. True, it is not a light work that she has undertaken; her best and most devoted sons strove for twenty years for the abolition of the slave-trade, opposing British virtue against British covetousness. Their efforts at first seemed only to add fuel to the fire they so ardently strove to extinguish, while it brought upon them a heavy burden of reproach and calumny. And precisely the same effects which then attended individual, now follow national efforts. The spoiler clutches more fiercely than ever the prey about to be wrenched from him, and avarice grasps eagerly the unholy gains of a traffic which has at length been denounced as criminal by every power in Europe, and every civilized power in America. The extent to which it is still carried on is amazing. It is scarcely credible that any country should have supported the incessant drainage of her population, of which Africa has now been the victim for nearly three centuries, without becoming an absolute desert.

The annexed table will afford some idea of the state of the slave-trade during the life-time of the present generation. It is framed from the statements prepared in 1849 by the late Mr. Bandinel, who for thirty years was chief in the slave department in the Foreign-office, Downing-street. The calculations are of course only approximative. From the date of its commencement, the total number of African victims is believed to amount to twenty million.

Number of Slaves annually Exported and Imported westward from Africa, from 1788 to 1840 inclusive.

Date.	Slaves exported.	Slaves imported.	Spanish Colonies.	Portuguese Colonies.	Other Countries.	Captured by Cruisers	Average Casualties on Voyage.	
							Average Proportion.	Amount.
1788	100,000	86,000	25,000	18,000	44,000	—	14 per cent.	14,000
1798 to 1805	85,000	73,000	15,000	20,000	38,000	—	14 "	12,000
1805 to 1810	85,000	73,000	15,000	25,000	33,000	—	14 "	12,000
1810 to 1815	93,000	80,000	30,000	30,000	20,000	—	14 "	13,000
1815 to 1817	106,600	80,000	32,000	31,000	17,000	—	25 "	26,600
1817 to 1819	106,600	80,000	34,000	34,000	12,000	—	25 "	26,600
1819 to 1825	103,000	77,200	39,000	37,000	—	1,200	25 "	25,800
1825 to 1830	125,000	94,000	40,000	50,000	—	4,000	25 "	31,000
1830 to 1835	78,500	58,900	40,000	15,000	—	3,900	25 "	19,600
1835 to 1840	135,800	101,900	29,000	65,000	—	7,900	25 "	33,900
1840	64,114	48,086	14,470	30,000	—	3,616	25 "	10,028
1841	45,097	33,823	11,857	16,000	—	5,966	25 "	11,274
1842	28,400	21,300	3,150	14,200	—	3,950	25 "	7,100
1843	55,062	41,297	8,000	30,500	—	2,797	25 "	13,765
1844	54,102	40,577	10,000	26,000	—	4,577	25 "	13,525
1845	36,758	27,569	1,350	22,700	—	3,519	25 "	9,189
1846	76,117	57,088	1,700	52,600	—	2,788	25 "	19,029
1847	84,356	63,267	1,500	57,800	—	3,967	25 "	21,089

This table, it must be recollected, does not include the victims carried off by the Mahomedans to Morocco, Tunis, Tripoli, Egypt, Turkey, Persia, Arabia, and the borders of Asia, who may be estimated at about 50,000 per annum.

Sir Fowell Buxton, in his valuable work on the slave-trade and its remedy, published in 1839, calculated, from the most authentic sources of informa-

tion, that the number of slaves imported annually into Brazil, in South America, then amounted to 78,331; and into Cuba, the largest of the West India islands, to 60,000. Besides these, he estimated the number rescued annually from slave ships, on their way to either of these settlements, at 8,294; and of those who were lost, from various casualties on the passage, such as shipwreck, suicide (which is very

common), or being thrown into the sea during a chase, a failure of provisions or water, he supposed the number would reach at least 3,375; thus making a total of 150,000 annually conveyed from Africa. The mortality consequent upon the slave-trade he reckoned at 125 per cent., viz.: capture, march and detention, 100 per cent.; middle passage, 25; after landing, and in the seasoning, 20: so that for every 1,000 negroes alive at the end of a year after their deportation, and available to the planter, 1,450 had been sacrificed.—(Pp. 26, 168.)

It has been before stated, that to nations and to companies the trade, even in a pecuniary sense, has proved a losing one; with individuals the case has been different; and enormous gains are now reaped, principally, it is to be feared, by those who secretly supply, in some form or other, the capital for this iniquitous traffic, of which they share neither the danger, the horror, nor the obloquy, though they cannot escape a double portion of the guilt.

The average cost price of a slave is £4; but it is fully ascertained that only one-third of the annual cargoes are obtained by barter. (*Church Missions in West Africa*, by A. Walker, 1845; p. 40.) The net profits were estimated by Mr. Maclean, the governor of Cape Coast Castle, at about 180 per cent.; and, in support of this opinion, the following instance is quoted by Buxton of the cost and value of a slave cargo, as given by Commissioner Macleay. (Parl. Paper, No. 381, p. 37.)—First cost of cargo taken at 28,000 dollars; provisions, ammunition, wear and tear, &c., 10,600; wages, 13,400:—total expense, 52,000: total product, 145,000; leaving a clear profit of £18,640.

The expenses incurred by Great Britain, in her efforts for the abolition of the traffic, have been very large: the charges for the five commissioners appointed to adjudicate on captured slave ships, were, from 1819 to 1841—at Sierra Leone, £135,410; Havanna, £79,507; Rio de Janeiro, £54,316; Surinam, £53,300; London, £42,998: total (shillings and pence excepted), £365,732. Sums paid to foreign powers for their co-operation (principally Spain and Portugal), £2,237,077; bounties, from 1808 to 1840, £1,060,536; support of liberated Africans, £1,372,057; expenditure in and for Sierra Leone, £1,678,724; Gold Coast and Fernando Po, £763,130; pensions, &c., £563,060; for illegal captures, &c., £196,891. Military expenditure, 1808 to 1840, £1,779,357; ordnance and commissariat, £156,205; naval squadron on coast of Africa, from 1808 to 1840, £12,224,000: total, £22,396,753. To bring this expenditure down to 1852, we may add for the above items, excepting naval squadron, £2,000,000; and for the naval squadron, at the rate of £500,000 per annum, £6,000,000: making a grand total of £30,396,753, irrespective of £20,000,000 paid for the liberation of slaves in the West Indies.

The various European and American powers have entered into conventions for the suppression of the slave-carrying trade, which they respectively abandoned at the following periods:—Denmark, 1792; United States, 1807; Great Britain, 1807; Sweden, 1813; Netherlands, 1814; France, 1815; Spain, 1820; Buenos Ayres, 1824; Columbia, 1825; Mexico, 1826; Brazil, 1829; Sardinia, Portugal, 1836; Hanse Towns, Tuscany, Bolivia, and Peru, 1837; Naples, 1838; Hayti, Venezuela, Chili, and Uruguay, 1839; Texas, 1840; Austria, Prussia, and Russia, 1841. Spain, Portugal, and Brazil have, however, violated every treaty, convention, and pledge

given by them for the prevention of this unhallowed trade. The two former states, who owe so much to England, who lavished her blood and treasure in their defence, have made a mockery of all remonstrance; and after obtaining large sums of money from her exchequer as a compensation for the losses they might sustain by abolishing the slave-trade, shamelessly renewed their flagitious course, aided by the very money which they had received on condition of its abandonment.

Despite the vigilance of a considerable force of English and French vessels of war, and the large rewards offered for the capture of slave-ships, the trade, until within the past year or two, has been carried on with fearful activity from the east as well as the west coast of Africa, and is said to be diminished only because the Brazilian market is overstocked, and strong fears have arisen of a slave insurrection. The traffic will flourish probably just so long as it continues to be profitable; that is, until every slave barracoon found on the coast be destroyed; and the crime itself declared by all civilized nations as piracy, and treated as such. By act 5 Geo. IV. c. 77, (31st March, 1824,) British slave dealers are declared to be guilty of piracy, felony, and robbery, and on conviction to suffer death without benefit of clergy, and to lose lands, goods, and chattels. By 1 Vic., c. 91, the punishment of death was commuted to transportation. *Wherever* a British subject commits this crime, he is liable to the punishment. Not so with other nations. Thus, when slave vessels are captured by British cruisers, no punishment is inflicted on the captains or crews, who consequently are no sooner released than they recommence their old trade with an increased stock of experience. The inconsistency of this practice is self-evident. An eminent Brazilian, the late Marquis of Barbacena, told our chargé d'affaires (Mr. Gore Ousley) that he could point out a ready, effectual, and economical method of putting an end to the traffic, at least as far as Brazil was concerned. Being pressed to explain himself, he replied, "The first vessel you take that affords a good reason, whether by resistance, killing your men, throwing their Africans overboard, or some such acts, hang the master, mates, supercargo, and crew, at the yard-arms, and let the vessel come into Rio Harbour some fine day thus ornamented."—(*Notes on the Slave-trade*, by W. Gore Ousley, Esq., late minister-plenipotentiary to the States of La Plata.) There is, however, another, and I believe a better, resource, which has been too much neglected, though Buxton and others have ably advocated it. Instead of endeavouring to compel or persuade Spain and Portugal to renounce their most profitable but most abhorrent staple of merchandise, let us rather direct our efforts to the encouragement of commerce on the long desolated African shores; and, by showing the tyrants who supply their European tempters with flesh and blood, that a more profitable revenue might be obtained, as Burke finely expressed it, by eating the fruit, than by destroying the root of man's labour, induce them to unite for the abolition of the traffic; show the chiefs how to obtain a better revenue by honest means than they now do by flagrant cruelty, their co-operation is certain, and a fair field will at the same time be opened for the spread of those religious principles, without which no real progress can be anticipated. One zealous effort of this kind has already been made in the Niger expedition, to which we shall have occasion to allude

when describing the commerce of Western Africa, and the varied and rich capabilities of the soil. Meanwhile, let those who abhor slavery, cease as individuals to consume its products; let this righteous principle be sustained and manifested by the payment of a temporarily enhanced price for colonial or free-labour produce, in preference to the somewhat cheaper sugar, coffee, cotton, rice, and tobacco, cultivated at the cost of blood and tears.

For myself I believe that the planter who uses slave-labour must eventually be undersold by the employer of free men. To this end we must look less to government measures and protective tariffs, than to the improving moral feeling of the nation, which, joining a true sense of the inherent iniquity of the system, to the horror inspired by its loathsome and cruel results, may, if wisely directed, be instrumental in procuring its complete abolition.

CHAPTER II.

BRITISH SETTLEMENTS IN WESTERN AFRICA—THE GAMBIA—SIERRA LEONE—THE GOLD COAST—THEIR ORIGIN, POPULATION, COMMERCE, &c.

THE western coast of Africa, between the Straits of Gibraltar and the Cape of Good Hope, is bordered by the Northern and Southern Atlantic for a distance of about 7,000 miles. The British possessions in this extensive region consist of isolated forts or stations on the intertropical portion termed the *Windward Coast*, from the direction of the trade winds. These are divisible into three sections, which, though perfectly distinct and under separate governors, are alike in their administration; in the almost complete absence of white colonists; in the nature of their commercial products; and in their civilizing influences on the millions of the African race distributed in numerous petty kingdoms all around them. It does not come within the limits of this work to enter into much detail respecting a country not adapted for the occupation of the Anglo-Saxon race: the present chapter is therefore intended to afford only a brief sketch of the respective history, character, and trade of the British settlements, whose general commerce, and success in advancing Christian civilization, through the well-directed labours of missionary societies, will be subsequently shown in a general view.

THE GAMBIA.

HISTORY.—The first record of European intercourse with the country in the vicinity of the Gambia, is dated 1486, when the navigator, Cadamosto, by order of Prince Henry of Portugal, visited this great river, and found that even then the Portuguese were in the habit of landing at night, surprising some of the populous villages on its banks, and carrying the inhabitants into slavery. (Bandinel, p. 19.) From this period we know little of the proceedings at the Gambia, beyond the fact of the Dutch having supplanted the Portuguese, until the time of the refusal of the English Captain Jobson, in 1620, to purchase slaves there, and his attempt to establish a trade in less exceptionable commodities.

The Company (chartered by James I.) on behalf of whom Jobson acted (see p. 166), proceeded to form factories for the prosecution of a traffic in gold and

drugs. A small islet, 250 yards long and 50 broad, about 30 miles from the mouth of the Gambia, where it is nearly eight miles wide, was strongly fortified, and termed *James Fort*. Another position was occupied at *Joar*, 100 miles farther up the river, which was explored in 1618-20 as far as Tenda, by George Thomson, a Barbary merchant, in the service of the association, and in 1723, by a Captain Stibbs, under instructions from the Duke of Chandos, one of the directors of the African Company established in 1672. Repeated contests had meanwhile taken place between the English and French, and James Fort was destroyed in 1688. At length it was agreed that we should maintain the exclusive commerce of the Gambia, and France of the Senegal. This arrangement was confirmed by the treaty of Paris, in 1814, whereupon Fort Louis, at the entrance of the Senegal, which we had captured in 1809, and the island of Goree, were restored. On this understanding, England and France now occupy their respective stations on these rivers, but the latter holds on sufferance a *comptoir* or trading post at Albreder or Albrida, near Jillifree, which is almost opposite to James Island. At the close of the last European war, the British Government, with a view to the prevention of the slave trade, and the promotion of legitimate commerce, resolved to form a new settlement at the mouth of the Gambia; for this purpose the island of St. Mary was obtained by purchase from the native king or chief of the adjacent territory, called Combo, and an annual payment of 100 dollars was guaranteed to his successors. A town, named Bathurst, was founded in 1816. In 1818 a similar purchase was made on the opposite bank of the river from the King of Barra, which comprised a tract of country extending one mile inland, and about thirty-six miles along the river, to the west and east of Barra Point. The king of Barra was then the most powerful chief in this neighbourhood, and levied a tax of £20 on each vessel that entered the river. In 1849 we purchased another tract of territory, near Baccow, which extends south-west from Cape St. Mary about five miles, and then trends to the eastward, and reaches the Gambia.”*

Sir Charles McCarthy, when governor of Sierra Leone, acquired by purchase, from the King of Cattabar, McCarthy's Island, distant about 175 miles up the Gambia, by the windings of the river. There are several other stations and places on and near the river, belonging to the Crown, or to the merchants of England.

* *Dr. Madden's Report*; Parl. Papers, 5th August 1842; part ii., p. 178.

TOPOGRAPHY.—The country in the vicinity of the Gambia, for many miles from the sea-shore, is flat, but diversified by fine park-like scenery. The mouth of the river, in $13^{\circ} 30' N.$ lat., is about nine miles wide, between *Bird Island* on the north, and *Cape St. Mary* on the south. The depth of water is so great, that a ship drawing eight feet may proceed, at any period of the year, to a distance of 360 miles; and smaller vessels may navigate to the Barraconda Falls, 400 miles, by the windings of the stream, from the Atlantic. Here a ledge of rocks, which nearly crosses the river, impedes further passage; but during the rainy season the water rises nearly thirty feet over the rocky barrier; boats can at all times penetrate to a considerable distance, as was proved by Governor Macdonnell in January, 1849. The river is extremely tortuous, especially above the falls, with banks not in general more than forty feet high. Its sources are not known to Europeans: it was long supposed to be an anastomosing branch of the great Niger, until the fallacy of this conjecture was shown by Mungo Park. The total length of the river must exceed 900 miles. A fine agricultural country appears to extend inland, improving in quality as it recedes from the river banks.

St. Mary's Island, on which the chief town is built, is little more than a sand-bank, five miles in length, with a breadth varying from a few yards to half a mile. It is situated about three miles from Cape St. Mary, on the southern side of the entrance of the Gambia, and separated from the main land by *Sarra* or *Oyster Creek*, a narrow strait a few yards wide, so called from the excellent oysters which are found abundantly on the mangrove bushes, as is not unfrequently the case on other tropical coasts. A small portion of the dry land on the island has been reclaimed by embankments, and the sandy nature of the soil contributes greatly to the salubrity of Bathurst, as it prevents any large deposit of vegetable matter in a state of decomposition. The mangrove swamps in the immediate vicinity of the town are covered twice by the tide in every twenty-four hours, and appear to exercise little noxious influence, the type of fever being more fatal in the interior, to which the mangrove-bush does not extend—a fact contrary to popular notions on this subject.

Bathurst is built on the east side of the island, on a point, whose chief recommendations were its suitability for the site of a strong battery, and the excellence of its deep and fine harbour. The town is well laid out; there are two large streets, consisting of substantial stone and brick houses; the government-house, on which £15,000 has been expended since 1816, is now a commodious residence, and the native inhabitants have clean and tolerably good dwellings: the island itself is also gradually becoming a more salubrious residence. Governor Macdonnell has made successful efforts to promote drainage and cleanliness, by establishing an annual rate of 4 per cent. on all real and landed property at Bathurst, the proceeds of which are expended by the inhabitants themselves on local improvements.

Cape St. Mary, on the lee-shore of the mouth of the Gambia, is sixty feet above the sea level, the soil a dry loam, superincumbent on a bed of clay. The country, for several miles along the coast, is almost clear of wood; the land descends in a gentle slope from the sea for some distance towards the interior, where a creek carries off the drainage to the ocean. There are no swamps or pestilential effluvia; but, on the contrary, a fine sea-breeze and cool land air.

Here the chief town ought to have been formed, and been connected with the harbour at St. Mary's, by a road and bridge over the Oyster Creek. The home government, in conformity with the suggestion of Mr. Macdonnell, have authorised the acquisition of about ten square miles of contiguous country, for the establishment of a military post, and the formation of an agricultural settlement, of which the colonists stand in much need.

There is another settlement at the Gambia, about 175 miles (following the windings of the river) from St. Mary's on M'Carthy's island, which is about five miles and a-half long by one broad, and so low that, during the rainy season, a considerable portion of the land becomes a swamp. It has a military post, termed Fort St. George, and three or four stone houses belonging to mercantile establishments, with a Wesleyan chapel and school; and its valuable position has already rendered the place of some importance. The other islands in the river, claimed by Great Britain, called *Elephant*, *Deer*, *Dean*, and *Kayaye*, are all low, swampy, and inconsiderable.

The country between the Gambia and the Senegal rivers is chiefly comprised in the kingdoms of Lalum, Bondou, Barra, and Woolli; it is 600 miles in length, and contains about 1,000,000 of inhabitants, who are generally Jolloffs, Foulahs, or Mandingoes. There are also several small flourishing chiefdoms on the south bank of the Gambia.

CLIMATE AND DISEASES.—No British settlement, with the exception of Sierra Leone, has for many years been supposed to possess a climate so fatal to Europeans, as the Gambia. Its character in this respect has much improved of late, and its medical statistics, as given in the returns of the Army Medical board, and the public Registrar's books at Bathurst, show an annually decreasing mortality. The extremely bad reputation of the climate was principally occasioned by the appalling mortality which overwhelmed a corps of white troops sent to the African coast in lieu of other punishment, and stationed at the Gambia, in May, 1825. From the official statement prepared by Colonel Tulloch, it would appear, that in nineteen months, 234 soldiers out of 420, fell victims to the climate. Governor Macdonnell, however, remarks, in his report on the Blue Book for 1851, that "no parallel can be drawn between the Bathurst of that day and of the present period," and perhaps justly considers that there is as little ground for surprise at the mortality in question occurring in a corps of the most depraved and dissipated character, stationed, literally in a swamp, as Bathurst then was, as there would be "at death ensuing from a draught of poison, or a bullet." There certainly is no room to doubt the improved sanitary condition of the town. Staff-surgeon Kehoe, an officer of considerable reputation and experience on the coast, whose evidence is given at full length in the Governor's report, published in 1850, states that the number of deaths from all causes amongst the resident European population, during five years ending December 1849, was only 4.40 per cent.; whilst the deaths of military officers at Bathurst during the same period, amounted to 11.11 per cent.

The changing annually the officers employed on the coast is now looked upon as exposing a superfluous number of unacclimatized persons to the risk of the "seasoning" fever. The deficiency of accommodation for both officers and men has recently been made the subject of serious remonstrance, and will, it is understood, be speedily remedied by the erection

of barracks, as before-mentioned, at Cape St. Mary, between which place and Bathurst a military road is now in course of formation.

It may not be uninteresting to remark, that during several months, both at Bathurst and at Cape St. Mary, the thermometer seldom reaches the elevation which it attains in the East and West Indies. From December to the beginning of May, there is not unfrequently actually cold weather, the thermometer ranging from 54° to 58° in the morning, and attaining an average height at noon of from 66° to 74°—at Cape St. Mary not more than 68°.

The temperature at M'Carthy's Island is much higher; the thermometer there frequently reaching 110° in the shade, and the rainy season is of longer duration than nearer to the mouth of the river. The

rains at Bathurst last from about the 10th of July to the 20th of October.

GOVERNMENT.—The settlements are presided over by a Governor, aided by Executive and Legislative councils, under letters patent, dated June 24, 1843.

MILITARY DEFENCE.—Detachments of the West India regiments, to the number of about 280 rank and file. There is a "Royal Gambia Militia," having three companies of eighty men each; two of infantry, and one of artillery. There are military stations at Bathurst, Fort Bullen on the Barra shore opposite Bathurst, Cape St. Mary, and M'Carthy's Island.

POPULATION.—The number and classification of the inhabitants of St. Mary's Island was at three periods as follows:—

Class	1823.			1826.			1833.		
	Males.	Females.	Total.	Males.	Females.	Total.	Males.	Females.	Total.
Europeans . . .	37	8	45	28	2	2	31	5	36
Mulattoes . . .	29	50	135	{ 47	44 }	122	51	75	126
Ditto children . .	20	26		{ 17	14 }		—	—	
Blacks . . .	428	467	1,204	{ 679	624 }	1,577	1,399	1,179	2,578
Ditto children . .	140	169		{ 112	162 }		—	—	
Sailors . . .	152	—	152	131	—	131	—	—	—
Strangers . . .	293	10	309	7	—	7	—	—	—
Ditto children . .	2	4		—	—	—	—	—	
Total . .	1,101	744	1,845	1,021	846	1,867	1,481	1,259	2,740

The population of all the settlements on the 31st of March, 1851, was as follows:—

Class.	St. Mary's.	M'Carthy's Island.	Barra Point.	Cape St. Mary.	Total.
<i>Whites—</i>					
Males . .	167	8	1	1	177
Females . .	13	0	0	1	14
<i>Coloured—</i>					
Males . .	2,192	637	101	35	2,966
Females . .	1,890	526	74	16	2,506
<i>Total—</i>					
Males . .	2,559	645	132	37	3,173
Females . .	1,903	526	74	17	2,520

Births at St. Mary's, in 1851, 144; deaths, 185; marriages, 26.

The annexed table gives the number of acres in crop and pasture, and the quantity of live-stock, in 1851:—

Description.	St. Mary Island.	M'Carthy's Island.
Acres in crop . . .	8	600
Pasture	40	514
Horses	120	60
Horned cattle . . .	160	200
Sheep	50	50
Goats	100	100

RELIGIOUS ORDINANCES and EDUCATION have been for several years under the charge of the Wesleyans, whose zealous exertions will be subsequently shown. As regards CRIME, no other statement appears in the Blue Books than that forty-four prisoners had been confined in the gaol at Bathurst during the year 1851.

REVENUE.—In 1830, £1,513; 1840, £4,543; 1850, £7,057; 1851, £8,484; of which the customs yielded £7,720. The Governor has £1,000 a-year, and an al-

lowance of £200 for table money. He is moreover entitled to certain fees as Ordinary, amounting on an average to £100 per annum. The parliamentary grant, in aid of the revenue, is now £5,000 a-year; the military expenditure for 1851, amounted to £15,798.

TARIFF and TAXES.—an import duty of 4 per cent. on all British and foreign imports; a farthing per lb additional on all tobacco not prize. Four per cent. on all sales by auction of prize goods (prize tobacco 6d. extra); 1s. per ton on vessels; 6d. per gallon on wine and spirits. Licences for sale of liquors, £10; for auctioneers, £25 per annum. *Monies, &c., English.*—There is no paper money; the coin in circulation is of various denominations, and is estimated in value at £7,000.

COMMERCE.—The following table, illustrating the financial and commercial progress of the settlements on the Gambia, during the last twelve years, is derived from a comprehensive return, prepared by the late energetic governor, R. G. Macdonnell, C.B. One extraordinary item will be remarked, by means of which large tracts of land have been brought into cultivation; and as the demand for the nut as food in the United States, and for the manufacture of oil in France and other parts of Europe, seems to be greatly increasing, it is difficult to conjecture to what extent the commerce may be carried.

One important fact has been already proved by this new traffic—viz., that the native African is glad and willing to cultivate the soil when assured of a fair return for the produce of his labour; and security and protection for his life and property. At the present time one-third of the produce exported from this settlement is raised by the "tilliebunkas" (*men from the East*) and other labourers, who travel from distances of 500, and even 700 miles in the interior, to visit the Gambia, along the banks of which they hire, from the various chiefs in whose territories they settle, small tracts of land, which they cultivate,

paying their landlords a portion of the proceeds. After remaining, perhaps two or three years, until they have earned sufficient to purchase those goods, the desire for which had induced them to leave their homes, they form themselves into parties of from 20 to 100 in number, and return, to spread among their countrymen the good news of a safe market for agricultural produce. With the increased demand for ground nuts there has been a proportionate augmentation of the supply, nor is there any reason to doubt that the latter will continue to keep pace with the former, while it continues to offer remunerative employment to the vast amount of native labour, which needs no other inducement than a fair market, to employ its energies on the uncultivated acres of fertile wilderness which bound for several hundred miles the great water road of the Gambia. A few years ago it would have seemed highly improbable that the export of one article, till then almost unknown, should have reached the value of £145,000; there is much more ground to anticipate, at the present time, that in some ten or twelve years it may

rise to a million sterling. "Already," says Governor Macdonnell, "a community of commercial interests has begun to bind together the various tribes which people the banks of the Gambia, for a distance of 400 miles from its mouth." New thoughts and desires have arisen to vary the monotony of savage life, and the dangers and excitements of war can be no longer indulged in without the sacrifice of many things which in the first marked step towards civilization have from luxuries become necessities; for the Gambia chiefs, if not themselves employed in the trade, have a new interest in the soil, and cannot engage in war and disturbances without driving away the profitable tenants, whose pursuits require that they should have more than five months of unmolested leisure for tilling the soil, gathering and disposing of the produce.—(*Blue Book*, 1852.)

It is indeed most fortunate, or rather, providential, that this new article should have arisen, the more so as several others, such as bees' wax and mahogany, which used to form the chief items in the export list, have much diminished:—

Years.	Revenue.	Imports.	Exports.	No. of Vessels entering.	Tonnage Inwards.			No. of Seamen.	Ground Nuts Exp.	
					British.	Foreign.	Total.		Tons.	Value.
1840	£4,543	£105,441	£124,587	255	7,087	6,922	14,009	2,023	1,211	£15,209
1841	3,563	96,708	144,610	200	7,508	8,051	15,559	1,622	2,540	29,766
1842	5,932	111,153	146,939	290	9,218	8,893	18,111	2,515	2,169	27,639
1843	6,486	85,827	108,404	306	6,900	9,496	16,396	2,655	2,608	31,900
1844	5,257	96,152	136,753	261	6,934	10,978	17,912	2,085	3,425	43,581
1845	6,565	119,187	154,801	241	7,250	13,882	21,132	2,111	4,027	52,270
1846	6,006	95,403	164,805	214	6,905	12,750	19,655	1,878	5,996	74,635
1847	6,886	90,706	178,090	216	5,618	19,769	25,387	2,145	8,236	99,937
1848	6,560	68,960	158,590	217	9,063	15,253	24,316	1,991	8,636	103,778
1849	5,391	73,410	107,802	221	6,494	11,545	18,039	1,873	—	72,237
1850	7,057	86,036	142,366	212	5,376	14,331	19,707	1,676	6,009	52,175
1851	8,484	107,011	186,404	239	3,895	21,596	25,491	2,071	11,094	133,133
Total .	72,730	1,135,994	1,754,151	2,872	82,248	153,466	235,714	24,645	55,951	736,260

In 1851 there were exported from the Gambia settlements, wax, 153 tons; value, £25,699; hides, 61,947; value, £12,389; palm oil, 12,281 gallons, value, £1,944; gum, value, £1,361.

A considerable portion of the trade is carried on from the upper part of the Gambia with Bondou on the Senegal river. In 1844 Governor Macdonnell travelled, not without peril from climate and robbers, from Fattatenda through Woolli, across a large forest to Boolibamy, in the kingdom of Bondou, and entered into arrangements with the Albammé or Mahomedan sovereign of Bondou, and with the king of Woolli, for the protection of travellers and merchants passing through their territories to the Gambia, on condition of receiving certain annual presents. In a subsequent journey made early in the year 1850, the governor, with a few of the officers of the colony, proceeded in boats, 150 miles beyond the rocks of Barraconda, and 450 miles from Bathurst. Game was abundant, several elephants and hippopotami were shot, and deer and guinea-fowl amply supplied the party with food during the journey: they all returned to the steamer *Dover*, at Barraconda, in perfect health, after bivouacking for fifteen nights in the woods. Near a river which flows into the Upper Gambia from the north, the governor was met by a deputation of the inhabitants of a town called *Jallacoota*. They expressed a strong desire that traders should visit their country,

as they had more corn and ground nuts than they could use, but had no means of bartering them for goods. From this and other circumstances it appears probable that if the British flag were hoisted at the Barraconda Falls, and a small trading post established there, a large, lucrative, and, in all respects, beneficial traffic would be speedily created.

BULAMA.—Between the Gambia and our territory of Sierra Leone and its dependencies, we claim, though we do not occupy, the island of *Bulama*, near the entrance of the *Rio Grande*, and about thirty miles to the southward of the Portuguese fort and factory of *Bissao*, formerly a stronghold of the slave-trade.

ISLES DE LOSS.—Nearly midway between *Bulama* island and *Sierra Leone*, 400 miles to the southward of the Gambia, and sixty miles to the northward of *Sierra Leone*, are the *Isles de Loss*, in 9° 16' N. lat., and 16° W. long. They are five in number, and were ceded to the British crown in 1818, by *Dalla Mahomedu*, in consideration of a small annual payment. They are distant from the main land five or six miles. The principal are named *Tamara*, *Factory*, and *Crawfords*; the first, which is the largest, is five miles long by one mile broad. They were supposed to be more healthy than the mainland, in consequence of their elevation, the rocky nature of the ground, and the total absence of vegetation and marshes; but this idea has not been sus-

tained by experience. One hundred and three picked men of good character, exemplary conduct, and with little inclination to inebriety, were landed on the centre island by General Turner on the 23rd of February, 1805. Of these, sixty-two died within the space of eighteen months, exclusive of twenty-one invalided to England. The remaining twenty men who survived were scarcely fit for any duty.

The chief coast feature between the Gambia and Sierra Leone, irrespective of the above-mentioned islands, is the *Rio Grande*, so named from its appearing to its discoverers a river of magnitude; but Captain Owen, on examination, found it to be a mere inlet receiving some inconsiderable streams. Along the heads of the Grande lies the kingdom of *Foota Jallon*, which is said to extend over a region 350 miles long by 200 broad, inhabited by the Foulahs, a semi-civilized people professing for the most part the Mahomedan religion. The *Nunez River*, about 300 miles to the southward of the Gambia, is an important stream; a vessel drawing twelve feet water may go up to *Kakundy*, a large town about sixty miles from the coast. This district has been a great slave emporium, but as the country produces excellent coffee in abundance, it is hoped the traffic in man will be soon superseded by a more righteous commerce. There are several English and French traders established here; the latter export ground-nuts from the *Nunez*, also from the *Casamanza River*, where they have trading posts, and from the Portuguese settlements at Bissao, Cacheo, and elsewhere.

SIERRA LEONE.

ORIGIN AND HISTORY.—This peninsula probably obtained its name from the Portuguese discoverers of 1463, in consequence of being the resort of lions (*Sierra Leone* signifying *Lion Mountain*). In 1652, the notorious Sir John Hawkins landed on the adjacent coast, devastated the country with fire and sword, and after perpetrating great atrocities, succeeded in capturing several hundred natives, whom he conveyed in his vessels to the Spanish West Indies for sale. Several European nations established slave-factories here; the English had one at *Banee Island*, in the *Sierra Leone River*, and the Portuguese another in the neighbourhood.

Towards the close of the eighteenth century, the attention of Christian philanthropists was awakened to the necessity of providing a home in Africa for the numerous poor and destitute negroes who had been brought by their masters to England, and liberated in consequence of the celebrated decision of Chief Justice Mansfield, which declared that they had thereby ceased to be slaves. Their numbers were subsequently increased by many negroes who, during the United States war of Independence, served in the British army and navy with fidelity and courage. Upon the restoration of peace, some were taken to the Bahamas, others to Nova Scotia, and the remainder were disbanded with the troops and seamen in England. Having no claim for parochial relief, they might have perished but for a number of humane gentlemen, who organised a committee "for relieving the black poor." Granville Sharp and Dr. Smeathman (who had resided some time in Africa,) simultaneously proposed the formation of a free settlement on the west coast, and sketched out their respective plans. Dr. Smeathman named Sierra Leone as the most eligible spot, and was encouraged in the idea by many of the negroes having been

originally carried off from this part of the country. The government, considering the poor blacks as a nuisance in the streets, agreed to transport them to Africa, and to supply them with necessaries during the first six or eight months of their residence. The vessels, with more than 400 negroes, and about 80 white people, chiefly women, accompanied by a chaplain, the Rev. Mr. Frazer, sailed from England, in the spring of 1787. On arriving at Sierra Leone, Captain Thompson, R.N., who had charge of the emigrants, purchased for them a tract of the peninsula, comprising twenty square miles of territory, from a native chief, known by the soubriquet of "King Tom," and the bargain was afterwards confirmed by Naimbanna, the king of the country, who resided at the small island of *Robanna*. The expedition was altogether badly planned, and especially as to the season of arrival on the coast. Many died while the vessels were detained in the channel, and also during the voyage; others perished from landing in the rainy season without shelter, some deserted, so that in the course of the first year the population was reduced by one half.

The town was laid out on a beautiful eminence at the south side of the river, and 360 lots, of one acre each, were drawn for and appropriated, 12th June, 1787. Unhappily the government allowed the negroes rum both during the voyage and on landing; the temptation to drink was too great for them and for the white women (many of whom were known to be of immoral character) who were most improperly allowed to accompany the expedition. In September, 1787, there remained 276 settlers; in March, 1788, there were only 130. Mr. Sharpe, apprehensive of a total failure of the project, sent out a brig (the *Myro*) at his own expense, laden with various articles urgently needed, and bearing thirty-nine white and black passengers to the settlement. In 1789, the colonists were compelled to quit their half-finished homes by a neighbouring chief, who resolved on burning their town in retaliation for a similar injury which his own capital had experienced from some English and American seamen. The chief allowed them three days to remove their goods, and at the expiration of that time he fulfilled his threat. Ruin to the whole scheme seemed inevitable. But the benevolence of Granville Sharp was grounded upon principles which forbade him to weary or despair even under the most discouraging circumstances. Seeing that there was little aid to be expected from the government, he organized an association, called the *St. George's Bay Company*, who, in September 1790, sent out a Mr. Falconbridge to examine and report on the state of the colony, and to afford relief to the distress that had arisen. The agent arrived about twelve months after the flight of the settlers, collected and brought them, sixty-four in number, to a new settlement, which he termed *Granville Town*, situated above *Foura Bay*, and two miles further than the former site had been from the town of the chief who had invaded them. The British legislature subsequently sanctioned the humane efforts of the friends of Africa, and at the close of the session of 1791, an act of parliament was passed for the incorporation of the *Sierra Leone Company*.

In October (19th), 1791, the company held its first meeting—its direction including the honoured names of Granville Sharp, Wilberforce, Clarkson, and Thornton. A capital of £250,000 was raised; and active efforts made to re-organize the settlement.

The negroes who had been landed at Nova Scotia at the close of the American war greatly desired to find a home in their fatherland. The government agreed to defray the expense of conveyance; and 1,135 of them reached Sierra Leone, 65 having died during the passage. The whole of the colonists were now placed on a new site, to which the appropriate name of "Free Town" was given; a fever, however, which the negroes brought with them, caused great mortality, and half the European settlers perished. The colony next year recovered the blow, and was advancing rapidly to prosperity, when its progress was again stopped by the barbarous proceedings of a French squadron (consisting of two frigates, two brigs, and a cutter), in October, 1794. Officers and men plundered the settlement; broke, destroyed, or burned all within their reach; pillaged the church; tore up all books, especially those that bore any resemblance to bibles; and set fire to the church and the other buildings; thus causing the company a loss of about £50,000. The English ship, *Harpy*, with passengers and goods to the value of £10,000 was seized, and two other vessels were subsequently taken. All this misery and ruin was accomplished despite the pledge of the French government (then at war with England), that neither the ships nor the company engaged in carrying out so noble a design should be injured by the republican arms of France.

It seems, however, very doubtful whether the government of France really sanctioned this disgraceful business. The squadron approached, painted, and made to look like English-built vessels, manned by English-dressed sailors, and with English colours flying. They were mistaken for such by the colonists, until the shots were fired into the town: the British colours were immediately hauled down, but the cannonade still continued. It was reported at the time that the expedition had been equipped by certain private individuals, some of them slave-traders and owners of privateers, who hoped, by these buccaneering proceedings, to prevent the establishment of a free settlement in Africa, which they foresaw would ultimately lead to the destruction of their nefarious traffic. The Sierra Leone Company immediately sent out two vessels, with an assortment of necessaries, for the relief of the unfortunates, again reduced to destitution, and once more commenced the re-organization of the settlement, this time successfully; for, in 1798, Freetown contained about 300 houses, laid out with great regularity, besides many public buildings, three warehouses, a government house, protected by a palisade, and six pieces of cannon. The inhabitants numbered 1,200, of whom 300 were heads of families. One half supported themselves by farming, the other followed various occupations, labouring as shopkeepers, fishermen, seamen, &c. From one to two hundred natives daily visited the settlement to trade in British manufactures. It is alleged, and it is to be feared with truth, that faith was not kept with the immigrants from Nova Scotia as to grants of land; some of them broke out in rebellion, and attacked the government house; but their seditious efforts were quelled by the timely arrival of a transport, the *Asia*, with 550 maroons (including women and children) from Jamaica, *via* Nova Scotia, and a detachment of forty-five rank and file, and two officers of H. M.'s 24th regiment. The insurgents were speedily routed, two killed on the spot, and thirty-five made prisoners, of whom three were tried and executed. On the 18th of November, 1801, the colony was attacked at day-break by a body of Tim-

manee natives, headed by ten of the former rebels. After some loss on both sides, the assailants were repelled; and in March, 1802, a truce was made with them. Some additional troops were sent from Goree (then a British post), and the peace of the colony was supposed to be restored: the settlement was, however, again attacked by 400 natives, including eleven of the banished Nova Scotians. The colonists vigorously repulsed them; but many becoming dispirited by these attacks, abandoned their farms; and the idea of evacuating the settlement became pretty general.

• The pecuniary affairs of the Sierra Leone Company were seriously embarrassed by these misfortunes, and its power weakened, notwithstanding that a charter had been granted in 1800, increasing the powers of the government and council, and arming them with legal authority to enforce their decrees. The legislature suspended its annual grants, a parliamentary inquiry was instituted in 1803, and it was recommended that a transfer of the civil and military authority in the colony should be made to the crown. A bill was therefore introduced, and received the royal assent, on the 1st of January, 1808, whereupon the settlement of Sierra Leone was surrendered to the crown; and the philanthropic association withdrew from their beneficent enterprise.*

Before they resigned their trust, a treaty of peace had been finally arranged with the neighbouring native chiefs: the fortifications were so far advanced as to impart a sense of security; internal order had been restored; and reviving prosperity was manifested in the building of good houses, the extension of cultivation, and the healthiness of the community. Schools, places of worship, and the habits of civilized life had been introduced among the colonists, who, in 1807, numbered 1,871 souls. In fact, the foundation had at length, with much toil and trouble, been firmly laid; and it is not easy to predicate how much good may yet result, and indeed is even now resulting, from the perseverance of a few good men, in spite of seeming checks, through evil report and good report, in establishing a nucleus for freedom and Christian civilization in the centre of enslaved, degraded, heathen Africa. Additional territory has been purchased from time to time from the neighbouring chiefs.

In 1819, an accession of population was made by some rebel negroes, eighty-five in number, sent from Barbadoes. In 1827, a further increase was made by the disbanded pensioners of the African corps and of the 2nd and 4th West India Regiments, who, to the number of 947, had lands assigned them near the different villages. The population has been further augmented by the captives rescued from slave-ships taken on the coast of Africa. Up to 1819, the number liberated by the decisions of the Vice-Admiralty Court of the colony, was 11,278. In 1819, a Mixed Commission Court was established, for the adjudication of prize slavers, and from that year to 1850, 64,625 have been set free in the colony.

BOUNDARIES AND PHYSICAL ASPECT.—The boundaries are now stated to be, on the north, the *Mungo River*, or *Little Scarcies*, in 8° 50' N. lat.; on the south, as far as the line which separates the King of Sherboro's territory from that of the Gallinas, including the estuary of the *Sherboro* and its tributaries; on the west the Atlantic; and on the east an imaginary line imperfectly defined. It is supposed that the actual colony is forty miles in length

* *Wesleyan Missions in Western Africa*, a valuable work by the Rev. W. Fox; pp. 157—172.

from north to south, and thirty from east to west, exclusive of the *Banana* and other islands. The peninsula, from *Cape Sierra Leone* to *Cape Shilling*, extends about thirty-three miles along the Atlantic; it is connected with the main land of *Quia* and *South Bulloms* by an isthmus of about a mile and a-half in breadth: *Yawry Bay*, an inlet of the ocean, washes its southern shore: the Sierra Leone estuary and the *Bunce River* form its northern and eastern boundaries. It is traversed in every direction by ranges of rocky and almost precipitous hills, varying in height from 500 to 2,500 feet above the sea. On the eastern side the mountains recede from the shore at distances varying from half a mile to three miles, and leave a belt of level ground of about twenty-four miles in length; on the south-east the country presents a plain surface of some extent; with these exceptions, there is little flat country in the settlement. The general appearance is that of an irregular congeries of conical mountains, with intervening ravines, which expand as they approach the sea, forming numerous valleys of inconsiderable extent. The river, or rather estuary, on the north, which derives its name from the adjacent territory, is about ten miles wide at the entrance, but narrows at *Kissing Point* to five miles. Timber and other vessels of 400 to 500 tons, can ascend for lading twenty-five miles above Freetown. One arm, containing the islands called *Tusso*, *Bunce*, *Pentillar*, and *Batt*, or *Yerracalliam*, stretches to the northward. Another of less size, termed the *Bunce River*, flows to the south-east, and receives the *Waterloo Creek*: the length of this portion of the estuary is about ten miles, that of the former about twenty miles. The south-eastern portion of the peninsula is drained by the *Calmont Creek*, which flows into *Yawry Bay*; the whole area is abundantly supplied with water; many streams descend from the hills; several are concentrated in a large basin, called the *Bay of Funkia*, which is considered the best watering place along the entire line of coast. A new town (*Kosoo*) is now forming here. The *Rokelle River*, which flows into the Sierra Leone estuary, has its navigation intercepted at *Rocon*, fifty or sixty miles from Freetown; its source is stated to be within thirty miles of *Fallaba*, at a distance of 200 miles from Freetown. The *Kates River*, which flows into the Atlantic to the southward of the peninsula, is navigable for boats upwards of seventy miles.

Free Town, the capital, is built on the southern margin of the Sierra Leone estuary, about five miles from the Cape, which marks the entrance. The town is regularly laid out upon a gentle acclivity which rises from the water's edge towards a semicircular sweep of wooded mountains, with an elevation of 1,200 to 1,500 feet, running in an east-south-east and west-north-west direction, and distant from the haven from a mile to a mile-and-a-half. Behind the centre of the town is the fort; then a large military hospital; and in the rear, about 200 feet above the town, a range of barracks, built in a superior manner, both as to style and convenience. The view of the sylvan amphitheatre, with *Free Town* stretching from the base of *Tower Hill*, towards the anchorage, varied by numerous buildings, cultivated spots, and rugged undulations, is very striking.

The principal streets are fifty to sixty feet wide, have regular convex carriage and foot-ways, with broad channels at either side for water-courses. The central thoroughfares contain the principal

government and private houses. The latter generally consist of two stories, erected on stone or iron pillars, of six to nine feet in height, and are built of a red claystone, which abounds in the vicinity. The rooms are large, lofty, and mostly contain fire-places for the comfort of their inhabitants during the chilly damps of the rainy season, while the intense heat of the sun is warded off by verandahs, the lower part closely boarded, the upper having strong jalousie blinds. The kitchens and other domestic offices are detached from the dwelling-house. Many such abodes belong to the coloured citizens, some of whom have been liberated from the slave-ships, the first object of desire among them all being the possession of a large stone house, as an incontestable mark of a respectable social position. The foundation is not unfrequently laid when the owner is quite unable to proceed further, and progress is made from time to time as his pecuniary means will admit. The second class of tenements are termed frame-houses, and are built of wood, either on stone pillars, or on a wall of some feet in height, which enables the proprietor to convert the basement into a store or warehouse. These, like the first class, are protected by verandahs, and stand in a yard or garden, of greater or less size, so as to afford a free circulation of air. In the suburbs the habitations are chiefly composed of stakes, wattles, and clay, and consist of two apartments, divided by strong coarse matting. There are convenient landing-wharves, and four good roads from the town, all available for carriages except the one that leads to the mountains. Dr. Madden, who was sent out by government as commissioner to report on the state of our settlements in Western Africa, in 1841, says—"I was forcibly struck with the largeness of the scale on which the public buildings were constructed; the wideness of the streets, and the regularity of their lines; the number of stone houses, and the excellence of the roads; the abundance in the markets, the multitudes of well-dressed negroes in these places, the variety of stalls and shops in their own quarter well supplied with British goods; the cleanliness and the comfortableness of their small abodes, the size and structure of the principal church, and the numerous chapels and schools in the town and suburbs, and, though last not least, the admirable order that seemed to prevail amongst the negro population, without any apparent exercise of magisterial rigour or severity of political restraint to repress or to control the people."

The number of stone houses of the first class belonging to the natives, in St. George's parish (*Free Town*), in 1850, was 350; of frame, 2,184; of wattle, 1,873. The number throughout the colony of these three denominations was 436, 2,156, and 9,703. Many of the coloured citizens are wealthy, and employ considerable capital in trade. They vie with the white inhabitants in their houses, dress, and expenditure, and contribute liberally to the support of religious ordinances and education.

The colony is divided into five districts, and subdivided into parishes and villages (see *Population* section), *Free Town* contains the few European residents; the *Nova Scotians* (as the negroes who arrived from thence are termed); *Maroons*; discharged soldiers from the *West India* regiments; and *Kroomen*, (a superior class of labourers who come from the neighbourhood of the *Grain Coast* for hire.) The country population consists chiefly of liberated Africans.

The villages facing the sea are the most healthy,

owing, it is supposed, to being screened by the mountains from the malaria, which is blown to the peninsula from the adjacent low Bullom shore. The mountain villages are next in point of salubrity; those in the river district are the most unhealthy, as they are contiguous to mud and mangrove, and unrefreshed by sea breezes.

There is a lighthouse on Cape Sierra Leone, which is distant about five miles from Free Town; it is a round tower, fifty-three feet in height, with a diameter of nineteen feet at the base, and fourteen feet at the summit. The light is fixed.

THE BANANA ISLANDS, a dependency of the colony, in 8° 30' N., separated from Cape Shilling by a narrow strait, are about twenty-seven miles distant from Free Town. They are two in number, but the larger being nearly intersected by the sea, they have the appearance of forming three islands. They are supposed to have been thrown up by submarine volcanic action. *Great Island*, the nearest to the main land, is about three and three quarters of a mile long, by one mile broad. It lies nearly east and west; the eastern part, called *Dublin*, which faces the main, consists of an extremely gradual ascent of unbroken table-land, but little varying in its breadth, to an extent of about two miles; a hill or mount (*Leven*) then occurs, with a height ranging from 500 to 750 feet above the sea. The western extremity of the island is less elevated than the eastern portion. The greater part is under cultivation. The soil on the table-land consists of a deep, rich, dark loam, with occasional patches of red clay. The western island is smaller and less elevated; its characteristics are the same. A deep channel, about 200 yards, separates the two Bananas, which contain at least one good harbour; both are said to be salubrious.*

GEOLOGY AND SOIL.—The soil in the vicinity of Sierra Leone, consists chiefly of a slight stratum of brown gravel on a semivitrified rock of the same colour, containing a large portion of the oxide of iron. This is what is called the *brown* iron stone; the *red* iron stone is also found in extensive strata, but the *brown* appears to prevail. Both these varieties of hæmatites are cellular throughout their entire substance, strongly indicating volcanic origin; they are intersected with yellow streaks, and kidney-shaped segments. Magnetic iron ore, in small detached masses, is observable on the mountains, some of which are chiefly composed of granite, and large granitic blocks stud the surface of the plains. No limestone has hitherto been discovered in the colony, but fortunately there is an abundance of fossil shells. Altogether the soil is calculated to dishearten the inexperienced African agriculturist; and it is surprising how he has been enabled to rear his various crops.

Governor Norman Mac Donnell thinks that from the peculiar geological conformation of the country, minerals probably exist in the mountain ranges.

CLIMATE AND DISEASE.—The thermometrical range is very slight, the diurnal variation rarely exceeds 10°; the average height of the mercury throughout the year is about 82° Fahrenheit. The quantity of rain is excessive. From July to December, inclusive, it has amounted to 144 inches; on two days in August (22nd and 23rd) more has fallen than the annual average in England. The countries which may be compared with Sierra Leone in

excessive humidity are—Maranhao, in Brazil, yearly, 280 inches; Cayenne, in February alone, 160 inches; Arracan, in two months (July and August), 103 inches; coast of Malabar, 169 inches. The wet season extends from May to November; for a large part of this period the hills are wrapped in dense fogs, and the rain falls in torrents; it is ushered in by violent tornadoes from the eastward, accompanied by vivid lightning and awful thunder. The dew point ranges from 69° to 72° in June, July, August, and September. The sky is then extensively overcast by clouds; thus, dividing the visible horizon into 100 parts, the proportion obscured in four months of 1848, was, June, 78; July, 84; August, 86; September, 86. The Harmattan, a north-east wind of extreme siccidity, generally blows in December, January, and February. The air is then impregnated with an almost impalpable sand, which is exceedingly irritating to the nostrils, eyes, ears, and all susceptible parts with which it comes in contact. It causes coughs and fatal pulmonary complaints to the natives. There is a regular daily succession of sea and land breezes; the former, in the morning, from the west-north-west, is always cool and pleasant; the latter, setting in at evening from east and south-east, is generally heated and laden with humid exhalations from the low and swampy ground over which it passes. Such a climate, as might be expected, has proved very fatal to European constitutions. From February, 1825, to 1832, four governors, General Turner, Sir Neil Campbell, Colonel Denham (the distinguished traveller), and Colonel Lumley, sank under it; and its influences were equally injurious to the white troops, notwithstanding the care evinced in placing them in good barracks on a conical hill, 400 feet above the sea. During eighteen years, ending in 1836, it has been ascertained by Colonel Tulloch, that nearly half the forces perished annually; indeed, in 1825 and in 1836, three-fourths died. Many European seamen employed in the timber ships, while loading in the Sierra Leone estuary, are suddenly attacked with illness, from which few recover. The most fatal disease is remittent fever, the proportions of deaths to admissions into the hospital being as one to two. Dysentery and inflammation of the liver, acute and chronic, are prevalent. The mortality among the black troops is in a far smaller proportion; during eighteen years, ending in 1836, it was about thirty-two per thousand. Eruptive fever, and diseases of the lungs, stomach, and bowels, were the principal maladies. The low Bullom shore, a vast swamp which it is said to be impossible to drain, is the focus of the malaria which scourges the inhabitants of the peninsula. Like other tropical countries, Sierra Leone enjoys periods of salubrity, during which it is exempt from any peculiar malady; but sickness reappears without warning, and desolates the land, frequently at intervals of three or five years. It is considered that a permanent improvement has recently taken place in the climate; if so, it is probably owing to the increase of cultivation, to improved dwellings and drainage, while the prevalence of temperate habits must necessarily have greatly diminished the dangers which surrounded European life in Sierra Leone a few years ago.

THE POPULATION, at the commencement of the settlement, has been stated in a previous page (178). The resident inhabitants, in 1818, numbered 9,667; in 1820, 12,521; in 1822, 15,081; in 1833, 29,764; in 1836, 37,463. During the last three years it is thus shown under the heads of the five districts into

* Boyle's *Medico-Historical Account of the Western Coast of Africa*, 1831, pp. 65, 7.

which the colony is divided. The western district includes the villages of Dublin and Rickets, in the Banana Islands—

Districts.	1849.	1850.	1851.
St. George's Freetown	18,551	16,679	18,027
First Eastern District	5,498	5,302	5,351
Second Eastern "	8,884	8,878	7,827
Western	4,885	5,159	5,287
Mountain	8,551	8,454	8,009
Total	46,369	44,472	44,501

In 1851 there were—males, 23,794; females, 20,704. The disparity between the sexes is less than might have been expected, considering that nearly half the inhabitants have been rescued from slave ships, where men always largely predominate.

In an official report the population is thus classified—*According to Trade, or Occupation*:—Government officers (of all grades), 289; merchants and clerks, 258; petty traders, hawkers, and pedlars, 1,719; farmers, farm labourers, and market people, 17,421; grumettas, predial labourers, and house servants, 3,000; fishermen and native seamen, 1,989; mechanics, 1,801; miscellaneous—including washerwomen, sempstresses, &c., 4,614; transient traders, 594; school children, 9,819; infants, 2,997: total, 44,501. *According to Race*:—Europeans, 89; Maroons, 15; Nova Scotians, 49; liberated Africans, 6,898; native creoles, 7,565; West Indians, 90; Americans, 121; Kroomen, 560; native strangers (Timmanees, Sherbros, Foulahs, Mandingoes, &c.), 1,292: total, 16,679.

Among the liberated Africans, many have shown themselves very industrious and enterprising, and their exertions have materially tended to the advancement of the colony. Several among their number have amassed wealth, and become large importers of British manufactures, and exporters of colonial produce.

Acting-governor Pine, writing in 1849, bears high testimony "to the orderly and peaceable manner in which they conduct themselves in the colony, and to the zeal and alacrity which the more influential among them have, upon many occasions, displayed in lending support to the government when for any purpose it was required. This conduct is the more remarkable when we consider that they are composed of tribes, many of which, in their own countries, bore towards each other intense hatred and animosity; and that they have been subjected to all the moral degradation which slavery brings in its train."

The Kroomen occupy a distinct part of Free Town, called by their name. They come to the colony from their own country on the Grain Coast, to seek employment, and are in great request as domestic servants, and likewise in other capacities. They are often confounded with the Fishmen, although, according to the Hon. Captain Denham, there is a broad line of demarcation between them; the Kroomen occupying the interior of the country more than the Fishmen, who reside entirely upon the coast, and are much more numerous. Both are, however, remarkable for voluntary emigration in search of opportunities whereby they may acquire, during the vigorous years of life, the means of buying wives, and eventually settling down in comfort in their own land. They leave home when mere boys, and generally come to Sierra Leone in the capacity of apprentices to some

of their more experienced countrymen, who are considered as headmen or masters, and who, according to their birth and influence, have a proportionate number of youths under their charge. On board a man of war a headman will be employed, with generally twenty men under him, the connexion being purely voluntary. The Kroomen are distinguished by some striking superstitious observances; they resist every attempt at conversion to Christianity; to this latter painful characteristic there have been exceptions, but they are very few.

The Rev. Mr. Koelle, a member of the Church Mission to Sierra Leone, has formed the following list of the African tribes, numbers of whom he has met with among the liberated negroes, in his endeavours to collect information respecting the still uncounted number of African languages. Mr. Koelle commences with those from the centre of Africa, about Lake Tchad; thence westward to the Niger, the eastern bank of which he follows until it reaches the sea. He then traces the coast upwards to Senegambia, and thence eastward to the point where the Niger changes its course from north-east to south-east, near the country of the wild and warlike Wasulus. Re-commencing on the southern half of this vast continent, he enumerates the tribes along its eastern shore, from ten degrees south to the Cape, who are represented in the colony, and completes his labour with those from the country between the banks of the Coanza (?) and the Cameroons. The information thus afforded is doubly interesting, as showing not merely the vast number of African tribes represented in the colony, but as mapping out also, in a very clear and comprehensive manner, the enormous tract of country over which slavery and the slave-trade have extended their poisonous influence.—"1 Shoa, African Arabs, east of Bornu; 2 Bagarmi, east of Bornu; 3 Bornu or Vianuri, on the southern banks of the Lake of Tchad; 4 Tubo (Tiboo), in the Zahara, north of Bornu; 5 Mandara, south of Bornu; 6 Kandin, south of the Zahara, near Hausa; 7 Pika or Phika, south-west of Bornu; 8 Wadai, 9 Margi, near Bornu; 10 Bode, west of Bornu; 11 Gezere, south of Bode; 12 Karakarei, west of Gezere; 13 Hausa, between Bornu and the Niger; 14 Munio, or Manga, north-east of Hausa; 15 Gube, north-west of Hausa; 16 Kambali, west of Hausa; 17 Dshuku, north-west of Hausa; 18 Gbali, or Gaoli, south of Hausa; 19 Eregba, called Kurorofa by the Hausas, Assa by the Nufes and Ibos, and Koana by the Kanuri, south of Hausa; 20 Nufe, on the eastern banks of the Niger, about Rabba; 21 Eg-bira, by the Nufes called Egura; 22 Idshumu, or Ekiri, eastern banks of the Niger; 23 Basa, eastern banks of the Niger, and will be distinguished from the Basa, near Liberia; 24 Igala, or Gala, eastern banks of the Niger, and will be distinguished from the Gallas, in the east; 25 Agbale, eastern banks of the Niger; 26 Kupa, eastern banks of the Niger, near Egga; 27 Wefa, 28 Ibo, eastern bank of the Niger; 29 Atam, east of Ibo; 30 Kalaba, 31 Benin, 32 Bayong, 33 Okuloba (Bony), near Ibo; 34 Bine, between the Old and New Calabar; 35 Yoruba, 36 Egba, closely allied; on the west of the Niger; 37 Adsha, called Popo by foreigners; 38 Dahome, 39 Hwida, 40 Mahhi, who speak three different dialects of the same language; 41 Gurma, 42 Kutakori, 43 Barba, 44 Dshelanga, north of Dahomey; 45 Ashanti, 46 Fanti, near Cape Coast; 47 Grepso, 48 Kru, closely allied; about Cape Palmas; 49 Basa, south of Monrovia; 50 Mano, 51 Gbarena, or Gbase,

east of Basa; 52 Dawoin, north of Monrovia; 53 Vei, from Cape Mount to the Gallinas; 54 Gura, or Gola, 55 Gbandi, 56 Buse, 57 Mani, 58 Toma, 59 Bala, 60 Bunde, 61 Mande, called also Koso and Nonguba, 62 Gise, or Kise, east and north-east of Vei; 63 Kirim, by foreigners Kittim, north of Vei, on the coast; 64 Bulom, north of Kirim and south of Sherbro; 65 Sherbro, between Bulom and Sierra Leone; 66 Timne, 67 Londoro, by foreigners Loko, 68 Limba, 69 Susu, north-east of Sierra Leone; 70 Baga, 71 Bidshugo, 72 Mandshako, 73 Bulanda, or Balanta, on the coast between Sierra Leone and Senegambia; 74 Nalu, 75 Padshar, 76 Pepel, 77 Buramu, 78 Biadada, by foreigners Dahola, 79 Fulup, on the coast, between Sierra Leone and Senegambia; 80 Wolof, 81 Fula, 82 Mandingo, in and near Senegambia; 83 Bambara, on the upper course of the Niger;

84 Wasulu, south-east of Timbuctu. SOUTH AFRICA—85 Masambik (Mozambique), 86 Sofala, 87 Nyamban, 88 Marawi, 89 Kriman, on the eastern coast, between about lat. 10° and the Cape Colony; 90 Bengara (Benguela), 91 Angola, on the south-west coast; 92 Kongo, 93 Muse Kongo, 94 Mantiaf, 95 Kimbala, empire of Kongo; 96 Motaka, 97 Mupama, east of Kongo, in the interior; 98 Orungu, about Cape Lopez; 99 Diala, on the coast, about 2° north; 100 Tsuwu, by foreigners sometimes Bumbé, on the Cameroons River. Although the tribes, Nos. 99 and 100, are a little to the north of the equator, their languages show that, in an ethnological point of view, they are to be considered as South African."—(Parl. Papers, 1851; pp. 186-'7.)

The distribution of the population in 1851 is shown in the following table:—

Districts.	Parishes.	Coloured Population.		Total.	Area, in Acres.
		Males.	Female.		
Free Town	St. George . .	9,355	8,574	17,929	—
<i>First Eastern District:—</i>					
Kissy	St. Patrick . .	1,385	1,792	3,177	31,000
Wellington	St. Arthur . {	1,072	1,009	2,081	2,600
New Lands		99	101	200	
Allen's Town		267	222	489	
<i>Second Eastern District:—</i>					
Hastings	St. Thomas . {	1,074	885	1,959	9,500
Stanley		134	105	239	
Victoria		72	49	121	
Rokelle		139	97	236	
Hastings' Road	St. Michael . {	91	67	159	5,100
Waterloo		1,923	1,612	3,535	
Campbell Town		448	357	805	
Benguera		293	230	523	
Macdonald		135	110	245	
<i>Western District:—</i>					
York	St. Henry . {	1,042	908	1,950	5,500
Sussex		880	720	1,600	
Kent	St. Edward . {	458	348	806	6,200
Russell		124	120	244	
Dublin	St. Luke . . {	256	245	501	—
Rickets		99	79	178	
<i>Mountain District:—</i>					
Leicester	St. Andrew . {	101	84	185	2,600
Gloucester		516	571	1,087	
Regent	St. Charles . .	746	666	1,412	2,400
Bathurst	St. Peter and Paul	333	275	608	1,000
Charlotte	St. John	316	344	660	4,000
Wilberforce	St. Paul	101	591	692	6,700
Congo Town		185	149	334	
Murray Town		355	310	665	
Aberdeen		379	329	708	
Lumley		321	234	555	
Goderich		364	263	627	
Adonkia		40	27	67	
Total		23,703	20,673	44,376	—

Note.—White inhabitants, 94 males and 31 females; births for the year, 1,180; deaths, 472; marriages, 320; employed in agriculture, 17,261; in trade, 14,064; infants and school-children, 12,816.

A considerable number of the liberated Africans have emigrated from Sierra Leone to our West India colonies. Between April, 1841, and 31st December, 1850, 14,113 persons proceeded thither. Since the establishment of the settlement in 1787, about 85,000, persons of both sexes have been landed there, yet the resident inhabitants do not now exceed

45,000; it is therefore manifest that there must have been excessive mortality, or a very large migration by sea and by land from the colony. The latter is most probable, although many of the liberated slaves die soon after they were disembarked, owing to the cruel treatment endured on board ship.

GOVERNMENT.—A governor, aided by an execu-

tive and a legislative council of seven or more members. The latter comprises the chief-justice, colonial-secretary, queen's advocate, and one or two merchants. The council sits with closed doors, and its members are sworn to secrecy. As the coloured people now present an educated and proprietary class, who pay taxes to the amount of about £20,000 per annum, it would be well to grant a representative assembly to the colony, in order that the negro population might be initiated into habits of civilized self-government, and thus set an example to the surrounding kingdoms. There are civil and criminal courts, according to the provisions of the charter of justice of 1821; and courts of chancery, vice-admiralty, ecclesiastical or ordinary, and quarter-sessions, and also one for the recovery of small debts, from forty shillings to ten pounds.

MILITARY DEFENCE.—There are no white troops now in Western Africa; the head quarters for the coast is at the Gambia, and the number of men in the command in 1851 was 557 rank and file, and a due proportion of commissioned and non-commissioned officers of the first, second, and third West India regiments, which are recruited on the western coast of Africa from different nations of the negro race, some of the liberated slaves enlisting in the service. There were in Tower Hill barracks (Sierra Leone) in 1851, commissioned officers, 11; non-commissioned ditto, 10; drummers, 4; rank and file, 214. The negroes, officered by Europeans, make good soldiers, are clean, sober, orderly, and, on several occasions, have proved steady under fire. The Sierra Leone militia comprises 250 men-at-arms.

RELIGION.—The number of persons comprised under different denominations is as follows:—Episcopalians, 13,863; Presbyterians, 5; Wesleyan Methodists, 13,946; African Methodists (seceders from the Wesleyan connexion), 5,134; Baptists, 462; Lady Huntingdon's connexion, 2,849; Roman Catholics, 46; Jews, 3; Mahomedans, 2,001; Pagans, 6,192. The efforts of the Church, Wesleyan, and Baptist missions for the whole coast, are shown in a subsequent page. The religious services of the various churches and chapels are well attended. Sierra Leone has recently been made a diocese of the Church of England, and Dr. Vidal, an eloquent divine, consecrated to the see, with jurisdiction over the Episcopalians in Western Africa.

The only government church in the colony is that of St. George, at Freetown, where the colonial chaplain officiates. Some portion of the liturgy is chanted in a very creditable manner by the (coloured) school children. The *Church Missionary Society* has nine clergymen, and churches in almost every important village in the settlement. The structures are of stone, and equal to the ordinary run of country churches in England. Acting-governor Pine (the present Lieut.-Governor of Natal) in his official report to Earl Grey, 27th October, 1848, says—"The clergymen belonging to this society are as a whole a well-educated body of men, and well adapted to their peculiar vocation. Some of them are possessed of talents and learning which would command respect even in the church at home. The efforts of the *Church Missionary Society* have been, upon the whole, very successful, and the colony is under deep obligations to it for its exertions in the cause of religion and education. The Wesleyan Mission has four ministers in the colony besides several native lay preachers. They possess fifteen chapels, seven in Freetown, the others in various villages about the

colony. The members sent from England are generally zealous and excellent men, and have undoubtedly done a vast deal of good. There are at least thirty chapels belonging to the other sects of Christians. Their ministers are persons of colour, engaged in some secular occupations; two of the most esteemed of these are pilots. I feel great pleasure in stating that the clergymen and ministers of these several denominations generally manifest towards each other the most friendly and Christianlike feelings." The same authority then estimated the number of Mahomedans in the colony at 2,000, a large number of whom were Mandingoes, Soussoos, and other people from the adjacent country. Many of them were liberated Africans, principally of the Akoo tribe, who had been converted in their own country by Mandingo or Foulah priests. The Mahomedans generally reside together in the suburbs of the town, and except in the way of trade, hold little intercourse with their fellow-citizens. I noticed a similar segregation in various Asiatic towns. Mr. Pine estimated the number of Pagans in the colony in 1847, at twelve to fifteen thousand. A large number of these had but recently arrived, bringing with them the superstitions of their own lands. The intercourse of such immigrants with the resident population checks the progress of missionary labour by reviving in the minds of partial converts to Christianity the recollection, and with it the love, of that form of superstition which, having been instilled into them during childhood, is naturally very difficult to eradicate. A native of the Gold Coast (Mr. Quaqua), who was partially educated in England, and for nearly fifty years government chaplain at Cape Coast Castle, believed in "*Fetiches*," or in other words, in evil or good spirits, generally dwelling in corporeal forms, and, it is said, that even amidst a considerable number of the professing Christians at Sierra Leone, as well as among nearly the whole of the Pagans and Mahomedans, a belief in the powers of witchcraft and magic, and in the efficacy of charms and philtres, is still prevalent. There are numerous sects of idolaters. "Among them," says the acting-governor in the despatch before quoted, "the worshippers of thunder and lightning are remarkable. They adore these phenomena as direct emanations of Deity, and, during the storms which at certain seasons disturb the tropical night, the stillness which prevails in the intervals between the peals of thunder is broken by the wild chants with which these mistaken people celebrate the honours of their god. The followers of this superstition are principally Akoos, a portion of which tribe are addicted to it in their own country; though the majority of them in the colony have been converted to Christianity, not a few persons in the community, and some of them professing Christianity, believe that these thunder worshippers, and indeed the Akoos generally, hold some mysterious communion with the lightning, by which they are enabled to direct its course against their enemies; and, upon a recent occasion, when the house of a Maroon was struck by the fluid, and the man himself killed on the spot, I heard several persons attributing the disaster to "those bad Akoo men." Some also of the Pagan inhabitants worship serpents and other reptiles, whom they feed with the greatest care. There are, moreover, some who openly worship the Devil. They convince themselves of the necessity of this practice by the same wild arguments which have satisfied savages following a similar persuasion in other parts of the world. Although they believe in

the existence of a God, the author of all good, they also conceive that he is not omnipotent, but that his authority is disputed and controlled by the spirit of evil. Persuaded that God, prompted by the beneficence of his nature, will bestow every blessing in his power without solicitation, their only anxiety is to appease, by prayer and sacrifices, the wrath of the enemy of mankind.*

EDUCATION.—There are fifty-eight schools, attended by 6,795 scholars of both sexes. Most of these establishments are under the zealous and efficient care of the Church, Wesleyan, and Baptist missionary societies. The *Fourah Bay* institution, under the Rev. Edward Jones, of the Church Missionary Society, affords the highest class of instruction, including Hebrew. Some of the pupils are sent to England to be perfected in their education, with a view to their ordination as ministers of religion. The *Freetown* grammar-school is ably superintended by the Rev. Mr. Peyton, who has resided fourteen years in the colony. The boys in the *higher class* are taught Algebra, Euclid, English, Greek, Latin, geography, music, lineal drawing, mensuration, singing, and exercised in writing themes. A traveller, who visited the colony at the end of 1851, says—"A class of black boys, under a black usher, worked some problems in algebra as readily as though they had been of the pure Caucasian breed." Mr. Peyton considers them "quite as intelligent as English boys of the same class;" and his opinion is amply confirmed by their progress in difficult, not to say superfluous branches of knowledge. The school is nearly self-supporting, the income from pupils being about £270 per annum.

CRIME.—The following return shows the number of convictions in fifteen years:—

Year.	Murder.	Other Felonies.	Misdemeanor.
1837	3	40	5
1838	1	58	4
1839	—	47	8
1840	3	42	10
1841	—	77	8
1842	—	65	—
1843	—	85	7
1844	—	73	3
1845	2	51	2
1846	2	60	1
1847	—	99	18
1848	1	88	3
1849	1	61	1
1850	—	118	1
1852	—	72	5

Considering the mixed character of the population, and the recent removal of a large part from utter barbarism, the foregoing return is a satisfactory one, especially as the class headed felonies includes the very pettiest description of offences now summarily punishable before the presiding police magistrate. Although drunkenness was formerly very prevalent, there is at present an almost total absence of that vice, which the governor attributes to the beneficial influence exercised by the missionaries over the labouring classes.

REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE.—In 1812 the customs duties collected amounted to £1,992, in 1820

* *Report on Blue Books for 1847 laid before Parliament in 1848, p. 201.*

to £6,153, in 1830 to £6,839. From 1840 to 1850 the whole local revenue has been as follows:—

Year.	Gross revenue from all sources.	Portions levied by the customs.	Obtained from other local sources.
1840	£17,332	£12,609	£4,722
1841	11,137	9,071	2,065
1842	9,779	7,584	2,195
1843	12,603	10,226	2,376
1844	16,842	11,032	5,809
1845	20,953	16,119	4,833
1846	20,695	11,749	8,945
1847	24,180	16,371	7,808
1848	21,910	13,816	8,094
1849	20,399	12,840	7,559
1850	17,836	12,974	4,861
Gross Total for eleven years	193,671	134,397	59,273
Average annual revenue . .	17,606	12,217	5,388
1851	19,830	10,217	3,613

In addition to the local revenue, the parliamentary grant of 1851 was £4,465; the expense of the liberated African department, paid from the British exchequer, £3,545. The commissariat disbursements for the same year were as follows:—Army and medical departments, £16,724; navy, £23,610; ordnance, £3,994; barracks, £389 = £44,717. Gross total, £52,727. The total civil expenses amount to £28,002, of which, as above shown, nearly £20,000 is derived from colonial resources.

MONIES, WEIGHTS, AND MEASURES.—English.—There are no public banks and no paper money in circulation. Three-penny and three-halfpenny pieces have been sent from England. The foreign coins in circulation have a fixed value assigned them by royal proclamation, viz., doubloon, 64s.; dollar, 4s. 2d.; twenty franc-piece, 15s. 10d.; five franc-piece, 3s. 10½d.

COMMERCE.—The trade of the colony has fluctuated; its value at different intervals is set forth in the annexed table—

Year.	Imports.	Exports.	Tonnage Inwards.
1825	£77,974	£58,965	23,479
1830	87,251	71,076	26,343
1835	69,301	66,903	17,453
1840	73,989	65,888	19,920
1845	114,475	103,384	23,434
1850	97,890	115,139	26,436
1851	103,477	80,366	40,416

It is to be feared, that until very recently many of the goods imported into Sierra Leone, and our other settlements on the coast, were, by a circuitous channel, employed in the purchase of slaves.

The gross total of imports from 1840 to 1850, inclusive, was £1,010,530, giving an average for each year of £91,867. The imports from Great Britain for this period amounted to £786,777; to West Indian colonies, £6,288; to North American colonies, £19,238; other British colonies, £56,612. To United States, £93,213; other foreign countries, £48,402. The imports from England consist principally of India goods, white and printed cottons, hardware,

spirits, ale, wine, &c. The exports for the same period of eleven years, amounted in the aggregate to £1,074,552, of which £696,193 were sent to England, £1,126 to West Indian colonies, £4,171 to North American colonies, £79,748 to other British colonies, £114,723 to the United States, and £178,591 to other foreign states. Average annual value of exports during the time aforesaid, £63,290.

The state of the trade of the settlement in 1851 is thus shown:—Imports from Great Britain, £85,563; West Indies, £3; other British colonies, £1,848; United States, £14,600; other foreign states, £1,462. Total, £103,476; shipping inwards, 40,416 tons. Exports to Great Britain, £43,068; British colonies, £12,882; United States, £13,351; other foreign states, £11,064=£80,366. Among the items exported were—palm oil (gal.), 212,577, value, £16,838; pepper, 79,467 lbs., £1,809; ginger,

965,529 lbs., £7,833; ground nuts, 81,063 bushels, £6,491; ground cake, 29 tons, £109; ground oil (gal.) 5,080, £861; hides, dried, 417,200 lbs., £7,100; hides, salted, 850 packages, £200; ivory, 5,445, £746; copal, 18,851 lbs., £747; coffee, 4,723 lbs., £105; camwood, 247 tons, £3,094; bees' wax, 19,056 lbs., £963; bené-seed, 1,678 bushels, £458; arrow root, 45,860 lbs., £497; timber, 6,075 loads, £22,298. Cotton is now being added to the list of exports; it grows indigenously, is bought from the natives for 1½d. and sells in Manchester for 7d. per lb. The Church Missionary Society, aided by a philanthropic manufacturer at Manchester, [Mr. Clegg,] are successfully endeavouring to increase the quantity, and improve the quality of the cotton exported.

AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS.—The crops and actual produce saved in the colony between the 31st December, 1850, and the 31st December, 1851, was—

Produce and Live-stock.	St. George's, Freetown.	First Eastern District.	Second East- ern District.	Mountain District.	Western District.	Total.
Acres in cultivation, Dec., 1851	—	6,000	24,287	8,906	2,107	41,300
Poultry No.	15,477	15,600	3,572	7,264	1,983	43,896
Horses "	161	4	3	5	—	173
Asses "	6	2	—	2	1	11
Horned cattle "	196	300	43	337	99	975
Sheep "	198	30	49	212	41	550
Pigs "	1,286	748	680	2,187	906	5,807
Goats "	139	750	273	383	113	1,658
Cassada Bushels	—	23,000	9,889	79,536	2,744	115,169
Cocoa "	—	500	497	4,599	236	5,832
Sweet potatoes "	—	80	2	149	40	271
Indian corn "	—	200	944	1,009	983	3,136
Rice "	—	—	167	4	177	348
Ginger "	—	10,000	2,383	401	1,928	14,712
Ground nuts "	—	60	47	118	198	423
Yams Cwts.	—	500	1,712	1,808	80	4,100
Plantain bunches No.	—	7,000	3,254	8,578	550	19,382
Bananas bunches "	—	850	1,713	7,922	276	10,761
Sugar-cane stalks "	—	150	233	5,358	157	5,898
Pine-apples "	—	380	89	3,365	2,622	6,456
Bird-pepper Cwts.	—	500	—	29	109	638

The *Indigenous Fruits* are banana, cocoa-nut, orange, pine-apple, guava, pomegranate, lime, papau, and African plum.

Fruits that have been introduced.—Mango, shaddock, Avocado pear, custard apple, sour-sop, grenadilla, tamarind, Mammee-apple, water-melon, rose-apple, bread-fruit, almond, bread-nut, date, Barbadoes cherry, and grapes.

Indigenous Esculents, &c.—Yam, plantain, Indian corn, sweet potatoe, okro, pumpkin, cassada, and spinach.

Esculents, &c., which have been introduced.—French beans, cucumbers, peas, lettuce, radishes, and cabbage.

Many of the fruits that have been naturalized, such as the tamarind, mango, and sour-sop, were introduced some years ago, and are now extremely plentiful in the colony; others have been imported at a later period, and are only to be met with in the gardens of government officers and others.

The introduction of several of the choicer species is due to the intercourse which has of late years arisen between the West Indies and the colony in consequence of emigration.

The esculents enumerated have for the most part been brought from England; they all thrive well in the colony, especially French beans and cabbage, which are tolerably abundant.

DIV VII.

FISHERIES.—About 200 canoes are employed, and afford occupation for 1,000 to 1,500 men. The boats, scines, lines, &c., are generally the joint property of the captain and the crew, or of some individual who receives a proportion of the proceeds of the fishery. One branch of the pursuit carried on at the Isles de Loss, by liberated Africans, who proceed thither from the Colony in small joint-stock associations, appears to be a profitable speculation; about £4,000 being annually realized by the persons engaged.

Among the fish caught may be named the barracouta, crocus, cavalla, flounder, grouper, greenjar, jewfish, mullet, mackarel, rock-cod, snapper, skynose, soles, skates, shrimps, turtle, ten-pounder, white bait, crayfish, &c.

MANUFACTURES.—Boat-building is carried on to a considerable extent; those employed in the fisheries are carvel built, and admirably constructed; several small-decked vessels have been recently launched. Leather dressing is carried on to a small extent. There are eight or ten manufactories for crushing the ground nut, and preparing oil therefrom. It can be sold at 4s. to 4s. 6d. per gallon. When cold-drawn by powerful machinery, it is scarcely to be distinguished from olive oil.

WAGES AND PRICES.—Agricultural labour, 7d. to 9d. predial, labour of any other description, 9d. to 1s. Horses cost from £10 to £40; horned cattle, 30s. to

100s.; sheep, 7s. to 15s.; goats (milch), 15s. to 20s.; pigs (porkers), 10s. to 30s.; poultry, 6d. to 1s. per head.

THE GOLD COAST SETTLEMENTS.

HISTORY.—The precise date is not known when the English began to trade with this portion of Western Africa, which extends from the Assinee River to Cape St. Paul, forming the intermediate territory between the *Ivory* and the *Slave* coasts, and comprising the kingdoms of Ashantee and Fantee.

The prospect of trafficking in gold, as well as in slaves, early drew the attention of European nations to this region. The Portuguese formed the first settlement at Cape Coast Castle in 1610; they were, however, soon dispossessed by the Dutch, who took great pains to strengthen the fortifications. In 1661, Admiral Holmes captured the castle; the conquest was confirmed to England by the treaty of Breda, in 1672, and has since then, despite of attacks from the Dutch Admiral De Ruyter, in 1665, and from the French in 1757, remained in the occupation of the English.

Several smaller forts were established on the coast subordinate to the chief station, and placed under the management of the different African companies and associations, which, from time to time, were formed in England—Parliament voting a sum of money annually for their support, until 1807, with a view to the encouragement of the slave trade; and since then, with the opposite desire of preventing that traffic, and promoting legitimate commerce. By the concurrent testimony of all the witnesses before the parliamentary committees of the houses of lords and commons, in 1848-9, it appears that the slave trade has now entirely ceased along this coast for a distance of 280 miles, where it was formerly most rife; and this mainly in consequence of the occupation of the Castle and the adjacent forts by an anti-slavery power.

The area of the extensive territory now under our control is not precisely known. Acting-governor Fitzpatrick, in March, 1850, stated to Earl Grey, that "with the exception of a few sea-side towns, the vast district extending from Assinee to Pram Pram, and back to Ashantee, is all under the jurisdiction of the British authorities." The population of this territory is estimated at 288,500, and is continuously and steadily increasing. This is exclusive of the considerable additions recently purchased from Denmark.* Including these annexations, the distance from Assinee to Pram Pram, by the coast, is about 230 miles, and from the latter to Quittah about 50 miles, giving a total length of 280 miles.

The chief feature in the British history of the Gold Coast is formed by our hostilities with the Ashantees, respecting whom it is necessary to give a brief account. Considerable interest attaches to them, from their being believed to be the first African people who refused to embrace the Mahomedan religion, and were driven by its propagandists from their original inheritance, in the immediate vicinity of the Kong Mountains, to the forests of Wangara, the Mahomedan name for the part of Africa they now possess, which comprises a portion of that immense region called by Europeans, for some forgotten cause, by the name of GUINEA. The fugitives spread over the land, down to the margin of the sea,

peopling, as has been conjectured, some countries which heretofore lay desolate like the forests of Fantee and Assin, and others whose primitive inhabitants were not adequate to the defence of their towns. According to Dupuis, the Fantees and Denkerans are branches of the same family. Other writers suppose these and various smaller tribes to have formed distinct migrations, having at different times, and impelled by various motives, settled in the tract between Ashantee and the sea. Be this as it may, it appears certain that under their early sovereigns, while the Arab influence yet existed on the Niger, Joliba, or Quorra, and Ghulby rivers, the Ashantees, although firm and compact as a nation, were unsettled in their habitation, and the seat of government was removed from place to place, until it was firmly established, about the year 1700, by Osai Tutu, at *Coomasie*, or *Kumasi*, which is more than 130 miles from Cape Coast Castle in direct distance, but much further by the pathway through the forest. It is a very considerable place, surrounded by numerous thickly-peopled towns and villages. According to Beecham,† the entire population of the kingdom, with its dependencies, is estimated at upwards of 4,000,000. The martial exploits of this people have been ever their distinguishing characteristic. In the earlier part of the seventeenth century they, with their allies, were able to send into the field 60,000 warriors, armed with bows and arrows, and a very few muskets; and their courage and ferocity rendered them at error to surrounding tribes.‡ About 1720 the Dutch governor-general took part with Bosiante, king of Denkeria, in a quarrel between him and Osai Tutu, which had arisen in the following manner.—(*Bosman's Description of the Gold Coast.*)

Bosiante, a young prince who had obtained a high character for valour, sent some of his wives on a complimentary embassy to the king of Ashantee, who gave them a courteous welcome and many presents, and soon after despatched a number of his own wives on a similar errand to Denkeria. One of these was shamefully abused by Bosiante, which so incensed Osai Tutu, that, disregarding the offer of several hundred marks of gold in propitiation for the wrong, he made immediate preparations for war by raising a strong army, and purchasing large quantities of gunpowder on the coast. While he was thus engaged Bosiante died, but the Ashantees took the field, and after two dreadful battles, in which 100,000 warriors perished, Denkeria was subjugated, the body of its deceased ruler was disinterred, and the decaying flesh given to be devoured by serpents, while the skull and thigh-bones were preserved as trophies. The Denkerans, who had largely engaged in the slave trade, were assisted by the Dutch governor-general with two or three small cannons and a few soldiers. The cannon were captured by the Ashantees, and placed in triumph at the top of one of the streets in Coomasie, where they still remain. Osai Tutu perished soon after during some hostilities with the people of Akim, whom his brother Osai Apoko, who succeeded him in 1731, completely conquered, and obtained possession of the celebrated "Notes," given by the first English African company, which, in establishing forts and factories upon the Gold Coast, did not obtain any territory by purchase, but merely hired sufficient for its immediate uses, giving promissory notes to the native chiefs for the regular payment of the sti-

* Report on B. Book for 1849, laid before Parliament in 1850, Part I., p. 93.

† Introduction to Freeman's *Ashantee Journal*.

‡ Dupuis' *Residence in Ashantee*, p. 225.

pulated rent. The other European companies held their land on the same tenure, and on the subjugation of the different small coast states of Asin, Akim, and Bouromy, by the king of Ashantee, their notes fell into his hands, and he claimed and received, by right of conquest, the rents for the Dutch fort at Elmina, and the English, Dutch, and Danish forts at Accra.—(Bowdich's *Mission to Ashantee*, p. 234.)

The irruption of the Ashantees into the Fantee country first brought them into collision with the British, in 1807. The invasion originated in a dispute between two of the principal chiefs of Asin, which, since the time of Osai Apoko, had remained a dependency of Ashantee, and was situated immediately contiguous to Fantee on the north. The grave of a Caboecer or noble, a subject of Amu, who ruled over the eastern half of Asin, had been plundered by a near relation of Apoutai, joint ruler with Chibbu of the other half of that country, and the offender having made his escape, Amu applied to Chibbu for redress, which being refused, he appealed to the court of Coomassie. Osai Tutu Quamina, the reigning monarch, decreed that Apoutai should make compensation to the relatives of the deceased for the stolen property. This the chief refused to do, and the result was that both he and Chibbu broke into open revolt, murdered the royal messengers sent to them on an embassy of peace, and suspended their mutilated bodies upon trees on the borders of the province. Forbearance on the part of the king was at an end; he advanced into Asin at the head of a powerful army, and defeated the rebel chiefs, who took refuge in the Fantee country. The Fantees upheld them, and barbarously massacred the messengers sent to demand their surrender. The united forces of Asin and Fantee were defeated by Osai Tutu Quamina, who appears to have been desirous even then of coming to terms, but the opposing powers behaved very treacherously towards him (*vide* Meredith's *Account of the Gold Coast of Africa*), and retreated towards the south, persuading themselves that he would not dare to prosecute the campaign among the large towns, and especially those placed under the guns of the British and Dutch forts: the sequel proved them woefully mistaken. The king, excited to the highest pitch of indignant feeling, took "the great oath," that he would never sheath his sword, or return to his capital, until he had obtained the heads of Chibbu and Apoutai, and commenced a desolating march, carrying with him destruction by fire and the sword, and sparing neither age nor sex, till the advanced guard of the army reached the town of Cormantine, which was destroyed, and the Dutch fort (Armstrong) taken possession of. The near approach of the Ashantees excited uneasy apprehensions at Annamaboo (three miles distant from Cormantine), which was then the largest town upon that part of the coast, and where the chiefs had been received after the destruction of Abrah, the capital of Asin. Mr. White, the governor of the castle, vainly endeavoured to mediate between the contending parties; the king presented himself before Annamaboo, and found the inhabitants assembled to oppose him, but they soon gave way, and were pursued to the walls of the fort, from whence one or two great guns were discharged with a view to deter the advancing troops, who, incited rather than daunted by the havoc thus made in their ranks, approached the very muzzles of the cannon, and soon rendered them useless by their own well-directed fire, so that before the close of the day, the

efforts of the little garrison were exclusively confined to the defence of the gate, which the enemy attempted to force or burn. At least 8,000 of the natives perished in the contest, and Mr. White was severely wounded. After two or three days the king prepared to renew the attack upon the fort with 6,000 picked men, but in the morning of the day on which he had vowed to seat himself, "by the help of his gods," in the governor's chair, a flag of truce was lowered from the walls. A negotiation ensued, and the governor-in-chief, Colonel Torrane, went over from Cape Coast Castle to the royal camp, and concluded a treaty of peace, formally acknowledged that the whole of Fantee belonged to the king, and paid the arrears of rent then due for the ground on which Annamaboo Fort and Cape Coast Castle stood. Apoutai made his escape, but Chibbu, to our great disgrace, was delivered up, and after suffering the most agonizing tortures, in the rejoicings at Coomassie on the return of the victorious army, his head became one of the principal decorations of the death-drum of the king.—(Dupuis, p. 262.)

In the year 1811 the Dutch governor of Elmina appealed to the Ashantee monarch for protection against the Fantees, and 4,000 men were immediately sent to his aid, and 25,000 more for the defence of Accra. In 1817, Fantee was again ravaged by the Ashantees; the British, by interfering to protect their neighbours, rendered themselves obnoxious to the invaders, who sat down before Cape Coast Castle, and continued to blockade it with such determined perseverance, that the government found it necessary to advance a large sum of money which the king demanded from the Fantees, to induce him to withdraw to his own capital. These repeated incursions produced so great a feeling of alarm and insecurity, that it was judged advisable to send an embassy to the court of Ashantee, with a view to conciliate its powerful ruler, and negotiate an extension of commerce. Quamina received the British embassy very favourably, but a misunderstanding arose respecting the Fantee notes, concerning the value of which he justly suspected that he had been deceived through Governor-general Smith, who, according to his own statement, had himself been misled by the Fantees into writing other notes, which enabled them to defraud the king by reserving for themselves a portion of the rent, while they pretended to resign the whole. Mr. James, the governor of Accra, could not deny that there had been deceit somewhere, and the king became much enraged. Mr. Bowdich, a nephew of the governor's, interfered, and proposed an appeal to Cape Coast Castle. The result was that Mr. James was superseded by Mr. Bowdich, and the demands of the king were acceded to, two other notes for four ounces of gold per month being given to him; whereupon a friendly treaty was concluded, by virtue of which a British resident was stationed at Coomassie, while an Ashantee captain was placed at Cape Coast. This arrangement was thought so important in England, that H.M. ministers deemed it advisable to send a consul to Ashantee for the furtherance of trade. Mr. Dupuis, whose long residence in Barbary had contributed to qualify him for the office, was selected, and arrived in Africa at the close of the year 1818. On his arrival he found that the king of Ashantee was engaged in hostilities with one of his vassals, that the British President had retired to the Castle, and that though a considerable traffic with Ashantee had resulted from the recent nego-

tations, it was to a great extent monopolized by a few leading servants of the company, who viewed his appointment as consul with much jealousy, and appeared willing to risk even a rupture with the king for the purpose of checking the large and general trade contemplated by the British government.—(Dupuis, Introduction, p. xiii.)

Whether this were the case or not, the Cape Coast people, both European and native, behaved very unwisely. A rumour having been circulated that the King of Ashantee had been overthrown, they showed great signs of rejoicing; and when this was contradicted by the arrival of two messengers with news of his success, the natives treated them with violence and insult, for which the Castle authorities, when expressly appealed to, refused redress. Shortly after this, the Ashantee resident, who had repeatedly complained to his sovereign of the disrespect with which he was treated, died suddenly, it was suspected from poison. A crisis was evidently approaching. The king sent down a messenger, bearing a gold-hilted sword, to complain of the treatment his ambassadors had received, and the answer sent back being unsatisfactory, if not purposely insulting, he despatched one of his principal subjects, accompanied by a large retinue, with the treaty, for the purpose of discussing the article by which he (the king) had agreed not to go to war with the natives under British protection without first seeking redress at the hands of the governor-in-chief. By the mediation of Mr. Dupuis personally with the Ashantee ruler, tranquillity was restored, and a new treaty negotiated with the king, who prepared numerous presents, which he placed in the hands of some Ashantees of rank to deliver to the Prince Regent.

The local authorities refused to confirm the treaty; and Sir George Collier, the commander of the British squadron, stationed on the coast, in compliance with their wishes, declined to convey the Ashantee ambassadors to England; whereupon Mr. Dupuis proceeded thither himself to lay the true state of affairs before the home government, first sending an urgent message to the King of Ashantee, entreating him to be patient and await the result.

At this time an important change took place in the administration of affairs on the Gold Coast, the company being abolished, and its powers and possessions transferred to the Crown, by an act of parliament passed in 1821. Sir Charles McCarthy, who had for some years ably conducted the government of Sierra Leone, was appointed to the command at Cape Coast Castle, and arrived in March, 1822. He found matters in a very bad state. Prince Adoom, the Ashantee ambassador, after quietly awaiting communications from England two months longer than the time specified by Mr. Dupuis, had withdrawn with his retinue to a short distance from Cape Coast Town and placed it in a state of blockade; and the whole of the trade with Ashantee had been transferred from that place to the Dutch settlements. The policy pursued by Sir Charles McCarthy is quite indefensible. Overlooking the fact that the King of Ashantee had established the right of a conqueror over the Fantee country, and that the British had clearly acknowledged that right in the persons of Governor Torrane and Governor Smith, he determined to uphold the Fantees, who hailed him joyfully as their deliverer. The name of McCarthy rung along the coast from Cape Appollonia to the mouth of the Volta, while the King of Ashantee, stung by the sudden revolt of his hitherto acknowledged subjects,

was yet more incensed at the neglect of his authority and dignity on the part of the British in not sending to him a complimentary embassy announcing the change of government.

The explanation of Sir Charles McCarthy's conduct at this period is probably to be found in his ignorance of the actual state of affairs. The servants of the company just abolished by act of parliament, had apparently entered into a contract, not to accept office under or hold any communication with him; and Mr. Dupuis had failed to meet his earnest wishes for full information.—(Vide Dupuis' own statement, p. 212.) Thus he was left to explore the way as well as he could, and not understanding the difficulties in which the King of Ashantee had been placed by the unhappy disputes between the company's servants and the British consul, and consequently not seeing the importance of placing the national character before the barbarian sovereign in its true light, he seems to have at once decided that the claims of the king in vindication of his honour and in maintenance of his authority, could not be consistently conceded, and that, moreover, it was useless or inexpedient to attempt to open a friendly negotiation.

A considerable period elapsed before hostilities actually commenced. The king anticipating that the new governor would pursue a different line of policy from that of his predecessor, remained passive until its general bearing became manifest. Then he commenced his preparations for war, with the accustomed human sacrifices, and consultation of the national deities, and while these were going on, the oath-draught, it was understood, was administered to the traders coming down from other parts of the coast, enjoining them to entire secrecy as to what was taking place in Ashantee. A dead silence in consequence ensued, which the governor viewed as a sign that the king was overawed, and dared not attempt to carry his warlike threats into execution. Believing tranquillity restored, he left his own station on a visit to Sierra Leone, whence he was soon recalled by the intelligence that the Ashantees had commenced hostilities by carrying off a negro sergeant in the British service, from the great square at Anamaboo, on the plea of his having spoken disrespectfully of their king. The man was conveyed to a town, named Donqua, about eighteen miles inland from Anamaboo, and was detained there with an intention of proving (as was afterwards ascertained) how the English would act in the matter. This occurred in August, 1822. Sir Charles was quite undecided as to his course; Captain Laing requested permission to proceed on an embassy to Donqua, but was refused permission from a fear of his personal safety. At length the uncertainty was terminated by news that the sergeant had been beheaded on the 1st of February, 1823. The Ashantee monarch, through his emissaries, then forwarded various threatening messages to the Fantees and other tribes who sided with the British, sarcastically advising one to arm the fishes of the sea; intimating to another his intention of invading his country with such terrific sounds that they should awaken his father in his grave; while Sir Charles McCarthy received an assurance that his head would soon ornament the great war-drum of Ashantee.

Before proceeding to extremities, the king however made another attempt at a peaceful communication, by transmitting, through the Dutch governor at Elmina, a statement of his grievances, which, according to Captain Laing, contained much truth;

but this pacific overture proved abortive, and the war commenced in earnest.

At first, detachments only of the enemy made their appearance, over which Captain Laing gained some decided advantages; but these, so far from discouraging the Ashantee monarch, only led him to make more zealous preparations for the struggle. He called upon his chiefs and vassals for a further augmentation of the troops, and sacrificed eight or ten virgins daily to his "fetishes," or gods, to propitiate them in his favour.* At this juncture, Sir Charles seemed disposed to attempt to stay hostilities by entering into negotiation; but fatal counsels prevailed—the power and character of the Ashantees were underrated, the golden opportunity suffered to pass, and the news arrived at the camp at Djuquah, that the forces of the enemy were rapidly advancing, and the allied natives precipitately retreating before them to the coast. The governor instantly determined to meet the enemy, and, without waiting the arrival of the troops who were with Major Chisholm at the camp at Ampensas, he pushed forward with the small force he had with him at Djuquah, and a body of natives under their own captains. Having crossed the Prah River, he waited a few days at Assamacou, and sent his secretary, Mr. Williams, to inform the retreating natives that succour was at hand. These were, with much difficulty, induced to halt and encamp on the bank of a small river, where they were joined by the governor on January 21st, 1824, and soon after his arrival the horns and drums of the approaching enemy were heard.

Sir Charles having been led to believe that many of the Ashantees were disposed to come over to him at the first opportunity, ordered the bugles to sound, and the band of the royal African corps to play "God Save the King," to which the Ashantee chiefs responded only in warlike strains, as they marched their divisions down to the opposite bank of the river. The Ashantees are distinguished in battle by their own peculiar military airs, and on this occasion a native of Coomassie, who was in the British camp, was able, on hearing the music, to tell the name of every chief as he advanced.

The battle commenced with great spirit on both sides, and a heavy firing was kept up across the river, until the troops under Sir Charles's immediate command† had nearly exhausted their ammunition. The enemy then attempted to cross the river, but were repulsed at the point of the bayonet with great slaughter. A large body having, however, at an earlier part of the day, forded the stream higher up, for the purpose of preventing the retreat of the British party, now attacked them on the flank and in the rear, and literally cut them to pieces. The governor, who had himself received several wounds, seeing all was lost, retired to that part of the field where the vice-king of Denkerah and his people were still bravely holding their ground. A field-piece was discharged among the Ashantees, but failed to arrest their progress, and the Denkerans were compelled to give way, while Sir Charles, and some of his officers,

vainly endeavoured to retreat through the woods, but were soon overtaken by a party of the enemy, by whose fire the governor had an arm broken, and was wounded in the chest. Mr. Williams fell stunned by a ball, but recovered his senses on the application of an Ashantee knife, which would have instantly terminated his existence but for the timely interference of a captain, who recognised in him a friend from whom he had formerly experienced kindness, and gave command that his life should be spared.

On looking round Mr. Williams beheld the appalling sight of the headless trunks of Governor M'Carthy, Mr. Buckle, and Mr. Wetherall; and during the whole of the time he remained in the Ashantee camp, he was regularly shut up every night in the same place with the heads of his unfortunate companions, which, by some peculiar process, were kept in a state of perfect preservation. That of Sir Charles presented nearly the same appearance as it had done in life; as to his body, it is stated that his heart was eaten by the principal captains, that they might be inspired with his bravery, and his flesh having been dried was divided, together with his bones, among the chief warriors, and worn by them as charms for a similar purpose.

At the execution of any of their prisoners, Mr. Williams was placed on one side of the great death-drum, while they decapitated the unfortunate victim on the other. One of the prisoners, Captain Raydon, of the Cape Coast militia, having received five wounds before his capture, was specially sacrificed to the fetish, five being in such cases the sacred number.

Captain Ricketts and Mr. De Graft, the linguist or interpreter to government, then acting as lieutenant of militia, succeeded in escaping from the field of battle, and meeting Major Chisholm, who had set out from Ampensas to reinforce the governor, informed him of his defeat, whereupon the Major retired to Cape Coast Castle, and was joined there by Captain Laing, who had meanwhile been engaged in another direction. Great exertions were made to strengthen the castle, and collect a force to meet the enemy; but although 30,000 natives had at first taken arms in the common cause, so much dismay had been produced among them by the recent disasters, that but few appeared willing again to take the field.

The Ashantees on their part, instead of following up their complete victory by an attack upon Cape Coast, though well prepared to do so, again made overtures of peace through the Dutch governor Last, of Elmina, offering to withdraw immediately, provided Kojuh Chibbu, the vice-king of Denkerah, and the chiefs of Tufel and Wassaw, who had revolted from their sovereign, were delivered up. They positively denied that the king had ordered the execution of the serjeant at Donqua, declaring that the deed was perpetrated by Fantees, then acting in unison with them. In token of their sincere desire for peace, Mr. Williams was given into the hands of the Dutch governor, uninjured in life or limb, but in a state of nudity, with his hands tied behind him.

This attempt at peace only furnished a new incentive to war. Kujoh Chibbu, naturally fearing that he, like Asin Chibbu, might be delivered up as a peace-offering, although assured that his fears were groundless, resolved upon crossing the Prah, and attacking the enemy, which movement, being supported by the British, had the direct effect of

* *Vide Bell's Geography*, vol. iii., part ii., p. 504. The term "fetish" is applied not only to the national deities, but also to the act of worship per in their honour, and appears to have much the same signification as the "Obi" of the West Indies.

† The European soldiers could have been but few in number, as the whole force then stationed on the Gold Coast amounted only to about 120.

arousing the Ashantees again into action, and inducing them to fight their way down into the neighbourhood of the castle.

At this juncture a new turn was given to affairs by the arrival of Lieutenant-colonel Sutherland with a body of troops; the marines were landed from the squadron to garrison the castle, and the whole of the military proceeded to attack the enemy before the arrival of the king, who, it was understood, was on his way to join them. A hard-fought contest took place, which was not followed by any decisive result; and on the following day Osai Ockoto (the brother and successor of Osai Tutu Quamina, who had died a natural death at Coomassie about the period of the outbreak of war) sent a message of defiance to the castle, and advanced so near it as to be distinctly seen on the adjacent heights. The British were opportunely strengthened by the arrival of a ship of war, with men and officers of the Royal African corps. Another general engagement took place, and was terminated only by the darkness of night. It was expected that the action would be renewed the following day; but the dreadful ravages of small pox and dysentery, and the want of provisions, had produced such misery among his army, that the king deemed it prudent to withdraw.

The same causes were at the same time producing yet more fearful effects in Cape Coast Town, and in the castle, within whose walls many thousands of native women and children were cooped up to preserve them from the fury of the enemy. The scene was most distressing, and, but for the timely succour afforded by a partial supply of provisions from Sierra Leone, and some cargoes of rice sent by England, famine must have swept off what disease had spared; for the invaders had reduced the surrounding country to a perfect wilderness.

About two years after this period, in the month of September, 1826, another, and, as it proved, decisive, battle was fought near the village of Dodowah, twenty-four miles north-east of British Accra, between 10,000 Ashantees, and 11,000 British Fantees and other natives. The Ashantees were the assailants, and fought with desperate bravery. About the middle of the day, they were driving back the centre of the allied army; when Colonel Purdon brought up the reserve, and met them with discharges of rockets and grape-shot. The rockets, in a great measure, decided the contest. The Ashantees, having never before witnessed the effect of these formidable engines of destruction, were thrown into confusion; and, although they continued the battle through the day, they were not able to rally again. Many of their principal chiefs were killed; and the whole of their camp and baggage fell into the hands of the allies. Among the trophies was a human head, enveloped in a silk handkerchief, and a paper covered with Arabic characters; and over the whole was thrown a tiger skin, the emblem of royalty. On the supposition it had belonged to the unfortunate Sir Charles McCarthy, it was afterwards sent to England by Colonel Purdon; but it was really the head of Osai Tutu Quamina, which the new king carried about with him as a charm. It is said, that, on the morning of the battle, he offered to it a libation of rum, and invoked it to cause all the heads of the whites to come and lie near it; and it is further stated, that, during the day, when intelligence was brought to him of the death of any of his principal officers, he immediately,

in the heat of the battle, offered human sacrifices to their shades.

After this action, the conquerors lay on their arms all night; the Ashantee king having been seen at the close of the day walking in front, as though meditating some desperate enterprise; but, instead of renewing the attack, he withdrew the remainder of his army, and returned to Coomassie. The native allies of the British manifested no disposition to pursue their powerful foe, but retired to Accra with the booty which they had obtained.

In a few days, the new governor, Sir Neil Campbell, who had succeeded General Turner, landed at Cape Coast Castle; and one of his first acts was to send for Kujoh Chibbu, who had greatly distinguished himself in the battle, and the other principal native chiefs, to thank them for their brave and successful exertions, and to propose to them that peace should be made with the Ashantees. Independently of higher considerations, this was the truest policy which he could possibly adopt; for it was obvious, that native assistance could not be depended upon for the continuance of the war. Major Ricketts confidently asserts, that had the Ashantees delayed for a few weeks their attack upon the allied forces, their overthrow could not have taken place; for the Fantee union would have melted away, and the Ashantees would have been left in undisputed possession of the country.

The chiefs strenuously objected to proposals of peace being made to the King of Ashantee, although the governor assured them that no treaty would be concluded, except on the condition that their safety and interests were secured. At length, he told them that the orders which he had received from the king of England to put an end to the war, were peremptory; and, dismissing them, made arrangements to send messengers immediately to Coomassie with a view to improve the recent victory by negotiating an honourable and lasting peace: but this conciliatory plan was defeated by the continued opposition of the chiefs. At length, however, by a combination of favourable circumstances, Major Ricketts succeeded in opening a negotiation; when the terms proposed to the king, with the approbation of Kujoh Chibbu and the other native leaders, were, that he should lodge four thousand ounces of gold in the castle at Cape Coast, to be appropriated in purchasing ammunition and arms for the use of the British allies, in case the Ashantees should again commence hostilities; and that two of the royal family of Ashantee, whose names were mentioned, should be sent to Cape Coast as hostages.

To these terms the king of Ashantee, although manifesting a great desire to be at peace with the British, was evidently unwilling to accede, and the negotiation languished for years; until, at length, in the month of April, 1831, the king sent down to Cape Coast Castle one of his own sons, named Quantamissah, and Ansah, son of the late king, as hostages, with six hundred ounces of gold to be lodged there as a security for his future good conduct; and thus virtually abandoned the claim which, on the ground of admitted conquest, he had previously urged against the natives upon the coast.—(Dr. Beecham's *Ashantee and the Gold Coast*, pp. 68—80.)

At the end of six years the gold was returned; and the present king, Quako Duah, who had in the mean time succeeded his brother, Osai Ockoto, consented that his nephews, who had been given up as hostages, should be sent to England for education. This was

done; they were placed under the care of the Rev. Thomas Pyne, a clergyman of the Established Church, and in 1841 were restored to their native land in charge of the expedition dispatched to the Niger in that year. Both are described as promising young men; but Ansa has especially devoted himself to carrying on the work of Christian civilization among his countrymen, ably commenced by the Wesleys in 1834.

It is a pleasing sequel to this, for the most part painful narrative, to record the gratifying reception which the King of Ashantee gave to Sir William Winniett in October, 1848, when that officer proceeded to visit him as the representative of the queen to convey various presents, and to endeavour to induce the Ashantee monarch to abolish human sacrifices. The governor was accompanied by Captain Powell, and a company of the 1st West India regiment as a guard of honour, and 160 men, consisting of the band, hammock-bearers, servants, &c. He reached Coomassie ten days after leaving the coast, having lodged several nights during his route at the Wesleyan Mission school-houses, and was hospitably entertained for eighteen days at the spacious Wesleyan mission-house in the Ashantee capital. The king welcomed his visitor in right regal style; salutes of musketry were fired at every village as he traversed the kingdom; and on his arrival at Coomassie, at least 80,000 people had assembled. His reception is thus described by Governor Winniett:—

"At 8 A.M. we reached Karsi; and, after breakfast, prepared for our entry into the capital. Here I was waited on by the king's messengers, who were sent to conduct us into the town. * * * At a distance of about a mile from the town, a party of messengers, with gold-handled swords of office, arrived with the king's compliments. After halting for a short time, we proceeded to the entrance of the first street, and then formed in order of procession. Presently, a party of the king's linguists, with four large umbrellas, ensigns of chieftainship, came up to request me to halt for a few minutes, under the shade of a large banyan tree in the street, to give the king a little more time to prepare to receive me. After a brief delay of about twenty minutes, during which a large party of the king's soldiers fired a salute about 100 yards distant from us, we moved on to the market-place, where the king and his chiefs were seated under their large umbrellas, according to the custom of the country, on the reception of strangers of distinction. They, with their numerous captains and attendants, occupied three sides of a large square, and formed a continuous line of heads, extending about 600 yards, and about ten yards in depth. Under each large umbrella, and towards the back of the line, the umbrellas being placed about thirty yards from each other throughout the whole line, a chief was seated on a native chair, decorated with round-headed nails of brass, silver, or gold, according to his rank, with a narrow space left open among his people in the foreground, that we might see him distinctly as we passed, and, according to the custom of the country on such occasions, wave the right hand in token of friendly recognition. After we had passed along about three-fourths of the line, we found the king surrounded by about twenty officers of his household, and a large number of messengers, with their gold-handled swords and canes of office. Several very large umbrellas, some consisting of silk velvet of different colours, shaded him and his suite from the rays of the sun. The king's chair was richly decorated with gold; and the display of golden ornaments about his own person and those of his suite was most magnificent. The lumps of gold adorning the wrists of the king's attendants, and many of the principal chiefs, were so large, that they must have been quite fatiguing to the wearers.

"The King of Ashantee is about six feet high, stout,

and strong built, and appears to be about from fifty-two to fifty-six years of age. He is a man of mild and pleasing countenance, and quite free from any of those shades of native ferocity which are so disgusting to the taste and feelings of an European.

"We occupied about an hour in moving in procession from under the banyan tree, where we had rested on entering the town, over a space of about a mile and a half in length, to the end of the line formed for our reception; after which, we proceeded to an eligible situation in an open space at some distance from the market place, and there took our seats, according to the etiquette of the country, to receive the complimentary salute of the king and his chiefs in return. At 3.15 P.M. they commenced moving in parties, in procession, and occupied the ground before us from five to ten deep, until 6 P.M., a period of two hours and three quarters. Those whom we first saluted in the market place passed us first in order, maintaining the greatest regularity; each chief was preceded by his band of rude music, consisting chiefly of drums and horns, followed by a body of soldiers under arms, and shaded by a large umbrella; those of the highest rank stopped before me, and danced to their rude music, by way of testifying their satisfaction at seeing me, and their good-will towards me. The king was preceded by many of the officers of his household, and his messengers with the gold-handled swords, &c., and other officers of the household followed him; some of his favourite wives also passed in procession. When the king came opposite me, he first danced, and then approached me, and I took him cordially by the hand. After the king, other chiefs, and a large body of troops, passed in due order, and at 6 P.M. the ceremony closed. During the whole of the day the greatest excitement prevailed in the town, the population of which was swelled by strangers called in by the king, or detained after the close of the recent Yam custom, on account of my visit, from the usual amount of about 25,000 to upwards of 80,000.

"Coomassie is very different in its appearance from any other native town that I have seen in this part of Africa; the streets are generally very broad and clean, and ornamented with many beautiful banyan trees, affording a grateful shade from the powerful rays of the sun; the houses looking into the streets, are all public rooms on the ground floor, varying in dimensions from about 24 feet by 12, to 15 feet by 9: they are entirely open to the street in front, but raised above its level, from 1 to 6 feet, by an elevated floor, consisting of clay polished with red ochre; they are entered from the street by steps made of clay, and polished like the floor. The walls consist of wattle-work plastered with clay, and washed with white clay; the houses are all thatched with palm leaves, and, as the eaves of the roofs extend far over the walls, the front basement of the raised floors, which is generally covered with rude carvings of various forms, have their beautiful polish preserved from the effects of both sun and rain. This mode of building gives to the streets a peculiar aspect of cheerfulness. Each of these open rooms is connected with a number of rooms behind it, quite concealed from public view, which constitute the dwellings of the people, and there may be connected with each public room, in the manner above described, from 50 to 250 inmates. Immediately after the procession had closed, we repaired to the Wesleyan mission-house, where we found comfortable arrangements made by the Rev. Mr. Hillard, the missionary resident in Coomassie, for convenient quarters during our stay.

"Greatly as I had been interested with the manner in which the king received me, the appearance of such a vast number of uncivilized men under such entire control, the new style of building exhibited, and its pretty contrast with the ever fresh and pleasing green of the banyan trees, I was equally interested and excited at the appearance of the Wesleyan mission-house,—a neat cottage, built chiefly with the teak or edoom wood of the country, containing, on the second floor, a large hall, and two airy bed-rooms, entirely surrounded by a spacious verandah; and, on the

first floor, a store-room and a small chapel, or preaching room; in the front, looking into one of the finest and most open streets in the town, is a little garden, planted with orange, lime, bread-fruit, and fig trees (the two latter having been recently introduced from the coast), and behind the house, a spacious court-yard, planted with the sour-sop tree, and surrounded by rooms consisting of servants' and workmen's apartments, so simply constructed, and yet so spacious, as to afford room, without any inconvenience, for quarters for the whole of the men consisting of the guard of honour. As I sat down in the airy spacious hall in the cool of the evening, after all the toils and excitement of the day, and contemplated this little European establishment, planted in the midst of barbarism, 200 miles into the interior of Africa, exhibiting to thousands of untutored pagans the comforts and conveniences of civilized life, and the worship of the true God, I could not but think deeply and feelingly on the great triumph thus achieved by Christianity and civilization."

The first royal present sent to the embassy consisted of two bullocks, four sheep, six pigs, turkeys, ducks, guinea-fowl, poultry, pigeons, yams, rice, plantains, eggs, honey, oranges, ground nuts, sundry vegetables, &c. The present was conveyed by 550 men, accompanied by several officers of the king's household and their retinue, amounting to not less than 300 men, in order to mark the good will of the king, and his sense of the gracious notice of the British Queen.

Respecting human sacrifices, his majesty said—"the number had been greatly exaggerated: attempts had thus been made to injure his name; and he hoped that reports flying about the country would not be believed," adding:—

"I remember that when I was a little boy, I heard that the English came to the coast of Africa with their ships, for cargoes of slaves, for the purpose of taking them to their own country and eating them; but I have long since known that the report was false; and so it will be proved, in reference to many reports which have gone forth against me." To which the governor answered, that he believed his majesty, and he hoped the king would not forget, that in every life which he saved from sacrifice, he would be considered as conferring a favour upon the Queen of England and the British nation."

The country palace of the monarch is called *Eburasu*, distant three and a-half miles from Coomassie, by a good road kept in excellent order; and the king drives about in a beautiful and well-appointed phaeton, which was presented to him by the Wesleyan Mission in 1841, and which is evidently prized, by the care with which it is kept. The premises at *Eburasu* cover four acres; the ground is high, and the country open. A sumptuous entertainment was given at this residence to Sir W. Winniett, who thus describes its interior, and the feast set before him:—

"Many of the rooms around the squares were occupied with neat bedsteads of European manufacture, dressed with silk hangings, and decorated with mirrors, pictures, time-pieces, fancy boxes, chandeliers, and many other articles of European manufacture. After passing through and examining the principal apartments, we entered a square where the table was set for dinner, under the shade of some large umbrellas, about ten feet in diameter, and the king immediately entered, and engaged freely in conversation with us; in a short time dinner was placed on the table, in a manner quite consistent with English table, and it was really very nicely served up; it consisted of soup, a sheep roasted whole, a sheep dressed in joints, a turkey, fowls, a variety of vegetables, plum-pudding, oranges, ground-nuts, &c., ale, wine, and liqueurs. The king excused himself from actually sitting and eating at table, on the ground of his inability to use, with ease, a knife and fork like an European, but he sat opposite me,

and looked on with great interest, took wine with me and the gentlemen of my suite, and talked with great freedom on ordinary topics of conversation. At all our previous interviews he has generally been dressed in a rich cloth, but on this occasion he wore an officer's uniform. After dinner the king took us to the apartments of the ladies of the court, and introduced me to them, declaring that no Ashantee, not even a favorite chieftain, had ever been introduced to that part of the palace, or to the ladies occupying it."

The king expressed throughout the most friendly feelings towards the British nation. Independent of the advantages derivable from his alliance for the suppression of slavery and barbarism, our mercantile classes will perceive that this extension of civilization in the interior of Africa must largely benefit our commerce, nor should it be forgotten that the progress already made is due almost exclusively to the disinterested and devoted labours of missionaries and missionary societies.

PHYSICAL FEATURES—TOPOGRAPHY.—The seashore of the district to which the attractive name of "The Gold Coast" has been given, on account of the considerable quantities of the precious metal found in its alluvial soil and in the channels of the water-courses, extends between the Assinee River and Cape St. Paul, for a distance of about 286 miles. Viewed from the sea, it is chiefly characterized by a considerable projection at *Cape Three Points*, which is situated about 66 miles from the northern, and 220 from the southern points above named. The beach throughout is sandy, with occasional rocky prominences, on which there is generally, with the south or west wind during the rainy season, a heavy swell and high surf. The shore affords little shelter or safe anchorage; there are no navigable rivers; and a great dearth of harbours and good roadsteads; even Accra and the Rio Volta having merely boat entrances. In addition to these disadvantages to the prosecution of maritime commerce, is a scarcity of wholesome fresh water.

For nearly 200 miles from the Assinee to Accra, the coast region is marked by gentle elevations, rarely exceeding 500 feet in height; it is thickly wooded with low trees, and intersected by rivers or rivulets, in whose vicinity are many marshes and salt lakes, which dry up during the months of December, January, and February. A deep rich clay predominates in the lower land.

In the neighbourhood of Accra the country is more level; the light, dry, and sandy soil rests on horizontal strata of primary sandstone; vegetation is exuberant; and the native towns are numerous and well populated. The scenery in some parts is pleasing; consisting of extensive plains, interspersed with clumps of trees. In the interior the land frequently rises into lofty mountains, and presents extensive and unexplored forests, tenanted by elephants, tigers, jackals, &c., and many kinds of venomous reptiles. The sea border, eastward to the Rio Volta, continues somewhat similar in appearance, but inferior in fertility. Towards the river it is more thickly wooded, and abounds in game.

The various forts and settlements at present or formerly occupied, and in either case still claimed by England, may perhaps be best shown by beginning with the most northerly, and describing them in the order in which they occur along the coast, noticing, in passing, the Dutch commercial stations (occupied and unoccupied) in their vicinity.

* Copies of Despatches, &c., Parl. Papers, 14th of June, 1849; p. 169.

Cape Appolonia lies about thirty miles to the south-east of the Assinee River, in $5^{\circ} 10' N.$ lat., $2^{\circ} 36' W.$ long. The African company had formerly a small fort and settlement here, but the trade was not extensive, or deemed likely to become so, while the anchorage was bad and the spot unhealthy, from its low and moist character of rank vegetation, and vicinity to a marshy lake of some miles in circumference.

About twenty miles beyond Appolonia is the River Cobre, with the town of Axim, and a Dutch fort and factory on the eastern side of it. The fort is built on a small rocky promontory, and is accessible only on one side. The landing-place is good, but the tract is unhealthy, and the river navigable merely by canoes, but rich in gold dust, which is borne down by its current from the interior. The land is low and wet, but the negroes successfully and industriously cultivate both rice and maize. (Boyle's *Western Africa*, p. 322.) On the more hilly and elevated coast, towards Cape Three Points, is a smaller Dutch fort, called Brandenburg Castle. The cape derives its name from presenting to the sea three points, between which are two bays with sandy bottoms, good anchorage and lading; on the shores of the more easterly the Dutch have a now abandoned fort, at a place called Arquidah. Twelve miles from Arquidah is the British settlement of *Dix Cove*, which is far better situated for commercial purposes than any of the stations before mentioned. It is situated sixty miles to the westward of Cape Coast Castle, and is the only place on this part of the coast where vessels of even thirty tons can enter. There is an abundant supply of refreshments, and of wood and water; the anchorage and landing-place are safe and tolerably convenient, but the surf is at all times considerable, and communication with the shore sometimes impracticable for the space of two or three weeks. The fort, which is large, in good repair, and mounts about twenty-four pieces of cannon, is built on an elevated prominence, forming the extremity of a considerable creek, accessible only to boats, being barred by coral reefs. The place derives its importance from its vicinity to the great pathway to the inland districts of Tuffero and Warsaw. Between Dix Cove and the River St. John, in $5^{\circ} 10' N.$ lat., and $10^{\circ} 28' W.$ long., which is navigable by boats nearly twenty miles, there are several small commercial stations; and at one of these, *Succondee*, there were two small and abandoned forts, one Dutch and the other English; as also in the district of *Commenda* or *Kommani*, which extends about fifteen miles along the coast beyond the St. John. The Dutch and the British forts stand near together, the former on a little mount known by the name of the Gold Hill. *Succondee* has a good landing-place, the country behind it and *Commenda* is fertile, and the people are quiet and tractable. About eight miles to the eastward of *Commenda* is *St. George del Mina*, or *Elmina*, on a small river, which affords considerable accommodation for coasting craft. This, the earliest West African station of the Portuguese, and now the chief Dutch settlement, with its commanding and well-built fortifications, still presents a very formidable appearance, though it has been of late years much neglected. The town is long, irregularly built, and thinly inhabited: it stands on a low and flat peninsula, bounded by the ocean on the south, the River Benja on the north, the Castle Mina on the east, and *Commenda* on the west. This once powerful and valuable commercial

DIV. VII.

station is now of comparatively small importance. Ten miles to the eastward of it lies the principal British settlement on the Gold Coast.

CAPE COAST CASTLE, in $5^{\circ} 6' N.$ lat., $1^{\circ} 10' W.$ long., distant from Sierra Leone 1,100 miles, is built upon an insignificant eminence, about fifty feet in height. The cape itself, called "Cabo Corso" by the Portuguese, is a low angular point of sandy land, jutting out into the sea. The anchorage is but indifferent, and there is no river either for the supply of the shipping or the town with water. The castle (see Map) is an irregular figure of four sides, with bastions at each angle, mounting in all from 80 to 100 guns. An extensive line of buildings, three stories high, runs north and south, dividing the fort into two nearly equal parts, and comprises the government house, &c. A structure, similar in height, extends eastward, and occupies a triangular space of considerable extent.

The garrison is chiefly supplied with water by means of tanks constructed for the reception of all the water that falls on the different roofs of the buildings in the castle.

A large tract of adjacent country, formerly covered with wood, has been cleared, and is now under cultivation. At a distance of about two miles to the eastward, a chain of hills, forming an irregular amphitheatre 160 feet above the level of the sea, commences and runs in a semicircular direction, approaching the castle at some places within a quarter of a mile, and terminating on the shore a mile to the westward of it. There are no mountains within several miles of the Cape, the highest land not rising above 200 feet; nor are there any plains of great extent; clumps of hills, with their corresponding valleys, are however everywhere to be seen. The soil near the coast is considered sterile, but about four miles inland it is rich, unusually deep, fit for most descriptions of tropical produce, and generally covered with dense jungle, very beautiful to the eye, but fearfully inimical to health. Governor Winniett, during a mission to the king of Ashantee, in October, 1848, before adverted to, traversed a large extent of fine country; at six to twelve miles from Cape Coast Castle, he found a fertile tract, studded with silk cotton trees, palms, and plantations of the plantain and banana. As he proceeded further inland the region became more populous; and between the sea-coast and the *Prah River* (distant 100 miles from Cape Coast Castle), which forms a boundary of the Ashantee kingdom, he passed through forty-eight villages (many of recent creation), whose population was estimated at 17,760. The Prah, at the ferry where he crossed, is about eighty yards wide; from bank to bank about 100; current, three miles an hour. The scenery is rendered very attractive by the elegant and varied foliage of the trees.

The native towns on this coast are generally built close to the walls of the European forts; the dwellings are principally constructed of clay (*swish*), covered with Guinea grass, and so crowded together as to render it almost impossible to pass through the spaces allotted for streets; ventilation is of course very imperfect, and the villages are consequently too often productive of disease, not only to their inhabitants, but also to the Europeans who reside near them.

To this description, Cape Coast Town, and some others, are, however, exceptions. About five miles north-west from the castle is a small river, running

in a southerly direction, and emptying itself into the sea within two miles of Elmina, forming the boundary between the Dutch and British possessions.

At *Annamaboo*, eleven miles to the eastward of Cape Coast Castle, we have a good fortification, mounting about twenty pieces of cannon, built in a quadrangular form, on the very margin of the shore, the sea washing the base of the southern boundary wall. The anchorage is tolerably good. A considerable native town surrounds the fort in the form of a crescent, beyond which inland the country rises into hills, and is densely covered with underwood, and some large trees. The Dutch had a military post (Fort Amsterdam), now abandoned, about six miles further to the eastward, separated from that of the English by the little river *Cormantine*. A bold coast extends for about fifteen miles from Fort Amsterdam to *Tantamquerry Point*, near which there are two deserted British and Dutch forts; a short distance beyond is the town of *Winnebah*, where the British had a strong fort, abandoned in 1812. From *Winnebah* to *Accra* there is an irregular sea-line of about nineteen miles.

Accra lies in about $5^{\circ}33'$ N. lat., and $0^{\circ}5'$ W. long., about 100 miles to the north-east of Cape Coast Castle. The view from seaward is picturesque, the houses white and regularly built, stand in an extensive grassy plain, studded with "bush," or groves of varying foliage, presenting the appearance of an extensive park. As the voyager advances towards the river *Succomo* the prospect widens, and is finally bounded by high lands, whose slopes yield excellent sheep pasturage. The country round is in general a fine, open, and level land; the soil differs, presenting a sandy, reddish, or black rich mould, suitable for agriculture, and in many parts for the cultivation of the sugar-cane and of the cotton-tree, which grows spontaneously. There are three forts at *Accra*; that named *Crevecoeur*, belonging to the Dutch, is in a very dilapidated state. *James' Fort*, belonging to England, within a cannon-shot of *Crevecoeur*, has been recently rebuilt, and has barracks for seventy-five men and three officers, an hospital for thirty patients, and mounts about thirty pieces of cannon.

The third fort is the most westerly, and likewise the most important of those recently purchased by England from the king of Denmark. *Christianborg Castle* is a fortification of considerable extent and strength, and when transferred, in March 1850, had forty guns mounted on its battlements. The officers' quarters are good, and the suite of apartments occupied in past times by the Danish governor, spacious and convenient. There is a martello tower a few hundred yards to the westward of the castle; it will mount twelve guns, has two upper rooms, and store rooms underneath, and is surrounded by a substantial brick wall. The town, built on rising ground, has in it an immense tank, constructed by the Danes. About a mile from the beach is the government property of *Fredericksborg*, comprising two large and excellent stone houses, also made over to us. Among the stores in the castle there were 60 cannon of different sizes, including two brass field guns, with ammunition carriages and four rocket guns, complete. *Tasie* (where there is a small half ruined Danish fort), *Temma* and *Pona*, near the mouth of the River *Elae*, are native villages on the coast, which were passed, with the other dependencies of Denmark, to England. A few miles to the eastward of *Elae* is the thriving British station named *Pram Pram*, and

seven miles further is the *Ningo River*, at the mouth of which there is a town, with about 1,000 inhabitants. It has some factories, and like *Pram Pram*, carries on a considerable trade in palm oil. A beautiful plain then skirts the coast for many miles, bounded to the north by the lofty *Siai*, *Krobbo*, and other mountains, one of which, called *Ningo Grande*, towers above the rest in the form of a sugar-loaf. The Danish, now British, fort (*Friedensburg*) at this station, is in ruins.

The country between *Ningo* and the *Rio Volta*, distant about 40 miles, is very low, an extensive belt of flat open country stretching between the beach and a wide expanse of marshy ground, which is under water during the rainy season, and in dry weather presents the appearance of small shallow lakes, surrounded by a scanty vegetation, on which herds of majestic deer find pasture. Here and there near the shore are some bee-hive formed huts, whose rude and diminutive appearance testifies how little art has done for the comfort of the inhabitants; and contrast strikingly with the abundant natural store of "bullocks, sheep, goats, turkeys, ducks, fowls, &c." with which Sir Wm. Winniett found them supplied in 1850. The mouth of the *Volta* is deep, and about half a mile wide, but has a dangerous bar, a short distance within which the stream expands into a basin two to three miles broad, which contains several islands covered with brushwood. The banks are low, of thick black mud, in most parts swampy, densely overgrown with mangrove bush and other aquatic shrubs and plants; and, together with much of the adjacent country, overflowed during the rains. *Fort Adda*, or *Koningstein*, is situated on the right bank of the *Volta*, about ten miles from its entrance. The river is here half a mile wide, and of considerable depth, but its navigation is interrupted by shallows.

The fort is in some parts dilapidated, but there are three available rooms for officers, and nine for troops and stores. *Atoko*, with about 3,000 inhabitants, and another adjacent village near it, with an equal number, are situated a few miles to the eastward of the *Volta*. The dwellings are, with few exceptions, of the usual bee-hive form. Mr. Baeta, a Portuguese merchant, has resided here for ten years.

Augna, seven miles to the eastward, is the chief town of the district, and of similar appearance to *Atoka*. At these as well as at the other places, the leaders, or "headmen" readily acknowledged the transfer of the sovereignty to Britain, as did the few Danish residents, throughout the ceremonies attending the change of flags, though these last, especially in *Accra*, could not but look on the proceeding with natural regret. The *Augna* country comprises the territory from the eastern side of the *Volta* to *Quistah*, a distance of about forty miles; it is quite flat, unbroken by a single hillock. At a few miles from the coast it is skirted by a shallow lagoon of some miles wide, containing several islands, which have on them many villages and plantations, but the largest towns are on the plain. The soil is light, sandy, and moist—very productive of grass and all kinds of vegetables, and abounding in magnificent groves of cocoa-nut trees, beneath whose shade the native habitations are frequently constructed. Fine droves of bullocks graze in every direction; turkeys, ducks, and all kinds of poultry, are plentiful, while the palm-tree adorns the scenery, and contributes to the wealth of the industrious people. This rich country

furnishes nearly all the live stock consumed by the European and respectable native residents along the sea border we have now been examining. Cape St. Paul, to which the Gold Coast is sometimes considered to extend—other geographers considering the Volta the boundary—is a very low, projecting point, about fifteen miles further to the eastward. *Quittah*, thirteen miles beyond Cape St. Paul, has a Danish (now British) fortification of considerable strength, in good repair, on which twenty guns may be conveniently mounted. It contains six officers' rooms on the battlements, five large store-rooms underneath, and six other rooms, affording space for the permanent residence of at least fifty soldiers. It stands on a narrow neck of land, about midway between an extensive lagoon and the beach of the Bight of Benin, and entirely commands the plain, which at this place is not a quarter of a mile wide. The once flourishing town of *Quittah* was destroyed by the fire from the fortress some time since, in consequence of a dispute between the Danish authorities and the natives, who now propose to rebuild their habitations, under British protection. The country around was conquered by the local government of Christianborg, at considerable expense, in 1788-9, in consequence of the Augna people kidnapping and selling into slavery, traders and other persons from the west side of the *Volta*.

The tract of country to the westward of the Rio Volta, formerly belonging to Denmark, now to England, is extensive, and stretches some way into the interior. The portion near the lower part of the river is uninhabited; further west it consists of lofty isolated hills, with verdant plains, studded with myrtle, palm, and other trees.

Akim, the most inland of our new possessions, borders on the Ashantee country, and is about 100 miles from the coast. The soil is very fertile, the country extensive, and occupied by one of the largest tribes in this part of Africa. Farther to the eastward, bordering on the Volta, *Kripang Tujeng River*, and their numerous tributaries, are the Aquambus, Crepees, and other tribes, who held Danish flags, and recognised the authority of the Danish crown. From the late Sir W. Winniett's recent tour, we derive some acquaintance with the territory inland between the *Sakumo-fo River* to the westward of Christianborg and Pram Pram. The country is watered by several fine streams, which descend from the Aquapim Mountains, or from Siai, Krobbo, and other hills. Krobbo, to the northward of Siai, is of considerable elevation, and has villages perched on its summit, amongst immense blocks of granite, and handsome trees and shrubs, so that, at some distance, it is difficult to distinguish the houses. Three miles from the foot of Krobbo Mountain there is a low well-watered tract stretching to the *Aquapim Mountains*, and very thickly studded with palm trees. In the centre of this fertile plain, the chief of Krobbo has established a palm oil factory, and in the midst of the oil-pits, with all the movements of busy industry going on around him, he received Sir W. Winniett as the representative of his sovereign.

Akropong, the chief town of the Aquapims, is situated on the summit of the Aquapim Mountains; it has a population of about 1,000 souls; and under its control and influence are sixteen villages scattered for many miles along the crest of a ridge of hills in an extremely fertile district. The Aquapims are, in manners and customs (save in that of human sacrifices, which the Danes prohibited) very like the

Ashantees. The chief of *Akropong*, accompanied by his headmen and a number of attendants, received the British Governor, on 20th March, 1850, with a salute of musketry. After conversing in a satisfactory manner with Governor Carstensen on the subject of the transfer of the settlements, he and his headmen, each in order from the lowest to the highest, took a sword by its point, held it almost at arm's length, with the handle towards Sir William Winniett, and vowed, according to the fashion of the country, fealty to the Queen of England. The ceremony was very interesting, and took place in the Mission premises belonging to the Basle (Swiss Missionary) Society. The station is prettily situated in a grove composed of noble orange trees, with a few fine West Indian mangoes. It contains four dwelling-places for the missionaries and their families, five cottages occupied by West Indian families brought over in 1842, a school-room, carpenter's and blacksmith's shops and other offices; and about ten out of forty acres adjoining the buildings are under cultivation, chiefly coffee trees and arrow-root. There are some seventy children in the school, and twenty natives of *Akropong* are members of the little church.

The Aquapim country is considered to be well adapted for agriculture. The Danish Governor of Christianborg (M. Schionning) says, "as to beauty of prospect, pleasing variety, and local advantages, I never saw any thing equal, nor can I compare any part of the world, where I have been, to it."—(Beecham, p. 142.)

There is also another settlement in the mountains, named *Abodi*. *Frederiksgar*, which has a convenient government house, a grove of orange trees, and a coffee plantation, is situated at the base, twelve miles from Christianborg.—(Parl. Papers, July, 1850.)

YORUBA AND ABBEOKUTA.—British influence is now paramount in a portion of the ancient kingdom of *Yoruba*, lying due north of the Bight of Benin, between 6° 10' N. lat., and 2° 6' W. long. *Abbeokuta*, the chief town of the Egba province of Yoruba, contains 50,000 inhabitants, and is situated on the river Ogu, which is navigable for about fifty miles down to the sea at the island of Lagos. European missionaries (Church of England) first visited *Abbeokuta* in 1845, and have succeeded in establishing there one of the most successful missions on the Guinea Coast. The Egba chiefs are characterized by their aptitude and desire for lawful commerce; and their markets are frequented by traders from the Niger, and the interior of Africa. They are entirely opposed to the slave trade, and have lived for years in constant dread of the slave hunts and hostilities of their powerful neighbours, the tyrant ruler of, or "leopard," of Dahomey, and a slave dealing chief named Kosoko, who usurped his relative Akitoye's authority over that stronghold of the West African slave trade, Lagos Island, which commands the mouth, and consequently the commerce of the Ogu River. About 3,000 liberated Africans have proceeded to *Abbeokuta* from Sierra Leone, accompanied by several members of the society, including the Rev. Samuel Crowther, an ordained minister, of negro origin, possessed of great zeal and considerable talent; who has published a valuable grammar and vocabulary of the Yoruba language.

Towards the end of 1850, it became evident that the various parties interested in the continuance of the slave trade had resolved upon making a combined effort to crush the rising Christianity and commerce of *Abbeokuta*, expel the missionaries, and reduce the

inhabitants to slavery. In March, 1851, the king of Dahomey sent a powerful army to attack the town. Masses of trained warriors, male and female, estimated at from 11,000 to 16,000, well armed with muskets, advanced upon the low mud-wall of Abbeokuta, and fought with desperation, but were completely routed, leaving 1,209 dead on the field of battle. The signal success of the Egbas, and their subsequent unusually gentle treatment of their prisoners, exercised a very beneficial result on the surrounding nations. Their security has been further promoted by the reduction of Lagos by the British, under Commodore Bruce, in December, 1851, the restoration of Akitoye, and the formation of a treaty with him for protection to missionaries, freedom of commerce, abolition of slave trade, and human sacrifices. It would be, of course, unreasonable to expect all this at once, but the influences of religion and commerce are operating in various ways, and inclining even the more warlike tribes to keep faith with Great Britain.

CLIMATE AND DISEASE.—A nearly vertical sun for the greater part of the year—excessive rains brought by the westerly winds from the Atlantic—a rank vegetation, and extensive marshes, produce here, as elsewhere, a *malaria* or *poisonous air* which is destructive of human, and especially of European life; two out of every five Europeans having been estimated to die of the seasoning or remittent fever which all new comers experience. Latterly an improved therapeutical system has been adopted; venesection abandoned, and large doses of quinine have successfully checked the fever, instead of being administered only when the crisis had passed. Several individuals, by moderation in diet and care, have enjoyed good health on this coast; and the mountainous country behind Accra would doubtless be found salubrious.

The rainy season commences at the end of April, or beginning of May, and continues with severity until July or August. Dense humid fogs succeed, and prevail till October, when the sky clears, and the dry or healthy season begins. The average temperature is about the same range as that of Sierra Leone. There is a regular sea and land breeze along the coast; but the latter, which sets in about 5 P.M. from the south-east, is so laden with moisture as to cause a sensation of chillness beyond what the thermometer indicates. During the Ashantee War, 1823 to 1826, it was found necessary to send white troops to garrison the forts; a part of the Royal African Corps, which had been disbanded at the Cape of Good Hope, was re-embodied, and strengthened by commuted punishment men from regiments serving in England. They were a degraded class, and a noxious climate acts with peculiar severity on men with depressed minds. Two-thirds of the corps died annually; and in 1824 the deaths nearly equalled the mean strength of the garrison. Few lived to complete one year in the command. In 1828 the surviving white soldiers were removed to Fernando Po, and none have been employed at Cape Coast since. The mortality of the black troops employed there is only from two to three per cent. per annum.

GEOLOGY AND MINERALOGY.—The geological characteristics of the country are almost unknown. Gold is extensively distributed. The late President McLean informed me he had seen large districts where the soil was entirely impregnated with fine particles of the precious metal; there are, therefore, probably extensive deposits in the mountains, of

which portions are comminuted, and washed down into the lowlands by the rains. That brought by the natives for barter, is obtained by washing the sands of rivers, and other places, where the metal is known to be diffused.

GOVERNMENT.—The British forts on the Gold Coast were, the reader will remember, erected by, and long remained under the control of the different African companies, the last of which received annual grants from Parliament for its maintenance from 1750 to 1821. When the company was abolished, several of the forts were abandoned, and the remainder surrendered to the Crown, and subjected to the authority of the Governor of Sierra Leone. In 1827, the retained forts were placed under the management of a London committee of African merchants, to whom was confided the disbursement of the small annual parliamentary grant, amounting to about £4,000 a-year.

The chief authority is now vested in a Lieutenant-Governor, aided by a small council, and subject to the orders of the government at Sierra Leone. A judicial assessor, or assistant of the native chiefs, appointed by the Queen, holds an open court at Cape Coast Castle every Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, when all "*palavers*," as trials are termed by the natives, are publicly held. His duty is to maintain the due authority of the chiefs, to civilize their judicial proceedings, to mitigate their punishments, and to substitute for a barbarous and cruel tyranny the principles of humanity and justice. His jurisdiction is of undefined extent; and, indeed, his position appears anomalous; but the appointment has nevertheless been productive of very beneficial results. Acting-Lieutenant-Governor FitzPatrick, in a despatch to Earl Grey, dated 10th March, 1850, says, "There is scarcely a public or private wrong which he (the assessor) is not called on to remedy, or a right of the greatest magnitude as well as of the most trifling nature which he has not to establish and maintain. On one day he has to pass judgment on a powerful chief who travels through the country for ten or twelve days, surrounded by his armed followers, to lay his wealth, his liberty, and it may be his life, at the disposal of a judge whom he has never seen, but whose justice he confides in, and whose power he fears, from the character of the country which employs him. And on the next day he is asked to decide the amount of compensation that should be paid to an injured husband, one of whose numerous wives has had her garment rudely touched by a stranger."

According to the same authority there is not a chief, however powerful, within the limits of British jurisdiction, who does not feel, that if he persecutes, extorts, tyrannizes, or commits any crime against the weakest of his people, he is sure to be brought to account for it. There are resident magistrates who are also commandants at Annamaboo, Dix Cove, and Accra, and the judicial assessor visits their courts twice a-year to hear appeals, and to review the magisterial business.

There is no jurisdiction whereby a white man can be tried for felony on the Gold Coast; he must be sent to Sierra Leone, or to England.

MILITARY DEFENCE.—About eighty soldiers of a West India Regiment, and a local force, 100 strong, termed the *Gold Coast Corps*, are, owing to the respect paid to the British name, enabled to preserve tranquillity along this coast. There is also a militia available in case of war. The pay of the

local corps is, per man, 25s. a month. Their character and conduct is good.

POPULATION.—The British territories on the Gold Coast have been for some years free from the evils of the slave trade, war, pestilence, or famine. Population is therefore increasing, and is loosely estimated at 400,000 souls, scattered over an area of about 8,000 square miles. There has been no census taken of the inhabitants of the territory newly acquired from Denmark. The total white population is thirty-three, of whom three are females. The Gold Coast natives are a large and finely-formed race, possessed of great physical strength; and in intellect they prove, when educated, in no respect inferior to Europeans. The habits of the people are greatly improved; they have abandoned human sacrifices; and alleged criminals, instead of being arbitrarily put to death by their chiefs, are now sent to Cape Coast Castle, to be tried by the English authorities.

RELIGION.—The Established Church of England has no representatives here; but the Wesleyans have exerted themselves nobly; and at every fort, and in each large village, they have a clerical or lay teacher, and a school-house. The Basle Missionary Society are also labouring worthily among the natives. There are no official returns on the subject; and, indeed, until very recently, neither local or general governments seem to have considered the state of religion, or its ordinances, as in any manner connected with the welfare and progress of the people committed to their charge.

EDUCATION.—There is a government establishment for the instruction of 150 boys within the fort at Cape Coast Castle, and schools for males and females at the several missionary stations. The Wesleyans alone spend £5,000 annually on the coast. Many of the coloured children exhibit much quickness and intelligence; several have already become shrewd merchants, and now import from England annually, on their own credit, goods to the value of £20,000 to £30,000. The native merchants were so gratified by the results of a public examination of the government and Wesleyan schools in 1851, that they made a donation of £50 towards their funds; and, together with all their countrymen under British protection, have cheerfully agreed to the imposition of a moderate tax for educational purposes, by which means instruction will be imparted to the natives farther in the interior.

Many of the adults of the newly-raised *Gold Coast* corps are now being taught in a regimental school, and when stationed at the different forts, their example and conduct will, it is hoped, tend greatly to the abolition of the barbarous "fetish" system, with its idolatrous worship, and human sacrifices; and also of polygamy, but this last change, desirable as it unquestionably is, ought not, perhaps, to be insisted on too peremptorily at first. The initiative, in a very important measure, has been adopted by the Rev. T. B. Freeman, a coloured gentleman of great talent, who has laboured successfully, since 1841, on this coast, and in different parts of the inland country. He states, in a valuable report forwarded by Governor Hill to the secretary of state, in July, 1852, that experience had convinced him that a system of education, unconnected with manual

labour and useful industry, however partially valuable, could not furnish that large number of youths, possessing Christian knowledge, blended with those habits of steady industry, without which civilization in Africa could never be healthy and progressive.*

Mr. Freeman saw, also, that petty trading, associated as it generally was with an extensive retail traffic in ardent spirits, produced an injurious effect on many youths who had received an ordinary English education; and he rightly judged, that the cultivation of the soil, and the rearing of new and valuable products, would be a powerful instrument for effecting permanent moral, social, and commercial progress. He therefore established an agricultural school, in July, 1850, at *Beulah*, eight miles from Cape Coast Castle. The area under cultivation has been gradually extended; and in February, 1852, it consisted of a tract 400 yards long by 300 broad, traversed by pathways or roads, lined with cotton and coffee plants, which, in addition to arrow-root, the olive and vine, corn and vegetables, constitute the staple products. Strange to say, the vine thrives admirably; and in one year after planting, as mere cuttings, yielded bunches of fine ripe grapes. They are planted along a trellis-work, 244 yards in length, made with the stem of the wild date, palm-tree, and wild cane. The cotton plants are of the perennial kind, and yield two pickings yearly. The coffee is equal to the best West Indian produce, as is also the arrow-root. Corn and vegetables supply the scholars, who are divided into three classes, and work on the farm in the forenoon, aided by a few labourers to do the heavy work of clearing the land, grubbing up trees, &c. On the plantation there are cottages for the lay teachers and scholars, for the overlooker, and also a chapel. It is to be hoped that the rational policy so successfully initiated by Mr. Freeman on the Gold Coast, will be extended to all other missionary educational establishments, not only in western, but in southern Africa, and wherever the laudable endeavour is being made to Christianize and civilize the heathen. To set forth manual, and especially agricultural labour, in its true light, as an honourable employment, made essential by the Creator to the support and happiness of man, is the sole means of divesting it of the opprobrium naturally connected with it by slaves or savages; for free, intelligent, and reasoning Christians can alone appreciate its dignity and its uses.

CRIME.—The number of felonies throughout all the stations in 1851 was only 90, and the misdemeanours 32. The total number of prisoners during the year was 158. Murder or acts of personal violence are very rare, and it is stated, fewer than amongst an equal number of any European people.

REVENUE IN 1851.—Taxes, £947; customs, £443; fines, £370; light-houses, £38; sundries, £32; total, £1,830. An income might readily be raised by the imposition of a duty on spirits; of these, about three million gallons are annually imported, which, at one penny per gallon, would yield £12,500 per annum. At present the custom duty levied is merely one-half per cent. *ad valorem*, on all imports.

EXPENDITURE.—The cost of the forts on this coast formerly amounted to very large sums, derived from the African companies or from parliament:—From 1800 to 1828 inclusive, the sums in pounds sterling voted by parliament were, 40,000, 20,000, 18,000, 16,000, 18,000, 20,054, 20,138, 18,000, 23,000, 23,000, 23,500, (1811, no return),

* A similar remark had been made some years before, by Mr. A. H. Hanson, the chaplain at Cape Coast Castle, and recently H.M. consul at Liberia.

35,000, 25,000, 25,000, 30,000, 23,000, 23,000, 28,000, 28,000, 25,000, 25,800, 26,742, 17,500, 52,354, 29,500, 36,996, 41,000, and in 1828, 12,000. From 1829 to 1831, £4,000; from 1832 to 1839, £3,500; and from 1840 to the present date, £4,000 per annum. In 1851 the total expenditure for the forts was £6,657, viz: £4,282 for the civil department, and £1,031 for the Gold Coast local corps. The commissariat expenditure for a detachment (80), of the West India regiment and for the forts, was in 1851, £4,287. The total cost to the British treasury in that year was £8,287. The lieutenant-governor has a salary of between £600 and £700 per annum.

COMMERCE.—The aggregate for ten years ending and including 1840, according to Dr. Madden's report, was—exports, £1,691,303; imports, £2,272,654. Excess of imports over exports, £581,351. During the last two years its value has been as follows:—

	Imports.	Exports.	Tons Inward.
1850	£88,656	£259,432	11,758
1851	84,880	219,050	13,935

The exports in 1851, comprised gold dust, 64,000 ounces, value £175,600; palm oil, 13,000 tons, value £39,500; gum, 64 tons, value £1,900; ivory, 13 tons, value £1,500.

Manchester cloths, clothing, provisions, rum, wines, gunpowder, muskets, iron and lead bars, flints, cowries, beads, pipes, tobacco, hardware, brassware, earthenware, glass, soap, umbrellas, &c., form the principal articles of import.

MONIES OF ACCOUNT AND COINS.—As in England. Gold-dust is the principal currency: all large payments are made in it, at the value of £4 per ounce.

Cowries. — A small, compact, univalve shell, is employed as currency to the eastward of Cape Coast Castle, and large quantities form the hoarded wealth of some of the richest natives. Forty cowries are deemed equal in value to one penny English; and about 150 tons of these shells, valued at £80 per ton, are annually imported.

CULTIVATION AND LIVE-STOCK.—The official records contain no tables; it is merely stated, that both are rapidly increasing. About 53,000 acres are estimated to be under cultivation, consisting yearly of fresh land. Maize, millet, guinea-grains, ground-nuts, and coffee, are among the products. Around our forts it is calculated there are about 1,000 horned cattle, 5,000 sheep, and 4,000 goats. At least 1,000 canoes are employed in the fisheries, which are industriously prosecuted.

LIBERIA.—The negro settlement before referred to, situated between Sierra Leone and the Gold Coast, originated with a few American citizens, who in 1816 formed a *Colonization Society*, to promote the migration of free people of colour from the United States to Africa. Two clergymen were sent in the following year to examine and report on the most eligible part of the west coast; and in February, 1820, a body of eighty-six coloured and three white persons, proceeded thither. They first settled on the island of Sherboro, near Sierra Leone, where an intelligent free negro, named Paul Cuffee, had established himself. The position proved ineligible and unhealthy; all the white and three-fourths of the coloured colonists died, and the remainder temporarily removed to Sierra Leone, whence (after being joined by thirty-three fresh emigrants) they proceeded in 1822 to a small island (Providence) near the mouth of the Mesurado River,

and selected the adjacent main as the site of their future capital, named *Monrovia*.

From time to time further migrations took place, and tracts of land were purchased from the native chiefs, so that now, according to a statement kindly furnished me by President Roberts, on the 3rd of November, 1852, "the government of Liberia have extinguished the native title to the whole coast lying between the *She Bar River*, on the north-west, and the southern boundary of Grand Cess, near Cape Palmas, on the south-east; excepting about four miles of the Kroo Coast, about two miles of the Gallinas territory, and perhaps six miles joining the *She Bar*." Of these spots the political jurisdiction and preemptive right of the first two have been ceded to Liberia, and a treaty is now in progress with the chiefs for the other. For the purchases they have been enabled to make, the Liberian government are materially indebted to the liberality of Samuel Gurney, one of the most distinguished members of the worthy Society of Friends, who in 1848 devoted £1,000 to that purpose. Liberia has a coast-line of 350 miles, extends inland for some 40 miles, and comprises an area of about 13,000 square miles. The immigrant population, principally emancipated slaves and their descendants, number about 7,000; the aborigines, who have crowded about the free settlement, amount to perhaps 150,000. A few coloured colonists from Maryland, United States, have settled at Cape Palmas. The money hitherto expended in purchasing territory, and conveying settlers to Liberia, has been about £200,000.

In July, 1847, a republican constitution was adopted. There are two houses of parliament, the *representative* and the *senate*. The elective franchise for the former is a real estate of \$150 annual value, in the possession of a citizen twenty-three years of age. Three members are elected for Montserado county, three for Grand Bassa county, one for Sinoe county, and for every 10,000 inhabitants who may be added to the republic, one representative will be admitted. The election is biennial. The senate consists of two members for each county, elected every four years; franchise, a real estate valued at \$200 annually. A president and vice-president are chosen every two years. Bills passed by both houses, are sent to the president for approval; if he objects, reasons must assigned; if, notwithstanding, the bill be again passed by two-thirds of the members in both houses, it becomes a law. The executive is confided to the president, aided by departmental secretaries of state.

The revenue is raised under a legislative act of 28th January, 1848, which imposes the following taxes:—Regular custom duty, 6 per cent.; woollen, cotton, and linen clothing, 12 per cent.; boots, shoes, hats, and bonnets, 10 per cent., and molasses, 12 per cent.; coffee and soap, each one half-penny per lb.; direct consignments from abroad, 2 per cent. extra; seeds and books, free; commission merchant's license, \$15; retail dealer, \$12; auctioneer, \$16; wine and spirit seller, \$50 per annum. The tariff is therefore far more liberal than that of the United States of America, or of any European nation in commercial intercourse with England. The revenue of £6,000 per annum, barely covers the expenditure. The military defence consists of a militia and a few armed vessels. The face of the country is undulating; at a little distance inland it becomes hilly, and is well watered. Three ports are available for vessels not drawing much water, viz., *Monrovia*, *Edina*, on the St. John's River, and *Bassa Cove* and *Grenville* on the Sinon River.

CHAPTER III.

POPULATION OF WESTERN AFRICA—PROGRESS OF CHRISTIANITY—CHURCH AND WESLEYAN MISSION STATIONS—COMMERCIAL PRODUCTS AND PROSPECTS.

OUR ignorance of Western Africa, beyond its mere coast line, reflects little credit on European science, and is, in a great measure, the result of a career of crime and injustice, which good men of all nations must now deplore, and for which England at least has endeavoured to make some atonement. And yet it is a country calculated to reward most amply the investigation of the geographer, and the naturalist, the attention of the statesman, and the zealous labours of the Christian philanthropist. On no other shore of equal length are there so many navigable rivers, as are comprised within the limits of the *Senegal* on the north, and of the *Congo* on the south, of the equator. Of these immense terrestrial arteries we know comparatively little, and some of them only by name, yet they are believed to drain regions of exquisite beauty, and undoubted fertility, teeming with every variety of animal and vegetable life; and they offer a means of access, together with their innumerable tributary streams, to many kingdoms in different stages of civilization, whose aggregate population is estimated at thirty million souls.

Into the physical geography of these countries, even were our information on the subject less fragmentary than is actually the case, my limits, and the nature of this work, forbid me to enter. It remains, therefore, only to sketch briefly the characteristics which distinguish the leading nations of Western Africa; and the efforts now making for their evangelization, which efforts, it will be seen, are intimately connected with their temporal progress, by tending to develop the varied resources of the country, and to foster its growing commerce. In doing this I am again reluctantly obliged, from press of matter, to have recourse to smaller type.

Three great negro races inhabit the more northern part of western Africa, south of the Senegal River. First, the *Foulahs*, who are the same race with the *Fellatahs* of central Africa, dwell near the banks of the Senegal, Gambia, and other contiguous streams, and occupy the large kingdom of Fouta Jalion to the north-east of Sierra Leone. They have neither the deep jet colour, the flat nose, or thick lips,

which characterize the extreme negro features; their skin is of an olive hue (*footu* signifying *white*) and the expression of their features agreeable. They have generally embraced the Mahomedan religion, having probably received it from the Moors who dwelt on the north side of the Senegal River; but they are devoid of the bigotry which usually marks the followers of the false Prophet. In manners they are peculiarly courteous and gentle; they practise the most liberal hospitality, and relieve the wants not only of their own aged, but those of pagan tribes, who are scattered in different parts of the territory which they inhabit. Their pursuits are chiefly pastoral, and their internal government republican; that is, by chiefs of their own choosing. Such is their good conduct and industry that a blessing is said to rest on any territory which contains a Foulah village.

The *second* race, termed *Mandingoes*, are much more numerous than the preceding—more decidedly negro, both in form and disposition; and more diversified in their character and appearance by subdivision into tribes with distinct names. They are capable of great occasional exertion, but are devoid of the orderly habits and continuous industry of the Foulahs. Their occupations are chiefly agricultural and piscatory; but they also conduct large "Kafilahs" or trading expeditions into the interior, which they do the more readily, from their language being well understood in all commercial places.

They are inquisitive, cheerful, and so gay, that they will dance for hours to no other music than the beating of a drum, or "*tom-tom*." Poetic improvisation forms one of their favourite amusements. This people occupy the elevated region termed *Manding*; they are also widely diffused over the highlands, at and near the head-waters of the Gambia, the Niger, and adjacent streams.

The *third* and least numerous nation are the *Jollofs*, who occupy the inland territory between the Senegal and the Gambia; though of a deep black colour, and decided negro features, they are considered a handsome race. They boast of being a very ancient people, and, in some respects, excel their neighbours; for instance, their language is softer, and more agreeable; they manufacture finer cotton cloths, and give them a superior dye; in horsemanship they are fearless and expert, and rival the Moors as hunters. Their computation is by fives instead of tens, and they have no written language. Scattered among these three large distinctive classes, there are various tribes of which we know comparatively little; the *Feloops*, a wild and rude people, inhabit the shores to the south of the Gambia, and the *Timmanees*, and the *Sherboro* natives border our colony at Sierra Leone. The *Vei*, or *Fey*, *Dey*, *Bassas*, *Sinon*, *Fishmen*, and other tribes, who inhabit the extensive district contiguous to the Liberian Republic, the Ivory Coast, and the Kong Mountains, are little known to us; they are very numerous, enterprising, and warlike.

The *Ashantees* have been mentioned in the history of our possessions on the Gold Coast. They are of

powerful form, bold, ingenious, and with dignified manners. They build large houses, smelt metals, and manufacture excellent cotton cloths. The Fantees, are, probably, a branch of the Ashantee family, but are, in several respects, inferior to their warlike neighbours. The *Dahomians*, to the east of Ashantee, are a bold race, and have subjugated the effeminate *Whydans* who dwell along the Slave Coast at the head of the Bight of Benin. Of the numerous races to the southward of the Bight of Biafra, and thence to the Namaquas and Damáras, who are located north of the Orange River, we know positively nothing. They must have been very numerous, and like the negro race in general very prolific, to have escaped the utter annihilation which the ravages of the slave trade for three centuries, and the demoralizing influence, example, and government of the Portuguese settlements on this coast, were calculated to produce. But the little of them seen by Captain Tuckey, during his expedition up the Congo, was so favourable, as to warrant the hope, that British commerce might be successfully extended in this direction. At present we have no maritime, mercantile, or missionary post, between the Bight of Benin and Walvisch Bay, a distance of more than 2,000 miles.

The foregoing remarks, brief and insufficient as they necessarily are, may yet afford some idea of the vast field open to Christian and commercial enterprise. Happy is it for Africa, but happier far for England, that these two can now go hand-in-hand, and that England can look for a blessing on her efforts, whether directed to the extension of her religion, or of her trade, since both the one and the other appear directly conducive to the permanent benefit of a people whom she has contributed, not slightly, to injure and degrade. We now proceed to notice the efforts of the various missionary associations.

CHURCH MISSION.—The labours of this Society at *Sierra Leone* and other points of the *Guinea and Gold Coasts*, form an important feature in the past history and present state of Western Africa, and are intimately connected with its future prospects of development. This institution early turned its attention to the condition of the native population in the year 1804, when the slave trade was at its height. Its first agents were settled among the Susu tribes, on the bank of the Rio Pongas, about 100 miles north of *Sierra Leone*; but after a few years' labour there, amidst many trials from the ungenial climate, the mission establishments were, at the instigation of the slave dealers, destroyed by fire, and the missionaries forced to take refuge within British territory. A station was formed in 1812 on the border of the colony; but even here it could not be sustained above six years.

The missions were then visited from England, and the result of the inquiry was the concentration of the society's efforts on *Sierra Leone*, where an extensive sphere of usefulness had been opened. Great Britain was then commencing her efforts for the suppression of the slave trade. Slave ships captured at sea were brought to *Sierra Leone* for condemnation; there the captives were liberated, to the amount of several thousands annually. The society at once undertook their instruction in social and religious duty. They were transferred, in all their barbarism, to various settlements within the colony; schools and churches were established amongst them with remarkable success; and no less than sixty-eight native agents, three of them ordained,

are now (1852) employed in the service of the mission in the twelve parishes into which the colony has been divided. The Christians, of all denominations, in *Sierra Leone* number 36,458, out of a population of 45,472.

Educational measures have been carefully suited to the peculiar wants of the various classes in the colony. There are *village schools* in which the pupils are trained in regular and industrial habits. By the children of the *Gloucester School*, about twenty acres of land, before covered with impervious bush, have been thoroughly cleared, and the whole planted with cotton of different kinds.

The society has also established a *Central Grammar School* at *Freetown*, which is now self-supporting, excepting the salary of the missionary at the head of it. The number of pupils in 1851 was fifty-three, of whom twenty-three are boarders. The education is of a sound Christian character, designed especially to fit the pupils for mercantile pursuits. Two of the most advanced, who had studied navigation there, have been since received on board one of H. M. steam-ships to perfect themselves in practical seamanship. The industrial system has been successfully introduced. A cotton plantation of about six acres is mainly cultivated by the pupils, who daily work three cotton machines, by which 1,400 lbs. of seeded cotton have been cleaned during the past year.

An Institution at Fourah Bay provides, under the principalship of a negro clergyman, assisted by another ordained African and an European missionary, a still higher style of education, intended chiefly for candidates for holy orders. The average number of students is now nineteen, and the original languages of the Bible form a part of the instruction imparted.

The Rev. O. E. Vidal, D.D. was consecrated at Lambeth by the Archbishop of Canterbury, on Whitsunday, 1852, as first Bishop of *Sierra Leone*. Several native candidates will be ready to be presented to him for ordination upon his arrival in his new diocese; and there is every reason to expect that a foundation will be at once laid for the permanent support, by the internal resources of the people themselves, of a settled native ministry.

Sierra Leone, however, assumes a still higher importance when viewed as the basis of missionary operations in Western Africa. Individuals of at least one hundred different tribes have been deported thither, re-captured by British cruisers, from almost every point of the compass. These people have been Christianized and civilized, but retain as strong a love of their fatherlands as ever. The *Niger Expedition* in 1841, disastrous as it proved in most respects, afforded the exiles from the Bight of Benin more certain information as to the feasibility of their return to their old homes, and thus gave no little impulse to that remarkable reflux which is now going forward amongst the members of the Yoruba tribe in that locality. At least 3,000 Yorubans have thus revisited the chief town, *Abbeokuta*. A grammar and dictionary of their language, exhibiting much richness and flexibility, together with translations of parts of the Bible and Prayer Book, have been prepared by one of their own tribe, now a clergyman of the Church of England, the Rev. S. Crowther. The Christian converts there have stood firm under a severe persecution. An assault by the King of *Dahomey*, on this brightening focus of peace and good will, has been successfully repelled by the in-

STATISTICS OF CHURCH MISSION IN WEST AFRICA, 1852. 201

habitants of Abbeokuta themselves. The destruction of Lagos by the British squadron, has overthrown the last stronghold of the Brazilian slave traders on that coast. And the prospects for the progress of Christian civilization, together with the development

of the rich material resources of the region, are full of promise and hope.

A statistical view of the present state of the Society's missions, is presented in the subjoined table:—

Name of Mission and District.	Operations commenced	Number of Stations.	Missionaries.					Baptisms during the years 1851-52.	Communicants.	Seminaries and Schools.	Scholars.	Adult Members of the Church.
			Clergy.		Lay Teachers.		Total.					
			English.	Native.	European.	Native.						
<i>West Africa—</i>												
Freetown .	1818	4	7	3	3	23	36	253	1,009	15	2,245	7,527
River District	1820	2	2	—	—	12	14	194	494	8	830	
Mountain "	1816	5	2	—	1	17	20	189	894	12	1,477	
Sea "	1819	3	2	—	—	11	13	73	329	12	802	
Timneh . .	1840	1	—	—	—	2	2	4	6	2	55	
<i>Yoruba—</i>												
Abbeokuta .	1846	1	3	1	—	11	15	64	183	7	453	843
Badagry . .	1845	1	1	—	1	2	4	—	20	2	59	
Total .	—	17	17	4	5	78	104	777	2,935	58	5,921	8,370

Note.—Monies expended on Sierra Leone, and out-stations, up to March, 1852 . . . £221,423
Yoruba Mission . . . 12,830

£234,253

The annual disbursement is more than £10,000.

These successes have been obtained in the face of difficulties and discouragements more than enough to depress, or rather utterly to cast down, the energies of men, striving for merely selfish and temporal ends. Besides the hostility of the slave dealers, to which reference has been made, the climate of West Africa was then far more fatal than it has proved, since increased cultivation has somewhat checked the exuberance of tropical vegetation, and experience has taught the best sanitary precautions. Of seventy individuals who landed in Sierra Leone, during the twenty years commencing February, 1815, thirty-four were either removed by death or compelled to return home on account of ill health, in less than a year after their arrival in the colony. "In the year 1823," according to one of the Society's documents, "out of five who went out, four died within six months; yet two years afterward six presented themselves, three being English clergymen, for that mission. They went to Africa, and two fell within four months of their landing, while a third was hurried away in extreme illness. In the next year three more went forth, two of whom died within six months, so that in the course of four years fourteen men had gone out, of whom more than half had died within a few months of landing. Yet fresh labourers willingly offered themselves on each succeeding year, to the full extent of the ability of the Society to send them out." Between March, 1804, and August, 1825, there arrived at Sierra Leone 89 church missionaries, of whom 54 died in the colony, and 14 returned to England with shattered constitutions. It has been well remarked—"God has buried the workmen, but continued the work."

In the year 1842, a Committee of the House of Commons bore the following testimony in favour of the operations of the Church and Wesleyan Missions: "To the invaluable exertions of the Church Missionary Society, more especially—as also, to a considerable extent, as in all our African settlements, to the Wesleyan body—the highest praise is due. By

their efforts nearly one-fifth of the population of Sierra Leone—a most unusually high proportion in any country—are at school: and the effects are visible in considerable intellectual, moral, and religious improvement—very considerable, under the peculiar circumstances of the country."

WESLEYAN MISSION.—The Society has stations on the Gambia, Sierra Leone, the Gold Coast, and Badagry, on the Bight of Benin. The mission at Sierra Leone was commenced in 1796; on the Gambia, in 1821; and on the Gold Coast, in 1835. In Sierra Leone, at present, the colony is divided into three circuits, having thirty-one chapels, mostly built of materials taken from condemned slave ships. There are about 6,000 communicants, and the late census gives 13,000 as the portion of the population who consider themselves under the spiritual care of the agents of this Society. Twenty-one day, and twenty-two sabbath schools are in operation; while three natives are labouring as ministers, six as catechists, and ninety-four as local preachers. At the native training institution a higher order of education is given than is attempted in the ordinary schools, the pupils being intended to labour among their countrymen as catechists, teachers, or ministers, according to their qualifications. At the last examination (1852) they were examined in theology, Latin, Greek, mathematics, English grammar, and geography.

Many of the liberated Africans, especially of the Housas, have returned to their own country, bearing with them the knowledge of Christianity, and evincing pleasing effects of its moral influence.

The stations on the Gambia bring the missionaries into contact with tribes more strictly in their barbarous state than at Sierra Leone; and that river offers a better opening to the interior than any other point occupied on the western coast. The principal stations are at Bathurst; Barra, on the mainland, opposite St. Mary's; and McCarthy's Island. The deadliness of the climate has ever been the chief obstacle; each missionary who has not been pre

maturely cut off by death, being, in the course of two or three years, so reduced in strength as to be compelled to return to England, leaving his work to be followed up by a successor, having everything to learn. Of forty-one missionaries employed at Sierra Leone since 1811, there died within about a year after their arrival in the colony, fifteen; two died at sea, on their passage home, and one soon after his arrival in England. Twenty-six were obliged to return to Europe, or were removed to other missions. There are 720 scholars in the schools, and about 1,500 persons regularly attend public worship. The Gospels have been translated into the Mandingo language by the Rev. R. M. Macbrair, one of the missionaries, and already about 800 individuals are regular communicants.

The missions on the Gold Coast are extended over the whole of the country held as British territory, and also reach into the independent barbarous state of Ashantee. Of the eight missionaries employed on these stations only one is of pure European descent, all the others being more or less intimately connected with Africa by blood. Besides these, twelve native catechists, and fifty-four school teachers, are

spreading light among their countrymen. The missionary at Coomassie is the nephew of the reigning king, being one of the two princes who came to this country, as hostages, after the close of the Ashantee war. Throughout the country occupied by these missions, the native superstitions are of a singularly cruel and debasing character; human sacrifices, to a fearful extent, being habitually practised in Ashantee, but the missionaries have obtained firm footing, nevertheless. They count about 1,000 members and communicants in the native churches, and about 5,000 as regular attendants on public worship, with more than 1,000 children in schools. These results of fifteen years' labour in a climate so fatal, are highly encouraging, especially taken in connexion with the most recent advices, which go to show an extensive movement in the minds of the natives, preparatory to an abandonment of their ancient superstitions. The station at Badagry has been sustained amid serious hindrances from war and from the slave trade; and only last year the town was nearly reduced to ashes by contending parties, and the mission premises barely escaped. The annexed table shows the general statistics of these missions:—

Statistics of the Wesleyan Missions in Western Africa, in 1852.

Details.	Missions.			
	Sierra Leone.	Gambia.	Gold Coast and Ashantee.	Total.
Commenced	1796	1821	1835	—
Circuits, or Principal Stations	3	3	6	12
Chapels, and other Places of Worship	33	8	23	64
<i>Missionaries—</i>				
European	4	3	1	8
Coloured and Native	3	1	7	11
<i>Subordinate Paid Agents—</i>				
Catechists, Interpreters, &c.	0	—	12	18
Day-school teachers	46	10	54	110
<i>Unpaid Agents—</i>				
Sabbath-schools teachers	146	52	5	203
Local preachers	94	7	19	120
Full and Accredited Church Members	5,683	792	809	7,284
On trial for Membership	474	74	102	650
Day schools	21	3	23	47
Day-scholars, of both sexes	2,487	526	1,014	4,027
Sabbath-schools	22	3	1	26
Sabbath-scholars, of both sexes	1,077	551	23	1,651
<i>Total Scholars, deducting for those who attend both Sabbath and Week-day Schools—</i>				
Males	1,749	452	727	2,928
Females	1,430	268	287	1,985
Total	3,179	720	1,014	4,913
Attendants on Public Worship	9,716	1,550	4,700	15,966

Note.—The expenditure on these missions, from the commencement, has been about £145,248; the present annual disbursement is £8,427.

The BAPTIST MISSION comprises one station at Fernando Po, with sixty-nine communicants, established in 1841; one at the Cameroons River, with twenty communicants, established in 1843; and one at Bimbia. It is, I believe, now a principle with the various Christian missionary societies not to interfere with each other in any chosen field of operation, but rather to seek, where means or opportunity afford, new spheres for their meritorious labours.

The BASLE MISSIONARY SOCIETY commenced in 1836 at the then Danish settlement of Accra; where there is a substantial chapel; the society has also a

flourishing mission at Akropong, and another at Abodi, in the Aquapim Mountains.

In 1847, a GERMAN MISSION was founded in the Creepee country, some way in the interior beyond the Basle stations, on the higher branches of the Volta and the Kripong-Tojeng rivers.

A glance at the map of Africa will show how few are the impinging points of Christian warfare on the numerous and formidable strongholds of infidelity and barbarism. Nevertheless great results have already been accomplished; on the Gold Coast especially, and for upwards of 100 miles in the interior, where, so late as the end of the last

century, nine-tenths of the slaves exported were obtained, where internal wars never ceased, and human sacrifices extensively prevailed, we now witness a glorious change; the nefarious traffic in man, for deportation to foreign lands, has not only ceased on this coast, but also on the greater part of the territory west and north-west as far as the Senegal River; and England, who had been the most cruel enemy of Africa, is now, under Providence, the instrument of blessings, which those only who have personally witnessed the evils of slavery, and the abominations of idolatry and heathenism, can fully appreciate.

WEST AFRICAN COMMERCE.—In aid of missionary efforts, it is very desirable that there should be a simultaneous effort to increase the vegetable products of Africa; for, as has been already stated, when the chiefs find that they can obtain a larger revenue by employing the labour of their people in the cultivation and preparation of articles required in foreign countries, than by exporting those labourers as slaves, or employing them in war, they will, instead of hindrances, become our most effective auxiliaries in the permanent suppression of the slave-trade. The king of Dahomey declared to Mr. Cruickshank, in November, 1848, that he would willingly renounce the obnoxious traffic provided he could be assured of obtaining the same income of 300,000 dollars from any other source. It is obvious that war cannot ravage, and agriculture enrich, the same country at the same moment, and that no legitimate trade requiring continuous industry, can be carried on by men engaged in constant internecine strife, for the purpose of supplying victims to that African Moloch, before which, until within the present year or two, more than 1,000 victims have been daily sacrificed! Thus, when European nations were, with one accord, engaged in the slave-carrying trade, the exports from Africa were very small, and consisted of gold-dust, elephants' teeth, and a few other articles not requiring either habitual labour or skill for their attainment. A brighter day is now dawning, and certain portions of the coast, being, by the zealous care of England, maintained as central spots for the diffusion of freedom, and of the arts and customs of civilized life, are largely instrumental in promoting and sustaining native industry, that powerful lever for the moral and social elevation of Africa. During the past year (1851) the trade carried on at three British stations only, was, in value, as follows:—

Station.	Imports.	Exports.	Total.
Sierra Leone .	£103,477	£80,366	£183,843
Gambia . .	107,011	186,404	293,415
Gold Coast .	84,880	219,050	303,930
Total . .	295,368	485,820	781,188

It is estimated that in 1852 the aggregate of our commerce at these settlements will be equal in value to £1,000,000 sterling; it is still, however, almost in its infancy, and Western Africa is likely to become (if generously and judiciously encouraged) very speedily one of the largest and most profitable markets for the consumption of British manufactures, and for the supply of the raw materials, which England so largely demands. In illustration of this latter assertion it will be necessary to mention a few products of the country. *Palm Oil.*—This valuable oleaginous substance is derived from the pulp which

covers the hard shell of a fruit resembling a miniature cocoa-nut, growing in bunches near the top of a tree belonging to the palm tribe. About April the men begin to climb the trees to cut down the nuts, which the women and children expose on mats to the heat of the sun; they are afterwards pounded in wooden mortars, or in mills, to separate the pulp, which is placed in a large iron pot containing hot water, and boiled and stirred for a few minutes; the fire is then withdrawn, and by the time the water has cooled, the oil is floating on the surface, whence it is skimmed off with small calabashes, and set aside to be bartered for merchandise. Its various uses for machinery and mechanical purposes, for lamps, candles, &c., are well known; it is also largely employed on account of its peculiarly cleansing and softening qualities in making soap for factories, and the kernel, containing a delicate oil, is eagerly bought up by the French for the purposes of the toilet. This product may be obtained from every part of Western Africa; but its principal mart, at present, is in the countries contiguous to the rivers flowing into the Bights of Benin and Biafra. It is brought from a distance of 150 miles in the interior in small quantities, and sold to the traders on the coast. The following table illustrates its increased importation into the United Kingdom at six decennial periods:—

Year.	Tons.	Year.	Tons.
1790	129	1830	10,673
1800	223	1840	15,723
1810	1,237	1850	21,722
1820	5,124	1851	29,223

In 1852, the quantity will, probably, be about 35,000 tons, which, at the present price of £30 per ton, will give a value of more than *one million* sterling. It is probable that France, the United States, Holland, and other countries, receive half the amount of England, raising the aggregate value of the trade in this article alone to one-and-a-half million sterling. The supply will, no doubt, keep pace with the remunerative demand, because the article, unlike ivory or timber, is obtained by a process in no manner destructive, or even injurious to the source from which it is derived.

This item, it will be noticed, has greatly augmented since the slave-trade has been checked; and we have already examined the change made in the condition of the countries near the Gambia (p. 176), by the addition of a new branch of trade arising from the cultivation of *Ground-Nuts*.—This singular article is formed by the seed of a Papilionaceous plant, the pod of which is produced like that of a common vetch or field-pea, in the open air, but at a certain period turns downwards, and forces its way into the loose soil, in which it delights, and there arrives at maturity. A few years ago, the pea, or nut, was known only as an article of food, used by the natives; and so late as 1835, the total quantity exported from the Gambia and Sierra Leone was only forty-seven tons. The exportation has increased annually; and the amount for 1852, exported from the Gambia alone, will exceed *twelve thousand tons*. The cultivation was originally promoted by purchases to supply mills erected in England for the obtainment of oil from seeds, and by a demand arising in the United States, where they are grown and eaten, roasted like chesnuts, under the name of pea-nuts. To this was presently added a great con-

sumption in France, where "Arachides," as they are there termed, were favoured, when heavy and discouraging duties were imposed on other oil-seeds; and France now takes a quantity so great as to employ fifteen or sixteen thousand tons of shipping in its conveyance. The oil is applicable to nearly all the same purposes as sperm; it is used also in the manufacture of soap, and in the various arts in which oleaginous substances are required. The annual value of the whole of the shipments probably exceeds £300,000. The trade is capable of great expansion, there being abundance of land adapted for its growth, while the light and easy labour required for its culture is peculiarly adapted to a people just emerging from barbarism, and who, consequently, like children, must be gradually and gently initiated in the habits of patient toil, necessary to their welfare and progress.

The Gum now exported is obtained principally from the extensive forests bordering the vast solitude, or sea of sand (Sahara), which extends east and west between Galam and the Atlantic, and north and south between the Senegal and Morocco. It is obtained chiefly by the Moors from a pastoral tribe termed the "Trazars," whose favourite locality is the gum forest of Sahel, situated about 100 miles from the small haven of Portendic or the Giaour's Port, in 18° N. about midway between Cape Blanco and the mouth of the Senegal. This haven has often been the scene of hostilities between the English, French, Portuguese, and Dutch; and although now open to us by treaty, yet the French, by seizing our vessels in 1834-'5, and by other measures, such as forbidding the entrance of English ships into the Senegal, and prohibiting the export of gum from the river except to France, or to a French colony; have established an almost entire monopoly in the trade, which is of considerable value. The gum being very mucilaginous, was largely used in England for calico printing, and in the fabrication of silks, gauzes, ribbons, lawns, cambrics, and hats; also in varnishing and gilding, the composition of painters' colours, and in various other ways. The French proceedings have however so enhanced the price as to cause the substitution of torrified starch, termed British gum, to a considerable extent, in place of the African product.

Gold is found in various parts of Western Africa, but is obtained in the greatest purity in the *Bouréh* country, at the confluence of the *Tankisso* with the *Jolibah* rivers, about 220 miles north-east from Teemboh in Foutah Jallon. The Mandingoes who visit this territory to trade with the Soossoos, declare that the whole soil is auriferous, and that the precious metal exists to a depth of twenty to thirty feet below the surface. The entire population is employed in digging or washing the earth, which is so richly impregnated that a stranger is not allowed to sweep the floor of the hut assigned to him for a lodging, the sweepings belonging to the landlord.* The gold-dust is exchanged for bullocks, sheep, rice, and other commodities brought to Bouréh from the agricultural district of Wassalon, by the caravans of the wealthy Serakolet traders. The Mandingoes from Sierra Leone are obliged to travel together in numbers and well-armed, from the insecurity of the long route they have to traverse between Free Town and Bouréh.

* Notes on the Commerce of Sierra Leone, a brochure, by B. Campbell, Esq.; printed at the Wesleyan Mission Press, Free Town, in 1850.

The gold is generally bartered to French or American traders.

Timber.—Several valuable woods abound; hitherto mahogany has been obtained from the Gambia, and teak from Sierra Leone, whence they are imported for our ship-builders. In 1851 the quantity of teak entered in the custom-houses of the United Kingdom was 9,295 loads, which at £9 to £10 per load, gives a value of nearly £90,000.

Bees-wax is produced in large quantities, and its abundance affords some indication of the floral beauty of the interior country. The amount exported has decreased in consequence of the various substitutes now used in place of wax for candles. The import from Western Africa (principally from the Gambia), in 1850, was, however, upwards of 5,000 cwt., the estimated value being from forty to fifty thousand pounds sterling.

Hides and Skins are principally taken by the Americans; they are of excellent quality and well cured; I cannot ascertain the aggregate quantity.

Among other articles exported may be named coffee, ginger, red pepper, guinea grains, or "grains of Paradise" (used, it is said, for imparting an acrid hot taste to gin), arrowroot, gum copal, and bené or sesame-seed (which yields a fine salad oil). Tobacco, indigo, and dye woods, are at present comparatively small items, but are capable of almost indefinite extension.

Cotton.—Africa is peculiarly suited for the growth of this important article. I observed different varieties of it growing wild in various places; in one spot, a beautiful *gossypium* creeper adorned the river banks, and shed its downy wool on the adjoining bushes. Indigenous cotton is now imported from Sierra Leone and the Gold Coast, and its culture has been commenced. The alluvial soil of the Gambia appears well adapted for the description termed "sea-land." The quantity exported from Western Africa to England, during 1851, was about 5,000 lbs.; this year there will be a large increase. The staple is liked at Manchester, and the price given is remunerative to the grower. Gins, for separating the seed from the wool, have been sent out by the Church Missionary Society; and the celebrated engineer, Mr. Nasmyth, has invented a cheap and easily-constructed machine for compressing the cotton into a space which will cause a reduction in the cost of freight from 4d. to 1d. per pound. The importance of this subject to England can scarcely be overrated.

It appears that the crop of the United States, in the years 1851-2, amounted to 3,015,029 bales, of which 603,029 were consumed in America, and 2,443,646 bales exported to foreign countries; viz., to England, 1,668,749; to France, 421,375; to northern Europe, 168,875; to other parts, 184,647 bales; leaving only 91,176 bales as stock in hand.

It is indispensable to the security and stability of our manufacturing industry at Manchester, Glasgow, Belfast, and other places, that there should be a large and certain supply of cotton at a low price. To accomplish this, our dependence should not be on one country, one soil, one season—as is now the case: we ought, also, to be guaranteed from the interruption which popular caprice, slave insurrections, internecine hostility, or national wars would quickly cause. Even without such incentives the many who abhor the use of slave-grown produce will rejoice to encourage the cultivation of African cotton by native landed proprietors, set on foot by the exertions of the Church and Wesleyan societies.

SUMMARY.—The foregoing pages contain a brief enumeration of facts bearing on the present condition of Western Africa, which, taken as a whole, afford an encouraging prospect that Christianity, freedom, and civilization, have at length taken firm root, and are even now leavening the character of the people, and developing the natural resources of their country. Soon, perhaps, the Niger and other great rivers will be explored, and rich cultivation adorn their banks, without the aid of model farms and naval expeditions, such as that planned in 1839-'40, by the benevolent Fowell Buxton, and generously supported by H.R.H. Prince Albert. I am far, however, from attempting to depreciate such projects;—the Niger Expedition was laudable in itself, and undertaken from the purest and most disinterested motives, and probably would have succeeded but for the fatal imprudence committed in the protracted tarry of the vessels in the delta of the Niger, within the sphere of the most deadly climatorial influences.

In the last ten years great changes have taken place; Britain and Africa have been brought into closer intercourse by more extensive exchange of their respective products. The monthly steam-packets* plying between the two countries will probably soon tempt Englishmen to gratify their inherent love of travel, by visiting, during the healthy season, the western shore of a vast region which has been an object of wonder and inquiry for centuries; and they can hardly fail to take an interest in promoting that social improvement which Africa, it would appear, cannot generate among her own sons, but must, like other countries, receive the impulse, direction, and animating spring from nations hitherto more favoured.

It is not meant by this remark to disparage the mental powers of the Africans, or to express any sympathy with the popular view which recognises in negroes no distinctions, but stigmatises all as an inferior race, fit only for servitude. There are more remarkable diversities among the inhabitants of Western Africa than among those of Europe; and their comparatively low scale of civilization, or in other words, their distance from the advanced stage of improvement which centuries of Christianity, and the knowledge of letters and arts have advanced other nations, is no proof of their original or

permanent inferiority. They have been subjected to the greatest disadvantages; hemmed in by the advancing Moslems on the one side, and on the other by a more terrific foe—the European slave-dealers—it is surprising that West Africa has not, like America and other countries, been entirely deprived of its original population. There must have been some innate principle of strength to enable them to withstand, for so long a period, the assaults of such formidable adversaries. But more than this, despite the most degrading antecedents, and under circumstances to the last degree discouraging, men of the pure negro type have distinguished themselves as divines, statesmen, philosophers, mathematicians, and soldiers;—they have proved intelligent, affectionate, faithful, generous; and in patience under privation, endurance of physical suffering, and constancy of purpose, they are unsurpassed by any other portion of mankind.

England, therefore, in the prosecution of her glorious mission—the diffusion of Christianity over the globe—has a vast and promising field of enterprise in Africa: true it is that much precious missionary blood has already been shed there; and it may be in the Divine purpose that more must be sacrificed; but if we can spare soldiers in thousands to fight our national quarrels in the deadliest climate, we can surely find also some hundreds of the Church Militant, who, in the name of their God, are ready to hazard life in a nobler struggle, to save souls. And this contest will proceed and stay not until it eventually triumph. Victory may be slow, yet it will be sure; the strongholds of paganism, the domain of Satan, the natural depravity of man, can no more withstand the assailing power of Christian truth, than darkness can shut out the overpowering effects of light. Africa is now witnessing the rising of that Sun whose bright beams will penetrate the most hidden recesses; and Britain, on every ground—religious, commercial, and social—will reap a rich reward for the efforts now making to christianize a people, whom at one period she helped to degrade, debase, and enslave, but whom she now anxiously desires to elevate, enlighten, and enfranchise, through the perfect knowledge of that Gospel which declareth in more senses than one, that “where the spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty.”

* Steam-vessels, with the post-office mails, leave England monthly, calling at Goree, Bathurst, Sierra

Leone, Liberia, Cape Coast Castle, Accra, Lagos, Whydah, Badagry, Bonny, Old Calabar, &c.

BOOK IV.—ISLANDS OF ST. HELENA AND ASCENSION.

CHAPTER I.

LOCALITY, AREA, POPULATION, REVENUE, EXPENDITURE, AND GENERAL CONDITION.

POSITION AND AREA.—St. Helena (celebrated as the prison and the grave of Napoleon Buonaparte), is situate in the Southern Atlantic, in $15^{\circ} 55'$ S. lat., and $5^{\circ} 44'$ W. long., 1,200 miles from the coast of Africa, 2,000 from that of America, and 800 from the island of Ascension. Its extreme length is ten miles and a-half; breadth, six and three-quarters; circumference, twenty-eight miles; and area, about 30,000 acres.

DISCOVERY AND HISTORY.—The island was first seen by Juan De Nova Castella, a Portuguese navigator, on the 21st of May, 1502, and named by him in honour of the day of its discovery, *Saint Helena*.

The island was then uninhabited, covered with forest, and its shores abounded with turtles, seals, sea-lions, and various sorts of wild fowl. Its settlement, in 1513, is attributed to the debarkation of a Portuguese nobleman, who had been condemned by Albuquerque for crime committed in India, and sent away in disgrace. This gentleman, Fernandez Lopez by name, prevailed on the captain to set him on shore on this uninhabited isle, that he might avoid the life of ignominy he was destined to lead in Portugal, and his wishes being complied with, and abundant supplies forwarded to him by his commiserating friends, he quickly brought some spots under cultivation, and imported hogs, goats, domestic poultry, partridges, and wild fowl, besides various sorts of fruits and vegetables, all of which increased and thrived exceedingly. Fernandez was removed by orders of the Portuguese government in about four years, and the Portuguese mariners preserved the secret of the existence of St. Helena from other nations until 1588, when it was discovered by Captain Cavendish, on his return from circumnavigating the globe. He states that the Portuguese had built a town and a church; possessed abundance of goats, pigs, and poultry, with game, wild fowl, and various

kinds of fruits and vegetables. The settlement was afterwards frequently visited by English, Dutch, Spanish, and Portuguese ships; the salubrity of the air, and the abundance of fresh provisions invigorating their exhausted crews.

It sometimes happened that ships of nations at war with each other visited St. Helena at the same time—accordingly we have accounts of various sea-fights between the Dutch and Spaniards at the anchorage, who are, moreover, accused of wantonly destroying the plantations, lest succeeding visitors should profit by the supplies which had proved so beneficial to them. The island was abandoned by the Portuguese, when they acquired possession of settlements on the eastern shores of Africa, and for some years continued desolate, owing to the wanton excesses which had been committed; however, about the year 1613, two Portuguese vessels being wrecked here, their crews got safe to land, and once more stocked the place with cattle, goats, hogs, poultry, &c. In 1645 the Dutch took formal possession of St. Helena, and established a colony, which they gave up when settling the Cape of Good Hope in 1651.

The homeward-bound English East India fleet touching here at this period, took possession, and the East India Company obtained a charter for its occupation from Charles II. ten years after. Under the superintendence of Captain Dutton, the first English governor, a fort was erected and called Fort James, in compliment to the Duke of York, the king's brother. Settlers were encouraged to emigrate thither, and slaves were imported from Madagascar to work in the plantations. Its population was shortly after increased by many, who had been reduced to penury by the great fire of London, seeking refuge in the island.

In the latter part of 1672, the Dutch, through the treachery of a planter, succeeded in landing in the night 500 men

from an expedition which had been repulsed the same day; the fort being thus attacked in the rear, the governor thought it but prudent to abandon it, and retired, with his garrison and principal effects, on board some ship in the roads, taking, however, the precaution of placing a sloop to cruise to windward of St. Helena to warn British vessels of its capture, and a squadron arriving soon after (in May 1673), under Captain Munden, he succeeded in regaining the island, and, by keeping the Dutch flag flying after he got possession of the forts, decoyed six Dutch East Indiamen, as well as a ship from Europe, having a governor and reinforcements for the garrison on board, into the roads where they were seized. Having formed a British garrison by detachments from the ships, Captain Munden sailed for England with his prizes, and was knighted.

St. Helena remained in the possession of the East India Company until the last renewal of their charter in 1833, when the island was given up to the crown, it having been retained by them so long merely as a maritime station for refitting their ships, &c., which they no longer required, after the suspension of their commercial privileges.

PHYSICAL ASPECT.—When first seen at sea, St. Helena presents the appearance of a small barren rock, nearly perpendicular on its northern side, but gradually shelving to the south. On approaching, its eminences appear more broken, and the central ones are covered with verdure. The shore is protected by a girdle of inaccessible precipices of basaltic rock, some of them rent to the base, exhibiting extensive chasms, and the most fantastic shapes. The only anchorage is at James' Valley Bay, on the north-west or leeward side of the island. James' Town, the capital, is situated in a narrow valley between two lofty mountains, and presents a pleasant and refreshing appearance, from the trees being generally in full leaf.

There is good anchorage in from eight to twenty-five fathoms; the tide rising to the height of five feet at times; the surf upon the shore is generally strong, but about Christmas tremendous. The principal inlets by which the island can be approached are Lemon Valley, James' Town, and Rupert's Bay on the north-west side, and Sandy Bay on the south-east; all these, however, are strongly fortified. Even the

small ravines, where it might be possible to effect a landing, are also defended.

Throughout the whole length of the island there are only two plains, the largest that of Longwood, comprising 1,500 acres of fertile land, sloping to the south-west. The island is divided by a ridge of hills, running nearly east and west, but bending in a curved direction to the south, at each extremity, and from this chain numerous valleys and ridges branch off, generally at right angles. The *Plantation*, or Government-house, is like a beautiful English country residence; it is embowered in woods, with a green valley sloping towards the sea, above which it is elevated about 2,000 feet. The highest point in the island is Diana's Peak, which rises 2,700 feet above the level of the sea; from its summit the whole island lies under the view, no point intercepting the horizon. The other remarkable eminences, the altitude of which have been ascertained by Major Rennell, are Flag Staff, 2,272, and Barnscliff, 2,215, nearer the coast, and overhanging the sea; Alarm House, 1,260, in the centre of the island; High Knoll, 1,903, to the southward of Ladder Hill, and the official country residence of the Governor; Longwood House, 1,762; most of the heights were formerly covered with timber and shrubs, consisting of the cabbage tree, redwood, stringwood, dogwood, &c., and the greenwood was likewise to be found in great abundance, but, at present, few of these trees are to be seen, except about 1,500 acres of irregular forest at Longwood, preserved by order of the East India Company.

Clear and wholesome springs abound in every direction; those issuing from the sides of the hills frequently form picturesque cascades. Roads have been constructed in a zigzag direction, with great labour, which now afford easy access to the interior.

After the battle of Waterloo, Napoleon Buonaparte was sent to St. Helena by the allied sovereigns as a prisoner of war. He arrived in the island in October, 1815, and died there on the 6th May, 1821. His remains were removed a few years since to Paris.

GEOLOGY.—St. Helena is probably of volcanic origin; or it is the lofty peak of some vast range of mountains, whose base is beneath the ocean. Limestone is plentiful in some situations, as well as iron ore, and there are indications of gold and copper.

208 CLIMATE, POPULATION, REVENUE, OF ST. HELENA.—ASCENSION.

THE CLIMATE of this island is not ill adapted to the European constitution; indeed it has been found congenial to the crews of vessels that have been kept for a long space of time on salt provisions, and without vegetables. The thermometer seldom rises above 80° in James Town, and the heat is only excessive when it is reflected from the sides of the valley in calm weather; in the interior of the island the temperature is more even, never so cold as in England, and scarcely so hot. The average temperature throughout the whole year has been found to be at Longwood from 56° to 68°, at James Town from 66° to 78°, and at Plantation House from 61° to 73° Fahrenheit. The atmosphere is remarkably clear. Thunder and lightning are rare.

The healthy condition of the inhabitants was visible to me in their cheerful manners, and active rural industry, the cultivation of the soil being their principal occupation.

In 1848, out of nearly 7,000 inhabitants, there were only seventy-nine deaths, and thirty-four were upwards of seventy years of age. There are about three births to each death among the resident inhabitants.

Inhabitants according to Census of 1850.

Locality.	Houses.	Males.	Females.
James' Town . . .	190	1,860	1,562
Country	195	1,113	955
Total	385	2,973	2,517

Note.—H.M. troops, 450; women and children, 153; East India Company's invalids, 32; grand total, 6,125.

The population includes British Africans, Chinese, Malays, and seamen, landed from ships, and their descendants. Many slaves are now liberated here: between June 1840, and June 1850, 15,076 were landed; of these 4,760 died, and all the remainder, except forty, migrated to Jamaica and other British West India colonies.

GOVERNMENT.—A military officer, aided by executive and legislative councils.

REVENUE.—About £17,000 per annum; of which £10,000 is derived from custom duties.

The military charges are now £17,000 per annum.

SHIPPING.—The annexed table gives the imports, exports, and specie exported, during three years:—

Particulars.	1849.	1850.	1851.
Imports	£68,533	£66,219	£81,624
Exports	3,856	12,572	5,846
Specie exported	8,845	8,526	11,446

Ships entered inwards in 1851 (exclusive of vessels of war and whaling ships), 950; tons, 439,494; viz., British ships, 583; tons, 289,313; French ships, 71; tons, 22,663; Dutch ships, 110; tons 63,330; American ships, 58; tons, 28,825. The remaining tonnage comprises eleven other foreign flags. A duty of one penny per ton is levied for the support of an excellent hospital for seamen.

RELIGION AND EDUCATION.—St. Helena forms a part of the diocese of the Cape of Good Hope, and has four Church of England clergymen. There are eleven schools, of which three belong to government, four to the Baptist Mission, and four to the Benevolent Society.

CULTIVATION.—About 160 acres are under crop;

7,500 acres of pasturage are adapted for tillage, and 25,000 acres are available for the grazing of sheep and goats. Considerable quantities of live stock, obtained from Africa, are kept in readiness for the supply of vessels touching for refreshments.

Most kinds of tropical or European fruits ripen here, particularly in the sheltered valleys. Vines, oranges, citrons, lemons, figs, pomegranates, mulberries, tamarinds, mangoes, cocoa-nuts, sugar-cane, pine apples, &c. thrive well; apples have succeeded tolerably, but the climate is not congenial to cherries, currants, or gooseberries. The common blackberry increased to such an extent after its introduction in 1780, as to necessitate an order for its extirpation. Three successive crops of potatoes are often produced in the year, and garden vegetables, such as cabbages, beans, peas, &c. are raised in abundance.

Fish are numerous, and more than seventy different kinds have been caught on the coast. Amongst the most prized is the coal fish, which is very delicate but scarce: those commonly taken are jacks, congers, soldiers, mackarel, albicore, bulls' eyes, &c.

St. Helena is during peace a valuable haven, where the people of every nation, on their long voyage across the Atlantic, may recruit: during war it is an important garrison for the protection of British commerce, and one of the means by which England maintains her supremacy on the ocean. The island is so well fortified that, properly defended, it may be considered impregnable.

ASCENSION.

ASCENSION, in lat. 7° 55' S., long. 14° 25' W., is a triangular-shaped island of volcanic origin, eight miles long, by six broad at the west end, the surface consisting of barren rocks, almost destitute of verdure. It is well fortified at every accessible part (the sea breaks on the coast with tremendous violence) and garrisoned by a detachment of marines and marine artillery. The highest summit is estimated at 2,870 feet in elevation above the sea. A shaft has been sunk in one of the mountains, whence abundance of excellent water is conveyed to the anchorage by means of iron pipes. The beach, at first thought to be composed of sand, was found to consist of very small fragments of shells; in some places exhibiting compact masses, formed of several layers, the size of the fragments differing in each layer; they are broken and burned for lime. Red volcanic ashes prevail on several hills. Of the vegetable kingdom, the euphorbia is found growing in small tufts among the rugged lava; and attempts have been made to introduce various European vegetables. Sea fowl are very numerous, and there are three handsome species of butterflies on the island, beautiful objects among such barren scenes.

Ponds are kept stocked with turtle, weighing from 200 to 800 lbs. each. Abundance of fish and marine birds are obtainable. The eggs of the sea-swallows, which are of a dirty white with dark red spots, and about the size of a crow's egg, are collected at certain seasons of the year in thousands, and considered delicate eating.

Moorings are laid down in the roads, and vessels in want of refreshments supplied at moderate prices.

A coal depôt has been established in consequence of the increasing number of steam vessels traversing the Atlantic, in their passage to and from the Cape, India, and Australia.

N.B. The islands of Mauritius and Seychelles will be given with Ceylon and other possessions in the Eastern Seas.

BRITISH POSSESSIONS IN THE WEST INDIES, AND IN SOUTHERN AND CENTRAL AMERICA.

BOOK I.—WEST INDIA ISLANDS.

CHAPTER I.

EARLY DISCOVERY BY SPAIN—DESTRUCTION OF THE ABORIGINES—INTRODUCTION OF SLAVES FROM AFRICA—BRITISH ACQUISITIONS—NAMES, AREA, ORIGINAL AND PRESENT OCCUPATION OF EACH ISLAND.

THE important discoveries made in Africa by the Portuguese, in the middle of the fifteenth century, rendered geography the favourite science of that epoch. The prospects it offered of wealth and renown, nay even its dangers and excitements, had powerful charms for adventurous spirits, and many such flocked round the court of Prince Henry, whose learning, munificence, and enterprise, had won for himself and his navigators, a world-wide reputation, and raised his country from insignificance to a commanding national position.

In 1470, three years before the death of the Prince, a visitor arrived, who, although of humble origin, the son of a wool-comber, had been remarkable, even from childhood, for his addiction to cosmographical pursuits, and his skill in navigation, the practice of which he had commenced when about fourteen years of age, under the auspices of a distant relative—a veteran admiral in the Genoese service, who had acquired considerable celebrity by his daring and somewhat piratical exploits. Christopher Columbus, when he first came to Lisbon, was in the prime of manhood; tall, well-formed, with light-grey kindling eyes, and hair, which at thirty years of age, the then hazardous seafaring life of the Mediterranean, and his restless efforts for geographical information, had already changed to perfect white. Simple in his habits, grave and gentle in demeanour, his distinguishing characteristics were enthusiastic piety, rigid and almost austere observance of the ritual of the Church of Rome, and that indomitable energy which (humanly speaking) has so often enabled great minds to endure long years of suspense and discouragement, and finally to accomplish their ends by, seemingly, the most insufficient

means. It does not appear that Columbus attracted the notice of Prince Henry, or in his lifetime put forward his view of the existence of a western route to India, but it is certain from his correspondence with the learned Florentine cosmographer Toscanelli, that he entertained the idea so early as the year 1474.

The spherical form of the earth was considered by Columbus as a fundamental principle, and the circumference from east to west was divided, in accordance with the theory of Ptolemy, into twenty-four hours of fifteen degrees each, making 360 degrees. Of these twenty-four hours, he imagined that eight, or one-third of the earth, remained unexplored. This space might, in a great measure, be filled up by the eastern regions of Asia, which possibly extended so far as nearly to surround the globe, and to approach the western shores of Europe and Africa. But even if Asia should prove of comparatively small extent, still Columbus considered that the tract of ocean intervening between these two countries must be less than was generally surmised: in this particular he was influenced by the conclusions of Alfraganus, the Arabian, who, by diminishing the size of the degrees, gave the earth a smaller circumference than other cosmographers.*

These two happy errors, the imaginary extent of continental Asia, and the supposed size of the earth, were undoubtedly the chief grounds upon which Columbus arrived at the conviction that a successful voyage of discovery might be made by venturing boldly into the vast expanse of ocean, and following

* *Discovery of America by Christopher Columbus*: written by his son, Don Ferdinand. Published in *Kerr's Collection of Voyages and Travels*, vol. iii. also in *Churchill's Collection*, vol. ii.

steadily a western course. The idea seems now simple enough—then it was new and startling; for the laws of specific gravity and central gravitation were yet unascertained, by which, granting the rotundity of the earth, the possibility of making the tour of it would have been manifest. There was, however, a circumstance of recent occurrence calculated to encourage adventurers in ploughing unknown seas, viz., the application of the astrolabe to navigation (since improved into the modern quadrant and sextant), enabling the seaman by the altitude of the sun, to ascertain his distance from the equator; and reports, some true, some false, reached Columbus, which led him, step by step, to the conviction that there was land in the Western Ocean, within a practicable distance; that it was fertile; and finally that it was inhabited. Among the most remarkable incidents noted down by Columbus in his memoranda, is the testimony of his brother-in-law Pedro Correa, and other mariners, who had picked up pieces of wood curiously carved, but evidently not with an iron instrument, on the island of Porto Santo, and likewise 450 leagues to the westward of Cape St. Vincent, after a long continuance of westerly winds. Trees of unknown kinds, huge pine trunks, and large-jointed reeds, had been wafted to the Azores, and upon the island of Flores two dead bodies of men, whose colour and features were distinct from any hitherto known race, were cast on the shore, and a singularly wrought canoe was driven on the same coast.

Having, after long and patient investigation, satisfied himself respecting the reasonableness of his project, Columbus proceeded to seek assistance in carrying it out. His first proposal (according to his son Don Ferdi-

nand) was made to John II. of Portugal, who approved of the undertaking, but refused to comply with the terms stipulated for in case of success; and was so ungenerous as to use the detailed plan laid before him, and privately dispatch a ship on the proposed expedition, employing the projector meanwhile in deceitful negotiation. The attempt failed completely; for the pilots, after steering westward for several days, alarmed by the stormy weather they encountered, and the apparently boundless waste of waters which lay before them, turned back in despair.

Columbus, fired by the unworthy treatment he had received, declined all the subsequent offers of King John, quitted Portugal in disgust, and proceeded, in the words of his eloquent biographer, "to beg his way from court to court, to offer to princes the discovery of a world."*

He sent his brother Bartholomew to England, to make proposals, in his name, to Henry VII. Bartholomew was taken captive by pirates on his voyage, and not heard of by his brother for ten years, eight of which Columbus was himself destined to consume in fluctuating and most perplexing intercourse with the court of Spain.† At length, wearied out with fruitless exertions, he resolved to quit Spain, and seek support elsewhere. In the beginning of February, 1492, he took leave of his friends, sallied forth from Santa Fé, pursued his lonely journey across the Vega, and had reached the bridge of Pinos, about two leagues from Granada, when he was overtaken by a courier from the illustrious Queen Isabella, who summoned him to return forthwith.

Her enthusiasm had at length been

* Washington Irving's *Life and Voyages of Christopher Columbus*; a work not only valuable as one of the most charming biographies ever written, but also as containing much interesting information respecting the discovery of the western world.

† In 1486, by the desire of Ferdinand, a council was held at the university of Salamanca, to discuss the feasibility of Columbus' project; on the whole its opinion was unfavourable, though many of the most learned men were convinced by his reasoning. Among the arguments adduced to confute him, were some drawn from the writings of Lactantius and St. Augustine, who were considered as almost evangelical authority. The passage cited from Lactantius is in a strain of ridicule unworthy so grave and learned a theologian. "Is there any so foolish," he asks, "as to believe that there are antipodes, with their feet opposite to ours; people who walk with their heels upward, and their heads hanging down? That there is a part of the world in which all things are

topsy-turvy; where the trees grow with their branches downward, and where it rains, hails, and snows upward? The idea of the roundness of the earth," he adds, "was the cause of inventing this fable of the antipodes, with their heels in the air; for these philosophers, having once erred, go on in their absurdities, defending one with another." The objections urged on the authority of St. Augustine were of a graver nature, and shew the danger of wresting the words of Holy Writ to a purpose they were never intended to fill, by founding upon them arguments respecting the physical conformation of the earth. This renowned writer, though no less famous for profound erudition than for child-like piety, committed the great error of dogmatically pronouncing, that to assert that there were inhabited lands on the opposite side of the globe, was to discredit the Bible, by maintaining that there were nations not descended from Adam, it being impossible for them to have passed the intervening ocean.—(Irving, p. 39.)

roused, and overruling the scruples of her cool and wary consort, Ferdinand, whose coffers having been literally drained by the Moorish war, then just brought to a favourable conclusion, was averse to entering on the proposed adventure—she exclaimed, "I undertake the enterprise for my own crown of Castile, and will pledge my jewels to raise the necessary funds." This sacrifice was not, however, necessary.

For his undertaking Columbus required, in the first place, only 2,500 crowns to fit out a fleet, and was willing to, and did actually bear, one-eighth of the attendant expenses, on condition of receiving an equal share of the profits; he likewise stipulated, that he should be styled Don, and appointed "high-admiral of the Ocean Sea," and perpetual viceroy and governor of all the lands and continents which he might discover in the yet unexplored waters. (Irving, p. 62). The means of success at length rewarded the patient energy of the man, who, for eighteen years, had untiringly striven for them in the teeth of poverty, neglect, and ridicule. Columbus was now in his fifty-sixth year; but time, trials, and experience of the misery of dependence on the favour of princes, had rather increased than abated his lofty hopes, matured his intellect, and deepened his trust in Providence. On Friday, the 3rd of August, 1492, he quitted the Port of Palos, accompanied by the three brothers Pinzon, navigators of great ability, in command of three small vessels, of which his own was decked, while the other two were light barks, called caravels, with no deck in the centre, but built up high at the prow and stern, with forecastles and cabins for the accommodation of the crew. The character of the vessels employed is not the least marvellous part of this daring enterprise.

Three days after starting, a new cause of delay occurred; the rudder of one of the caravels, the *Pinta*, being broken, it became necessary to anchor at the Canary Islands, while a new one was made, which being accomplished, Columbus set sail on the 6th of September, steering for the unknown regions of the west.

The variation of the needle, a hitherto unknown phenomenon, soon created exces-

sive alarm in the minds of the sailors, who, during the whole voyage, gave way to fits of despondency, viewing every strange occurrence in the most unfavourable light; while Columbus, on the contrary, would acknowledge nothing but favourable omens, whether in the strange birds that settled on the rigging, the large patches of herbs and weeds that drifted from the westward, or the bland and genial softness of the atmosphere, the serenity of the sky, and the singular clearness of the air at night, which latter peculiarities, in common with other voyagers who have sailed along this track, I can attest as affording exquisite delight. Another novelty, the influence of the trade-wind, which, following the sun, blows steadily from east to west between the tropics, and sweeps over a few adjoining degrees of ocean, although it favoured their progress, afforded a new source of alarm to the mariners, who imagined that the winds in these seas always blew from the east, and that every day which took them farther from their beloved Spain rendered their return more hopeless.

In vain Columbus strove, by keeping two reckonings, one true, the other false, to conceal from them the real distance they had attained; he could not disguise the fact, that they had sailed farther west than any were known to have proceeded before, and that, already beyond the reach of human succour, they were daily pressing onward into a mysterious and apparently illimitable abyss.

As they advanced, the ocean became covered with sea-weeds, so as to resemble, at a distance, an inundated meadow; and when these marine plants (which seem to derive their sustenance from the atmosphere), became dense and matted, so as to present some impediment to their little barks, they not only feared being in the neighbourhood of lurking shoals and rocks, but also that they might at last be completely hemmed in.*

Despondency and impatience ripened into a mutinous disposition, which the firmness and sagacity of the Admiral with difficulty enabled him to restrain from developing itself in open violence. On the 25th of September, Martin Alonzo Pinzon mounted the

* The alarm which these immense masses of seaweed excited in the minds of the Spanish mariners, will appear natural enough to those who have witnessed similar incidents. A large steamer, in which I proceeded to the West Indies, was several days pass-

ing through mile after mile of this singular marine plant, which probably comes from the numerous reefs and banks in the Gulf of Florida, and then drifts along with the current, for the most part in regular parallel lines.

stern of his bark, crying, "Land! land!" Columbus immediately fell on his knees, and offered up his thanks to Him who rules the tempest and the ocean, while Martin repeated the *Gloria in Excelsis*, in which he was joined by his own crew, and that of the admiral.*

The fancied sight proved, however, to be what seamen term "Cape Fly-away"—an evening cloud—bearing the appearance of land, and not unfrequently an indication of its vicinity. Many such illusions occurred, exciting the hopes of the adventurers only to depress them the more deeply.

On the 7th October the vessels had traversed 750 leagues, and still the same wild waste of waters lay before them; but flights of small sea-birds were seen going towards the south-west, a circumstance which induced Columbus, in compliance with the wishes of the Pinzons, to change his course from west to west-south-west. After sailing thus three days, the manifestations of land became more evident; a pelican, heron, and duck, were seen; fresh herbage floated by, and tunny fish played about the smooth sea. All these good omens were regarded by the crew as so many delusions, and when they beheld the sun set once again on a shoreless horizon, they threatened to throw Columbus overboard if he did not yield to their desire of turning homeward. Perceiving the vanity of all attempts to pacify them by promises or expostulation, their indomitable leader took a decided tone, and assured them that their opposition was useless, for the expedition had been sent by the sovereigns to seek the Indies, and happen what might he was determined to persevere, until, by the blessing of God, he should accomplish the enterprise. Happily, unmistakable signs of proximity to land presented themselves on the following day; a branch of thorns, with berries on it, a reed, a small board, and above all, a staff, artificially carved, were picked up by the sailors, whose gloom and mutiny then gave place to sanguine expectations. In the evening of the 11th October, when, according to invariable custom, the *salve regina*, or vesper hymn, had been sung to the Virgin, Columbus made an impressive address to his crew, pointed out the goodness of the Almighty in conducting them, by soft and favouring breezes, across a tranquil ocean, and cheering them onward continually with fresh signs.

He thought it probable they would make

* Journal of Columbus.

land that very night, and therefore ordered a vigilant look-out to be kept from the fore-castle, promising a doublet of velvet to the person who should first descry the shore, in addition to the pension of 10,000 maravedis guaranteed by the sovereigns. The greatest excitement prevailed, and not an eye on board the little squadron was closed on that eventful night. The breeze freshened, and the vessels were ploughing through the waves at a rapid rate, when the Admiral, seated on high and scanning the western horizon, in deep anxiety, thought he beheld a light glimmering in the distance. Fearing that it was but a vision conjured by his eager hopes, he called to Pedro Gutierrez,—a gentleman of the king's household—who saw it likewise. The transient and uncertain gleams soon disappeared, and all was again doubt, until 2 A.M., when Martin Pinzon, who was a-head of the admiral, in the *Pinta*, fired a gun,—the joyful signal that land was in sight. The vessels shortened sail and lay to, awaiting the dawn; Columbus, his officers and seamen, remaining meanwhile in a state of tumultuous delight which no other persons have probably ever experienced.

With the morning light, the voyagers beheld for the first time a portion of the western world, a level thickly-wooded island, several leagues in extent, with numerous inhabitants, perfectly naked, and gazing with astonishment on the vessels. Dressed in scarlet, and bearing the royal standard, he hastened on shore, fell on his knees, kissed the earth, and returned thanks to God with tears of joy. His example was quickly followed by his companions, who, recently so mutinous, now thronged around him, embraced his feet, and bursting into the most extravagant transports, gave themselves up to unbounded joy.

The aborigines, on first perceiving the ships, supposed them to be monsters which had issued from the deep during the night, or descended from the sky; the more so when they beheld them moving about by means of huge wings (sails), shifted or furled at pleasure. But when the boats were lowered, and strange beings, clad in glittering steel armour, or in bright raiment of various colours, approached the shore, they fled affrighted to the woods. Meanwhile, Columbus commenced the perpetration of the first act of injustice in the New World. He drew his sword, unfurled the royal standard, and assembling his captains, the notary who accompanied the armament.

and others, he gave the name of *San Salvador** to the island, and took possession of it in the names of the Spanish sovereigns. Little thought the natives, when recovering from their terror, they emerged from the woods, and watched with eager and admiring eyes the ceremonies of taking possession, that those apparently harmless acts would prove as the signing of a death-warrant to them, their wives, and children. Happy in their ignorance of the swiftly-coming future, they approached the Spaniards with great awe, frequently prostrating themselves, and making signs of adoration; as their fears abated they touched the beards (of which they were said to be deficient) of the strangers with astonishment, and admired exceedingly their white faces and hands. They were well made, of a copper hue, and had long black hair, broad and lofty foreheads, remarkably fine eyes, and pleasing features, although obscured and disfigured by paint. Their canoes, some capable of containing forty-five men, were dexterously managed with paddles; they had no iron, their lances being pointed with flint or fish-bone; and few objects of barter, except tame parrots, large balls of cotton-yarn, and a kind of bread called cassava, prepared from a large root named "yuca," which they cultivated. The avarice of the Spaniards was quickly roused by the sight of small gold ornaments worn by some of the natives in their ears and noses; on inquiry these latter intimated by signs that the precious metal was to be found in abundance in the south, and also that savage men frequently made marauding incursions upon them, and the numerous neighbouring islands, from a country in the north-west, endeavouring to carry them off, and many showed the scars they had received in battles with the invaders.

All he heard confirmed Columbus in his previous belief that he had arrived among the islands described by Marco Polo, as lying opposite Cathay in the Chinese Sea; the rich region to the south could, he thought, be no other than the famous island

* Then called by the natives *Guanahani*, now known as one of the *Lucayos* or *Bahama* group, which belong to Great Britain, and generally supposed to be that termed *Cat Island*.

† Neither Don Ferdinand Columbus, Washington Irving, or the other authorities respecting the proceedings of the admiral, state whether these seven natives accompanied the squadron willingly or by compulsion. Notwithstanding the kindness with which they were usually treated, and which their gentle and confiding conduct, as described by Colum-

bus himself, amply merited, it would appear that they were either forced or duped into quitting their native island; for one of them, a few days afterwards, on seeing a large canoe filled with Indians, plunged into the sea, and swam to it. A boat put off instantly in pursuit, but could not overtake the light bark, whose crew, on reaching the land, fled to the woods, leaving their canoe to the sailors, who very dishonestly took possession of it.—(Washington Irving p. 84.)

The next island taken possession of by Columbus was *Santa Maria de la Concepcion*, another of the Bahama islands; from thence he proceeded to the westward, and landed on a larger island, which he named *Fernandina* (now *Exuma*). The inhabitants were similar in every respect to those of San Salvador and Concepcion, excepting that they appeared more ingenious and intelligent. They were equally anxious to propitiate the Spaniards, whom they regarded with awe and admiration; offering them the fruits of their fields and groves, and leading the sailors, when in quest of water, to the coolest and sweetest springs; filling their casks, rolling them to the boats, and seeking in every way to gratify their supposed celestial visitors. Meanwhile the admiral reposed beneath the luxuriant shade afforded by the most beautiful trees, some of which had the appearance of being engrafted, as they had leaves and branches of four or five different sorts. The women wore mantles and aprons of cotton, and their beds were formed of nets of the same material, slung between two posts, which they called "hamacs," a name since in universal use among seamen. Their habitations were constructed in the form of a pavilion or high circular tent, of branches of trees, reeds, and palms. They were kept with a degree of cleanliness and neatness, very creditable to the native women.†

bus himself, amply merited, it would appear that they were either forced or duped into quitting their native island; for one of them, a few days afterwards, on seeing a large canoe filled with Indians, plunged into the sea, and swam to it. A boat put off instantly in pursuit, but could not overtake the light bark, whose crew, on reaching the land, fled to the woods, leaving their canoe to the sailors, who very dishonestly took possession of it.—(Washington Irving p. 84.)

† *History of Columbus*, by his son, p. 80.

Leaving Fernandina on the 19th of October, the adventurers proceeded to an island called *Saometo*, which Columbus named *Isabella* (now known as *Exumeta*, or *Isla Larga*), and described as more beautiful than any yet seen, the land being higher, with a verdant hill; and the coast a fine sand gently laved by transparent billows. "Here are large lakes," says he in his journal; "and the groves about them are marvellous; and here, and in all the island, everything is green as April in Andalusia. The singing of the birds is such, that it seems as if one would never desire to depart hence. There are flocks of parrots, which obscure the sun, and other birds, large and small, of so many kinds, all different from ours, that it is wonderful; and, besides, there are trees of a thousand species, each having its particular fruit, and all of marvellous flavour." The fish which abounded in these seas afforded, in turn, new objects of wonder and delight. They rivalled the birds in tropical brilliancy of colour, the scales of some of them glancing back the rays of light like precious stones, as they sported about the ships; while the delicate flying fish springing into the air, or diving into the sea, to avoid their enemies in either element; the changing hues of the captive dolphins, and other sights still beautiful, even to eyes accustomed to behold them, must have exercised an extraordinary fascination, when suddenly presented to the explorers of a new world.

No animals were seen in these islands excepting two species of dogs—one resembling mastiffs, the other beagles—neither of which barked; and a kind of coney, or rabbit, called *utia* by the natives. There were numerous lizards and guanias, which last were regarded with fear by the Spaniards, who supposed them to be noxious serpents; but they were found afterwards to be perfectly harmless, and their flesh esteemed a great delicacy by the Indians.

Notwithstanding the beauty and fertility that greeted the wanderers on every side, one thing was still wanting, without which they well knew all that they had achieved would be coldly viewed by the needy and covetous Ferdinand.

The shining yellow trinkets worn by the natives, and either freely given, or else thankfully exchanged, for the newer or more ornamental baubles offered by the Spaniards, were small and of little value; and to the oft-repeated question as to

whence the gold of which they were fabricated was obtained, reply was invariably made by pointing to the south. Hearing repeated mention of an important island in a somewhat similar direction, called Cuba, and becoming more and more convinced that it must be the Cipango of Marco Polo, Columbus resolved to sail in quest of it. After three days' navigation, in the course of which he touched at a group of seven or eight small islands, termed by him *Islas de Arena*, (supposed to be the present *Mucaras Islands*), and crossed the *Bahama Bank* and *Channel*; he arrived, on the morning of the 28th of October, in sight of the magnificent island of Cuba, whose bold coast-line, rich in harbours, promontories, and headlands, with a back-ground of stately forests, lofty mountains, and pleasant valleys, interspersed with extensive plains, watered by fine clear streams, offered to his delighted eyes a prospect surpassing in promise anything he had yet beheld. No wonder that "Cuba broke upon him like an elysium." (Washington Irving, p. 91.) On landing, there were various indications of more art and civilization than had heretofore been observed; the dwellings were better built, and contained rude statues and wooden masks, carved with considerable ingenuity; implements for fishing; and large stores of cotton, wrought into yarn, or nets for hammocks. The fields were cultivated with the agi or sweet pepper (pimento), maize, or Indian corn; a species of lupin or pulse, the before-mentioned yuca, the sweet potato, and other vegetables and fruits.

Columbus would have thought it strange indeed could he have been told that a custom, which he and his sailors here watched with astonishment, as a singular, unaccountable, and even nauseous practice, would become common among every civilized nation. They saw several Indians going about with firebrands in their hands, and certain dried herbs, which they rolled up in a leaf, and lighting one end, put the other in their mouths, and continued exhaling and puffing out the smoke. A roll of this kind they called "a tobacco," a name since transferred to the plant of which the rolls were made.

About this time, after close conference with Martin Alonso Pinzon, who, like himself, had studied deeply the deluding volume of Marco Polo, and consequently appears to have misinterpreted the signs of the Indians into accordance with previously formed opinions, Columbus began to consider whether

he had not been mistaken in believing himself to have reached the island of Cipango, and at length was persuaded by Pinzon that Cuba was not an island at all, but that they had actually arrived at the mainland of Asia, or, as they termed it, India, and could be at no great distance from Cathay, the much desired limit of their voyage, and the residence of the great Khan, to whom the admiral forthwith dispatched an embassy, whose errand of course proved fruitless in its primary object, and was even unsuccessful in procuring information sufficient to render manifest the utter falsity of the premises upon which such illusory expectations had been founded.

Soon after this disappointment a worse trial awaited Columbus, in the desertion of Pinzon, with whom he had had several disputes during the voyage. With his own vessel, and the remaining caravel, he continued, notwithstanding, to prosecute his enterprise; and, as if to cheer him, the beautiful island of *Hayti*, with its lofty mountains, spacious harbours, and luxuriant vegetation, rose before him, its charming scenery enhanced by the transparent purity of a tropical atmosphere. Columbus erected a cross on a commanding eminence, and called the island *Hispaniola*; it was afterwards known as *St. Domingo*, but is now designated by its original native name. Its productions presented no fresh novelty. The people are described in the most favourable terms, as a well-formed race, fairer and handsomer than those of the other islands. The accounts given of them by their earliest visitors, as recorded and attested by contemporary writers, concur in offering a picture more nearly approaching the peaceful but very animalized felicity generally understood as the characteristic of a golden age, than perhaps can be paralleled in history, since the inhabitants of Hayti, and indeed of the Leeward Islands generally, appear to have been exempt from the gross sensuality which so often marks the milder class of savages (the Tahitians for instance). They lived in peaceful though indolent enjoyment, under the patriarchal rule of kings or chiefs, whom they termed "caciques," whose authority was hereditary, descending, in the event of the death of a cacique without children, to those of his sisters in preference to those of his brothers, for a very obvious reason, which however reflects more credit on the sagacity of the islanders than upon the chastity of

their women. Few traces of idolatry were found among them, and vague ideas of the existence of a God and the immortality of the soul were prevalent; almost their only subject of anxiety arose from the incursions of the Caribs, the inhabitants of a neighbouring region afterwards explored and designated the *Windward Islands*.

The following quotations, the first from a letter addressed by Columbus to Luis de St. Angel, an officer in the Spanish court, who had materially favoured his suit to the sovereigns; the second from the valuable work of Peter Martyr, who derived his information from conversations with the admiral; testify how pleasing an impression was made on the mind of their discoverer by the manners and customs of the natives. Columbus writes:—

"True it is, that after they felt confidence, and lost their fear of us, they were so liberal with what they possessed, that it would not be believed by those who had not seen it. If anything was asked of them, they never said no, but rather gave it cheerfully, and showed as much amity as if they gave their very hearts; and whether the thing were of value or of little price, they were content with whatever was given in return. * * * In all these islands, it appears to me that the men are all content with one wife, but they give twenty to their chieftain or king. The women seem to work more than the men; and I have not been able to understand whether they possess individual property, but rather think that whatever one has all the rest share, especially in all articles of provisions."—(*Navarrete*, tom i., p. 167.)

"It is certain [says old Peter Martyr] that the land among these people is as common as the sun and water, and that 'mine and thine,' the seeds of all mischief, have no place with them. They are content with so little, that in so large a country they have rather superfluity than scarceness; so that they seem to live in the golden world, without toil, living in open gardens, not intrenched with dykes, divided with hedges, or defended with walls. They deal truly one with another—without laws, without books, without judges. They take him for an evil and mischievous man who taketh pleasure in doing hurt to another; and albeit they delight not in superfluities, yet they make provision for the increase of such roots whereof they make their bread, contented with such simple diet, whereby health is preserved and disease avoided."—(*P. Martyr*, decad. i., lib. iii.; translation of Richard Eden, 1555.)

Of the disinterested kindness of the people of Hayti, the Spaniards had especial evidence on the night of the 25th of December (Christmas-eve). The sea being calm and smooth, and the ship almost motionless, the admiral and crew retired to rest, upon which the steersman, in direct violation of a standing order, gave the helm in charge to one of the ship boys, and went to sleep. The remainder of the night-watch followed his example, and all were

buried in profound slumber, when the boy aroused them by a wild cry of terror. The treacherous currents, which run swiftly along this coast, had carried the vessel upon a sand-bank, where her keel was firmly imbedded. Every effort to float her off was in vain; the shock had opened several seams, and the swell of the breakers, striking her broadside, left her each moment more and more aground, until she fell over on one side. The officers and men took refuge on board the caravel, and sent a message to a powerful cacique, named Guacanagari, who ruled over this portion of the island, to inform him of the shipwreck. Guacanagari instantly despatched his people with all the canoes, large and small, he could muster, to the assistance of the admiral; and went himself with his chieftains, relatives, and friends, to console and cheer him. He appropriated three of his best dwellings to the reception of the Spaniards and their effects, in removing which from the wreck not the slightest attempt to pilfer was made, even amongst the lowest ranks. Columbus could not find words to express his grateful feelings. "So loving, so tractable, so peaceable are these people," he writes, "that I swear to your majesties, there is not in the world a better nation, nor a better land. They love their neighbours as themselves; and their discourse is ever sweet and gentle, and accompanied with a smile; and though it is true that they are naked, yet their manners are decorous and praiseworthy." The demeanour of the cacique, he described as betokening the inborn grace and dignity of lofty lineage, and his liberality as most princely. He placed a golden coronet on the head of the admiral, and encouraged his subjects in bringing gold and gold-dust, for barter, from the interior—this they did in such considerable quantities, as to reconcile Columbus to his disaster, and even to lead him to look upon it as a providential interposition in his favour, enabling him to penetrate the secret wealth of the country, instead of simply examining its coast-line. Yet his sanguine spirit was sadly deceived, for this shipwreck shackled and limited all his after discoveries, and linked his fortunes to an island, which for the remainder of his life proved a fruitful source of care, disappointment, and humiliation.

At the request of Columbus the cacique despatched a canoe in search of the *Pinta*, which was reported to have been seen at

anchor in a river at the eastern extremity of the island; but this and another expedition failed of discovering any trace of her. The admiral then determined upon establishing a small Spanish garrison with a portion of the sailors who, from the loss of his own ship and the desertion of Pinzon, he was unable to take back to Spain in the small caravel which alone remained to him. Many of his crew were anxious to be left behind, and the cacique and his people were delighted at the project, which they were informed was devised for their especial protection against the Caribs. They lent ready and efficient aid to the construction of a small fortress called La Navidad, the materials being afforded by the wreck, and joyfully assisted in mounting the guns, and forming a wide ditch around the strong wooden tower, little thinking how soon all these preparations would be used not in the endeavour to defend, but to enslave and murder them.

On the second of January (1493), after gratefully thanking Guacanagari and his people for their kindness, and emphatically warning the little Spanish settlement, consisting of thirty-nine persons, to be orderly among themselves, just and gentle towards the natives, and, above all, discreet in their behaviour towards the Indian women, Columbus set sail for Spain, and on the 6th, to his great relief, was joined by the *Pinta*, whose commander endeavoured to excuse his desertion by pleading stress of weather; whereas the admiral was privately informed that he had absented himself in hopes of being the first to discover and benefit by a golden region of which he had been told by one of the natives on board his caravel. Columbus, however, appeared to receive Pinzon's explanation as satisfactory, not venturing to risk an open breach with him on account of the powerful party of relatives and townsmen who had accompanied him in the armament; but finding, a few days after, that Pinzon had violently carried off four men and two girls from a river of Hayti, called Porto Caballo, he compelled their immediate restoration, well clothed, and with many presents, as amends for their forcible seizure.

In the middle of February, the little vessels encountered a fearful storm, and the *Pinta*, from the weakness of her foremast, being unable to hold the wind, was obliged to scud before it. Thus, once again the caravels parted company; and after encountering successively much peril on their

respective courses, both arrived safely on the same day, March the 15th, 1793, in the little port of Palos. Their reception was very different: Columbus was hailed with tumultuous applause, and peals of triumph were still ringing from the towers when the *Pinta* entered the river. Doubting whether the admiral had survived the tempest, Pinzon had written to the sovereigns requesting an audience, to acquaint them with the results of the expedition. The answer was a humiliating refusal, which so chafed the spirit of the proud Spaniard, already worn down with fatigue and anxiety, that he died a few days after. Doubtless he had erred, but he and his family had been the mainstay of the enterprise from first to last, and it was a melancholy ending to the career of one so skilful and daring.*

Columbus was received in Barcelona with great acclamation; his progress through the streets, bearing with him six Indians strangely painted and decorated with their national ornaments of gold; forty live parrots of various kinds; specimens of cotton, amber, rare plants and fruits, &c., resembled a Roman triumph. Ferdinand and Isabella awaited his arrival, seated on thrones under a rich canopy of cloth of gold, surrounded by the chief nobility of both kingdoms. Columbus, after expatiating on the probable wealth and magnitude of the lands he had discovered, presented the Indians to their majesties, with high encomiums on their goodness, gentleness, and intelligence, and concluded by declaring, that "God had reserved for the Spanish monarchs not only the treasures of the New World, but a still greater treasure, of inestimable value, in the infinite number of souls destined to be brought over into the bosom of the Christian Church."

His deep and solemn enthusiasm communicated itself to his hearers; the king and queen sank on their knees, in a transport of gratitude and delight; the whole assembly followed their example, and remained kneeling while the anthem *Te Deum Laudamus* was chanted by the choir of the royal chapel. The subsequent rapid and cruel destruction of the Indians by the Spaniards, and the neglect and ill-treatment of Columbus him-

* A sad fate, according to Oviedo, attended the sailor who first beheld land from on board the *Pinta*; for the promised pension being adjudged to Columbus, the disappointed expectant renounced his country and his faith, went to Africa, and turned Mussulman.

† Columbus himself expected to acquire such immense wealth, that he made a vow to furnish, within

self, in painful contrast to this opening; but it should be observed that amid all the bright hopes of national and individual wealth entertained by the Spaniards, they appear, one and all, to have contented their consciences, from the first, with the notion of converting the natives, without any idea of confirming their territorial rights, or raising their social position. On the 25th of September, 1493, the admiral quitted Cadiz roadstead, and proceeded again to the westward, in command of a fleet of seventeen vessels, laden with horses and other domestic animals, seeds, plants, &c. (including the sugar-cane), with a view to the establishment of a permanent colony. Thirteen priests accompanied the expedition, supplied by the queen with ornaments and vestments from her own chapel.

Desiring to fall in with the islands of the Caribs, of which he had heard such wonderful reports, Columbus steered considerably more to the southward than he had previously done. On Sunday, 3rd November, the fleet arrived at the extensive group, called the *Caribbee*, or *Windward Islands*,† which extend, in a semicircular direction, between the eastern extremity of Porto Rico, and the Gulf of Paria, forming a kind of barrier between the main ocean and the Caribbean Sea. The name of *Dominica* was given to the first island seen. *Mari-galante*, *Guadaloupe*, (where the pine-apple was discovered,) *Montserrat*, *Redonda*, *St. Martin*, *Antigua*, *Santa Cruz*, and the cluster of the *Virgin Islands*, were successively met with. At Santa Cruz, the Spaniards received a painful proof of Carib courage. On landing, they found a village deserted by the men, but inhabited by a few women and boys. There a most unequal contest took place. A canoe filled with Indians, among whom were two females, approached the shore, and was intercepted by the Spaniards, who succeeded in upsetting it: the crew swam off, shooting their arrows meanwhile, and assembling upon a rock, covered with water, both men and women defended themselves resolutely; one of the latter flung her dart with such force that it inflicted a mortal wound on her assailant. An Indian was slain, the rest of the party were taken

seven years, an army, consisting of 4,000 horse and 50,000 foot, for the rescue of the Holy Sepulchre, and an equal force within the five following years.

† In map of West India Islands, this chain is divided into *Leeward* and *Windward*, but the former term is more generally applied exclusively to the four large islands of Cuba, Jamaica, Hayti, and Porto Rico.

prisoners, placed in chains, and the chief personage among them, to whom the rest, even in their mutual bondage, paid great deference, was, with her son, sent to Spain, a very unjust and iniquitous proceeding. After this commencement it is no great wonder that the Spaniards, already prejudiced from the accounts they had previously heard, should have become inveterate against the whole of the Carib race. It is therefore necessary to make due allowance for the exaggerated and highly-coloured reports given of their cannibalism and ferocious barbarities. Their appearance must certainly have been calculated to inspire fear and aversion, from the unnatural contour of the head, flattened in infancy between two pieces of wood; the many-coloured feathers stuck in their long black hair; and the hideous painted scars which disfigured their faces. In some instances, a fragment of tortoise-shell or a fish bone was thrust through the cartilage of the nose (*septum narium*), and the arms and legs were decked with circlets made of the teeth of their enemies slain in battle. Columbus appears to have considered them as cannibals by habit, practising this unnatural crime as a sensual luxury; but Labat, who resided in the West Indies, at a period when some of the islands were still in the possession of the Caribs, declares his belief that it was never done except in an ebullition of rage and revenge; and confidently denies their ever making excursions to the larger islands for the purpose of seizing their inhabitants to gratify any such demoniac desire. Bryan Edwards, upon the authority of Rochefort and Du Tertre, describes them as being among themselves faithful, friendly, and affectionate; jealous beyond measure of their independence; and apt to consider all strangers as enemies: but their confidence once gained, equally staunch in friendship as implacable in hostility. To the inhabitants of the Leeward Islands they entertained an hereditary antipathy, for which there appeared no cause save the very insufficient one of difference of descent, attested by their respective languages, traditions, and customs.

On the 25th of November, the admiral revisited Hayti, where a terrible shock awaited him. The little fortress of La Navidad was in ruins, and the garrison had all perished, some having been slain in disputes with their own comrades, others in war with the subjects of Caonobo, a cacique who ruled in the interior of the island, in

consequence of the brutal manner in which they had acted towards their women, and their outrageous proceedings in seizing the golden ornaments and other property of the aborigines.

The friendly cacique, Guacanagari, had done his utmost to protect the Spaniards; and, in striving to defend them against an expedition headed by Caonobo, he had himself been wounded, and his village destroyed. Thus the precise results Columbus had anticipated when he warned his countrymen against indulging in their fierce and brutal passions had actually taken place. Happy would it have been for him and his present companions had they been convinced by this event of the sure punishment which sooner or later attends all injustice, whether committed avowedly for the gratification of some selfish end, or perpetrated in accordance with that bigoted and cruel spirit which so often, (especially in that age,) has dared to arrogate the holy name of religious enthusiasm; and which, while it afforded a convenient cloak for the designs of the crafty and worldly-minded Ferdinand, narrowed and clouded the gentle and benevolent views of the pious though priest-ridden Isabella, and sadly misled Columbus by persuading him to follow the doctrines of ambition and expediency under the guise of duty. Thus we find the admiral sending back by the return fleet several men, women, and children whom he had captured in the Caribbee Islands, and proposing to establish a trade in Carib slaves, with Spanish merchants, in exchange for live stock, a duty to be levied on each slave for the benefit of the royal revenue. This project he professes to justify as a means of saving souls, and an advantage to the more peaceable tribes, but Isabella entirely disapproved, though even she was subsequently induced to consent to scarcely less iniquitous measures, urged under the same pretext; in particular, the exaction of compulsory labour from the natives. Wanton cruelty certainly formed no part of the character of Columbus, but he nevertheless systematically violated aboriginal rights, in a manner for which the contumely, injustice, and neglect that suddenly obscured his fame, even in its meridian splendour, and surrounded his later years with gloom and bitter disappointment, formed no unfitting retribution. By disregarding the welfare of the Indians at the onset, he opened a door he could not shut, and he was compelled to be the unwilling

spectator of the most cruel excesses perpetrated on the gentle race, who had kindly welcomed and generously befriended him in his hour of need. He founded the city of Isabella, in the northern part of Hayti, with the motley population (about 1,200 in number) who had accompanied him from Spain in the fallacious hope of at once finding mines of gold, and making speedy and immense fortunes. Disappointed in their expectations, and totally unprepared for the toil and hardship inevitably the lot of early colonists, they vented their spleen in virulently reproaching Columbus, and cruelly illtreating the unoffending natives, who, wearied with their unceasing importunity for provisions and gold-dust, shrunk away in fear and dislike, seeing them in many respects following in the steps of their predecessors at La Navidad.

The admiral vainly strove to control the colonists; and the natives, at length driven to despair, and seeing fortifications and settlements springing up in various directions, resolved to resist their oppressors. All the caciques in the island confederated, except Guacanagari, who remained to the last the firm friend of Columbus,* and determined to make a desperate stand for their lives and liberties. Their peaceful habits had completely unfitted them for such a struggle, and the admiral and his brother Bartholomew, at the head of 200 infantry, twenty cavalry, and twenty large bloodhounds, completely routed a force said to consist of 100,000 natives,† who fled at the first fire, closely followed by the cavalry and dogs, and fearful havoc ensued. The prisoners taken were condemned to slavery; and 500 of them were sent by Columbus to Spain, with a suggestion that they should be sold at Seville.‡ Caonabo, the powerful mountain cacique, who had destroyed La Navidad, remained unsubdued. He had formerly been a celebrated Carib leader, whom the people of Hayti had propitiated,

by offering the sister of one of their caciques, the beautiful and richly endowed Anacoana, to him in marriage, if he would come and live among them as their friend. This he had done, and, in the present emergency, was the main stay of the people among whom he had become naturalized. He had looked from the first with a jealous eye on the intrusion of the white people, and was especially exasperated by the establishment of a fortress (St. Thomas) in the very centre of his dominions, which he unsuccessfully endeavoured to reduce. The commander, Alonzo de Ojeda, a bold and reckless cavalier, quite devoid of the inborn chivalry, which formed a conspicuous feature in the character of his foe, ungenerously played upon it as a means of ensnaring him. With ten companions he made his way to a populous town where the cacique then was, pretending to have come on an embassy from the admiral, who he said was desirous of entering into a friendly alliance with him. Caonabo willingly consented to accompany him to Isabella, but was attended by so large an escort that Ojeda dared not attempt his forcible seizure; and, therefore, had recourse to stratagem. Producing a set of manacles of burnished steel, which glistened like silver (a metal which, for its rarity and beauty, the natives prized far above gold), Ojeda informed Caonabo that they were regal ornaments worn on great occasions by Spanish monarchs. He invited him to put them on, and suffer himself to be placed on his (Ojeda's) steed. The unsuspecting cacique cheerfully complied, and was mounted behind the treacherous cavalier, who, putting spurs to his horse, galloped off with his victim, and delivered him into the hands of Columbus, by whom he was sent on board ship, that he might take his trial in Spain, his offence being that he had bravely defended his adopted country.§ When Columbus, with his tenderly loved brothers Diego and Bartholo-

* The fate of Guacanagari was a very sad one. Upbraided by his countrymen for deserting them, and disgusted by the ill-conduct of the beings whom he had thought little less than divinities, he retired into the woods and died, desolate and unhonoured. It is evident that strong personal attachment to the admiral alone dictated his adherence to his cause, for so great a dislike had he imbibed towards the Spaniards, that when Columbus, on his arrival in the island after the destruction of La Navidad, desired to suspend an image of the Virgin about his neck, the cacique long refused to receive any symbol of a faith whose professors were so cruel and licentious.

† Southey's *History of the West Indies*, vol. i., p. 39.

‡ The sale of unransomed captives, of all ranks and ages, had been largely practised by Ferdinand in his wars with the Moors of Granada; and after the reduction of Malaga, no less than 11,000 persons are stated to have been suddenly thrown into a state of slavery.

§ The vessel in which he was embarked foundered on her homeward passage, and all on board perished. His unhappy widow, who, upon the death of her brother, succeeded him in authority, and was greatly beloved by her subjects, eventually fell a victim to Spanish cruelty, being treacherously captured, and then publicly hanged, by order of Ovando in 1505.

mew, some six years after, was, upon various pretexts—among which may be named cruelty to the natives, urged by the very men whose outrages he had striven to repress—sent across the Atlantic in chains rivetted upon him by the hands of one of his own menial servants; he must have had leisure to think remorsefully on the injuries he had helped to inflict on the caciques and their unhappy people.

The Indians, after the capture of their favourite leader, courageously but vainly endeavoured to revenge his loss, and retain their liberty. They were rapidly subjugated; where, as in the case of Caonobo, force failed, treachery was called to its aid.

The subsequent well-known history of Columbus cannot here be detailed; his proceedings, so far as they were connected with the British West Indies, will be noticed in the description of the respective islands; now little more need be stated than that exploratory expeditions were dispatched in different directions, Columbus still fancying himself in the Chinese seas, and believing Cuba,* after coasting along it for a considerable distance, to be a portion of the Asiatic continent, in which mistake he remained to the day of his death.

On the 2nd of May, 1494, Jamaica was discovered; Trinidad on the 31st of July, 1498; and on the 1st of August in the same year, the admiral made the main-land of America, and named it *Tierra de Gracia*, and on the 12th of August the island of *Grenada* was seen. Thus the Spaniards

* While exploring the coast of Cuba, Columbus (July 7th, 1494) went on shore, erected a cross, and celebrated mass, as was his custom in newly visited localities. While thus employed, a cacique and some Indians approached, who, at the termination of the ceremony presented the admiral with a calabash filled with fine fruit, and one of them, a venerable old man, made an oration after the manner of his country. "This which thou hast been doing," said he, "is well, for it appears to be thy manner of giving thanks to God. I am told that thou hast lately come to these lands with a mighty force, and subdued many countries, spreading great fear among the people; but be not therefore vain-glorious; know that, according to our belief, the souls of men have two journeys to perform, after they have departed from the body—one to a place dismal and foul, and covered with darkness, prepared for those who have been unjust and cruel to their fellow-men; the other pleasant and full of delight, for such as have promoted peace on earth. If then thou art mortal, and dost expect to die, and dost believe that each one shall be rewarded according to his deeds, beware that thou wrongfully hurt no man; nor do harm to those who have done no harm to thee." This speech was translated to the Admiral by his Lucayan interpreter, Diego Colon—(Washington Irving, vol. i., p.

gradually extended their investigations over the whole of these seas, and gave the different islands and groups the several designations they now generally bear; founded colonies at Cuba, Jamaica, Trinidad, &c.; and, proceeding from the islands to the main-land, conquered and settled Mexico, Peru, and other places. The newly-discovered territories were all densely peopled; the islands alone must have contained several million inhabitants, who, in the first instance, as previously stated, had everywhere received the Spaniards with hospitality and friendship. They were, however, speedily converted into enemies; and their destruction was swift and terrible. The evidence on this point is irrefutable. According to Las Casas,† the Leeward Islands possessed a population of no less than six millions, "abounding with inhabitants," as an ant-hill with ants." Benoni states, that there were two million natives in the island of Hayti alone; Oviedo reckons them at one million; and Peter Martyr, at one million two hundred thousand. Taking the lowest computation, the slaughter must have been terrific which, in fifteen years, reduced the number to sixty thousand;‡ in forty-three years to five hundred, and soon ended in their complete extermination. In this butchery Columbus led the way, not so much in actually aggressive warfare, as in wrongfully enforcing compulsory labour by claiming from them tribute, which he, coming in the peaceful guise of a discoverer, not a conqueror, could have no shadow of right to 231.) The same speech, differing only in a few unimportant particulars, is recorded by Herrera, Don Ferdinand Columbus, Peter Martyr, Cura de los Palacios, Bryan Edwards, and others.

† This good man, so distinguished in the annals of the New World, accompanied Columbus during his first voyage, and was so favourably impressed by the gentleness of the Indians, that he became an ecclesiastic in order to devote his life to their conversion. The cruelties exercised upon them by his countrymen, excited his lively indignation, and he was continually hurrying from one hemisphere to the other in his endeavours to procure redress for the wrongs, or to solace the sufferings of the unhappy natives. The hope of checking the licentiousness and cruelties of the Spaniards, induced Las Casas to accept the bishopric of Chiapa, in Mexico; but finding his new dignity ineffectual to enable him to accomplish the good he had anticipated, he resigned the Episcopate, and endeavoured to enlist the sympathies of humane and unprejudiced minds in favour of the Indians, of whom he declared, in his treatise on the tyranny of the Spaniards in America, *fifteen million had been wantonly destroyed*.—Raynal, vol. ii. p. 295.

‡ In consequence of the rapid decrease of the Haytians, 40,000 Lucayans were forced or decoyed into filling their place and sharing their fate.—(Robertson.)

demand; and by compelling them to work in the gold mines, a species of employment for which their former easy mode of life, and delicate though healthy frames, nourished almost exclusively upon vegetable diet, completely unfitted them.

Beyond all question, Columbus was deliberately instrumental in the establishment of slavery in the West Indies; and that, too, in opposition to his royal patroness, who ever recommended him most earnestly to watch over the welfare of the Indians, and who, when she heard of his distributing them as slaves, exclaimed indignantly—"what right has the admiral to give away my vassals?" and ordered all who had been brought from Hayti, to be restored to their homes, including both prisoners-of-war and others who had been transported to Spain by private individuals. At this juncture, a letter of Columbus was on its way, advising the continuance of the system of slavery instituted by him as a measure of policy, necessary to the welfare of the colony.*

Las Casas, Montesinos, Ximenes, Boyle, and the whole of the Dominican missionaries who were contemporaries with Columbus, remonstrated against the enslaving of the natives in any degree, and especially against the system of repartimientos or distributions, by which the natives were divided among the Spaniards, "and even," says Robertson, "refused to absolve or admit to the sacrament such of their countrymen as continued to hold the natives in servitude."

The taxes imposed by Columbus immediately after the defeat of Caonabo and the other caciques, on the people, were most

* The pertinacity of the admiral, in continuing to make slaves of all captives taken in war, and the assertion of some of the malcontent colonists, that he entered into hostilities with that view, was the main reason which induced Isabella to consent to a commission being sent out to investigate his conduct, and if necessary, to supersede him in the command.

† The settlements soon lost their *prestige*. The sufferings of the early adventurers, from the disappointment of their hopes, and from virulent diseases, for the most part caused by their own excesses, had given a very unfavourable character to the islands; so much so, that in 1497 Ferdinand and Isabella issued a proclamation stating, that as all the persons whom they had ordered to embark for the Indies were not sufficient to form a colony "such as it behoves for the service of God and our service," it was expedient that others should go and live there at their own expense; they therefore decreed "that all and every person, men and women, who may have committed *any murders and offences whatsoever*" (except heresy and certain other crimes) should at pleasure have their punishments commuted to tem-

severe. Thus, in the vicinity of the gold districts, each individual above fourteen years of age was expected to pay every three months the measure of a Flemish hawk's-bell of gold-dust, equal in value to about five dollars of that epoch, or to fifteen dollars of the present time. The caciques were compelled to furnish a much larger amount; and each individual, on rendering his tribute, received a copper medal, which he was obliged to wear as a certificate of payment; those who were found without these tokens being liable to arrest and punishment. Guarionex, one of the five leading caciques, who severally governed the island at the period of its discovery, complained of this unreasonable and grievous system of taxation. His richly fertile plain yielded no gold; and though the mountains on his borders contained mines, and the torrents washed down the glittering dust into the river beds, yet his subjects were "unskilled and unfit for the laborious work of collecting it; he therefore proffered, instead of the tribute required, to cultivate with grain a band of country stretching across the island, from sea to sea, "enough," says Las Casas, "to have furnished all Castile with bread for ten years." This offer, which, if accepted, might have tended to the rapid development of the agricultural resources of the country simultaneously with its mineral wealth, was rejected; nothing could be accepted in the stead of gold. To aggravate the misery of the natives, the most depraved criminals were sent among them as free colonists; and these newly-released convicts from the dungeons of Castile,† on arriving in Hayti, assumed the airs of grand porary banishment to Hispaniola (Hayti); thus, it condemned to death they were to maintain themselves there for two years instead, or for one if they had incurred any minor punishment, even though it amounted to the loss of a limb. They were, moreover, promised a free pardon for every crime committed up to the day of the publication of the proclamation. Magistrates were at the same time desired to make banishment to Hispaniola the most frequent penalty for crime. To these miscreants "lands, mountains, and waters" were to be granted in perpetuity.—(Southey, vol. i., p. 47.) This pernicious measure was suggested by Columbus himself, who lived long enough to witness its effects. In a letter written to the king after his return to Spain, he says, "I am informed that since I left this island [Hayti], six parts out of seven of the natives are dead, all through ill-treatment and inhumanity; some by the sword, others by blows and cruel usage, others through hunger. The greater part have perished in the mountains and glens, whither they had fled from not being able to support the labour imposed upon them."—(Irving, vol. ii., p. 245.)

14 EXTERMINATION OF NATIVE WEST INDIANS BY SPANIARDS.

cavaliers; men who had come out as miners, labourers, and scullions, would not go a furlong from their houses except they were borne on palanquins; each kept several concubines, seizing for this purpose the daughters and sisters of caciques, and had two or three slaves to serve them.

Columbus, in his dispatches, complained bitterly of the conduct of the colonists, declaring that "they robbed the Indians; abused the women in the most shocking manner; and lest their hands should get out of practice, used, for pastime, to try who could most dexterously strike off the head of an Indian, so that it should fly clean from the body to the ground;" yet he follows up his exposition of the cruelties practised by his countrymen, with a declaration that "one evil only must be borne for some years; that the Spaniards should be permitted to use the Indians, made prisoners of war, as slaves:" (*Southey*, vol. i., p. 59,) overlooking the fact, that the solitary evil he deemed it inexpedient to abolish was alone sufficient to account for and originate every other.

The oppressions of the natives greatly increased during the brief sway of Bovadilla, who, trusting to obtain the favour of the sovereigns, by amassing, no matter at what cost of blood and suffering, a large amount of gold, divided the aboriginal population into classes, and then distributed them among the colonists, suffering these latter to inflict upon their wretched victims blows and lashes, and even death itself, according to their own wicked wills. Isabella, on hearing of these proceedings, indignantly ordered the recal of Bovadilla,* and the release of the natives, who immediately left the Spaniards, and deeply disgusted with their previous conduct, could not be induced to labour for hire, or to receive from them religious instruction. This latter fact weighed deeply with Isabella, who unhappily gave her consent to the renewal of the compulsory system, to the end that they might be brought within the pale of the Romish church, but specially urged that they should all be well paid and gently treated, particularly those who should become Christians. Ovando, the new governor, availed himself of this permission, and distributed the na-

* On the 1st of July, 1502, he set sail with a fleet of thirty-two sail, for Europe, richly laden with ill-gotten gold, twenty sail of which, with all on board, including Bovadilla, the unfortunate cacique Guariónex, and others, perished in a storm within twenty-four hours of their departure from Hayti.

tives among his favourites, giving fifty to some, and one hundred to others. This was done by virtue of a writing called a *repartimiento*, which ran thus—"To you —, we entrust so many Indians under such a cacique, and you are to have them instructed in our holy Catholic faith." At first they were to work in the mines for six months. Afterwards the term was increased to eight; and as they died off rapidly, Ovando supplied his favourites with more to keep up their complement, instead of giving repartimientos to others. This plan he pursued all the time he remained governor of the island, and it afterwards became general throughout the West Indies and South America. Both natives and colonists suffered severely from famine, in consequence of the neglect of cultivation, and from various new diseases, one in particular arising from the promiscuous intercourse of the Spaniards with the Indian women, became fearfully contagious, and spread havoc and alarm among the colonists; their joints swelled, their blood became as it were poisoned, their noses, hands, fingers, and toes, putrified and dropped off, their bones rotted, many died raving mad; others returned to Europe, hoping their native air would cure them; there they spread this horrible and heretofore unknown malady, which, on its first manifestation amongst the Spanish and French armies, inflicted wide-spread destruction, and spread an almost universal panic, as recorded in the works of early medical writers on this loathsome subject. To return to the Indians:—the death of Queen Isabella, in 1506, removed the only check which had partially restrained the ferocious cruelty of her subjects, who now gave loose to the most demoniacal excesses: bets were made during their drunken revels, who could soonest cleave the skull of an Indian, and divide him at a single blow; their dogs were fed with the flesh of their victims, and it was not unusual to borrow a quarter or a limb of a human being, from a neighbour, for the use of the blood-hounds, promising a similar return on the ensuing day. In the search for gold, towns and villages were laid waste, and burned; the slightest resistance was avenged by indiscriminate slaughter—the caciques were murdered in cold blood—the women who tempted the lust of the invaders were reserved for their sensuality; tortures of the most barbarous nature were resorted to for the purpose of forcing a discovery of that gold for which the Spaniards

thirsted with such insatiate desire—those whose lives were spared were kept as slaves, and sent to work in the mines, where they perished rapidly: while such as escaped to the mountain fastnesses and forests in the several islands, perished of hunger; and many destroyed themselves to avoid the cruel torments to which they would have been subjected by their persecutors. The eloquent Las Casas, and other eye-witnesses, have related deeds of horror enacted by these fiends in human form, which almost exceed belief, and are frequently of a character too fearful and disgusting to be dwelt upon. It was with a view of saving the remnant of the miserable Indians, that the importation of Africans was proposed by Las Casas, his overwhelming sympathy for the suffering he witnessed leading him to overlook the cruel injustice of serving one people at the expense of another. Eventually negroes were introduced, but it was not to save, but to supply the place of the unfortunate race who had been swept from off the face of the earth. Thus crime begets crime; and man, left a prey to the guilty passions of his unregenerate nature, goes on in his awful career until the cup of iniquity is full.

For many years the other nations of Europe did not interfere with the Spanish monopoly of the West Indies. The first English vessels seen there were two ships of war under Sebastian Cabot and Sir Thomas Pert in 1516. The earliest trader visited the islands two years later; she was fired on by the colonists at St. Domingo, and the Governor was blamed for not sinking her, and thus preventing any additional information being conveyed to England. In 1536, the French began to molest the Spaniards in their new acquisitions; as did the English soon after under Hawkins, Drake, Duddeley, Raleigh, Baskervil, Saville, the earl of Cumberland, Sherley, and others. At the commencement of the 17th century, the English, French, and Dutch, began to form settlements on the islands and parts of the main-land not pre-occupied by Europeans. Disputes soon arose as to the rights of first location; but in some instances the subjects of two nations (as, for instance, English and French at Montserrat) partitioned an island between them. The Spaniards, however, long endeavoured to maintain exclusive possession of the West Indian seas, and even of those islands which they were unable to colonize. Hostilities were carried on against the ships

of all nations, attempting to navigate any part of the newly discovered hemisphere, and the most barbarous cruelties were practised on all persons found there; even shipwrecked mariners, when their lives were spared, were doomed to the terrible slavery of the mines. This led to depredations on their colonies, and attacks on their annual "plate-fleet," by Buccaneers, Flibustiers, Corsairs, and other adventurers, and to a desultory warfare on the part of the English, French, and Dutch, against the Spaniards, even when their governments at London, Paris, the Hague, and Madrid, were at peace. Despite these proceedings, and notwithstanding the absence of any protection from the crown, many Englishmen located themselves on different islands, colonized Barbadoes, and commenced a traffic with the Spanish Main, as the coast of southern America was then called.

The Spaniards did not quietly submit to these encroachments on their assumed exclusive jurisdiction. In 1629 they seized 600 English settlers at St. Christopher's, and condemned them to subterranean bondage in their mines. In the following year (15th of November, 1630) a treaty was signed at Madrid, between Charles I. of England, and Philippe IV. of Spain, which was a renewal of that entered into in 1604, between Queen Elizabeth and Philip II., but no notice was taken of the possessions which the English had, in the interval, acquired in the West Indies; the Spaniards consequently deemed themselves at liberty to pursue their determination of exterminating all interlopers; they attacked the English settlers at Tortuga in 1638, at New Providence in 1641, and at Santa Cruz in 1650, massacred indiscriminately men, women, and children, plundered the settlements, burned the habitations, and then left the islands. These and other atrocious proceedings, which Charles I. was unable to prevent or punish, checked the early attempts made by British to settle peaceably in the west. When, however, Oliver Cromwell had decided on keeping peace with France, he resolved on punishing the flagrant perfidy of Spain, diminishing its exorbitant pretensions, and increasing the resources and influence of his own country, by gaining possession of the West Indian colonies, which then poured such wealth into the coffers of the Spanish monarch.

With these views, and probably also with a desire to get rid of General Venables, who

was plotting the restoration of monarchy, the Protector determined to seize Hispaniola. He therefore despatched an armament thither, composed chiefly of the inmates of the various goals, then crowded with petty delinquents and partisans of royalty. The fleet and troops, under the joint command of Admiral William Penn and General Robert Venables, sailed from Portsmouth early in 1655; rendezvoused at Barbadoes, where they were joined by numerous volunteers, and on the 13th of April, 7,000 infantry and a troop of horse were landed, with three days' provision, ten leagues to the westward of the city of St. Domingo. On the 15th, three regiments disembarked two leagues to the westward of the city. Both detachments met with unforeseen difficulties; were attacked vigorously by the Spaniards and negroes, and completely routed, owing to their cowardice and want of discipline.

Of 9,700 men landed, only 8,000 re-embarked on the 3rd of May;—when Venables directed the 7th of May to be kept as a day of humiliation, and issued an order, that in any future contests, whoever should be found to turn his back to the enemy, and attempt to flee, should immediately be run through the body by the officer in the next rearward division; who, if he failed to perform this duty, was himself to suffer death without mercy. The fleet proceeded to Jamaica, and captured that island, as will be stated in the ensuing chapter.

The demand in Europe for sugar, coffee, and other tropical products, and the suitability of the soil and climate of the West Indies for their growth, together with the proximity of these islands, rendered them important as affording means for the rapid acquisition of wealth. The slave trade on the African coast, supplied, as has been previously stated, the wretched victims, by whose blood and sweat, sugar and coffee were raised; and to the millions of Indians who had perished in the search for gold—was now added millions of Africans, torn from their homes, and condemned under the torture of the whip and the goad, to cultivate the land for their European taskmasters, and to enrich the coffers of England, France, Spain, Holland, and other states, who all vied with each other in their haste to grow rich, at the expense of suffering humanity.

Life—so far as the negro was concerned—was a mere question of money; it was long

a moot point of political economy among the planters, whether it was most profitable to work a gang of slaves to death rapidly, and replace them by fresh importations, or by less severe labour, to extend the duration of existence over a longer period. Many, in the very recklessness of brutality, adopted the latter opinion; they separated husband and wife, permitting no intercourse between them, and this, together with the inequality of numbers between the sexes, and the licentiousness, as well as cruelty of the colonists, occasioned such an enormous waste of life, as to require in the middle of the eighteenth century, an annual supply of about ninety to one hundred thousand Africans.

The amount of sin and suffering, national and individual, perpetrated and inflicted in the West Indies, is appalling. England rushed madly onwards in a career of crime and oppression; she put forth all her strength to become the mistress of these blood-stained islands. When war arose in Europe, it was carried on in the New World with a bitterness and fury outvying that manifested in the Old; and hostile fleets for years incarnadined the tranquil western seas with the blood of thousands, in the attempt to retain or acquire possession of these sugar fields for their respective countries. In a mere pecuniary view, the expenditure of men and treasure must have been enormous. The wealth which England squandered in this contest* largely contributed to swell the National Debt. A so-called "West India Interest" was gradually formed, which became a source of great evil, not only by blinding the nation to the wrongs which were being committed, morally and socially, but also by establishing a monopoly in the supply of tropical produce, and usurping to itself exclusively the title of *Colonial Interest*, and thus throwing into the shade all our other transmarine dominions, preventing the occupation of valuable islands like Java, and causing the immense territories of the British crown in the East Indies to be underrated and neglected. The purchase of parliamentary nomination boroughs by the wealthy owners of sugar plantations; the acquisition of similar estates by members of the peerage; the common cause made by, and complete organization of, the whole body of

* It terminated in 1810, by her conquest of nearly every European possession in the West Indies, though some of the most valuable were afterwards restored to their previous owners.

THE WEST INDIA ISLANDS—AREA, OCCUPATION, AND POSSESSION. 17

planters and proprietors, gave a political power to the West Indian interest, which made its co-operation effective in the perpetration of any job, enabled it to resist for twenty years the efforts of Pitt, Fox, Wilberforce, Grenville, Wellesley, and others, for the suppression of the slave-carrying trade; and from 1807 until 1834, prevented the abolition of slavery in the West Indies.

Truly is it remarked by the pains-taking and faithful recorder of West India annals, from the period of their discovery in 1492 to 1816, that their "history presents little more than a melancholy series of calamities and crimes. The islands have been laid waste by hurricanes and visited by pestilence; but the sufferings which have arisen from natural causes, are few and trifling in comparison with those which moral and political circumstances have produced."*

The annihilation of the Indians, the introduction of slavery, the ferocious proceedings of the Buccaneers, the sanguinary inter-colonial wars, the ravages caused by yellow-fever, and the destruction which earthquakes and hurricanes have produced, find, happily, no parallel in the annals of mankind. To

some of these painful subjects it will be necessary to advert in the history of the several possessions of Great Britain; but the chief objects of the writer are, rather, to afford an exposition of their present state, to set forth the intrinsic value of their yet very partially developed resources, and to investigate both the antecedents and the results of the still recent measure of emancipation on the condition, character, and prospects of the coloured and white population.

The following table shows the name, area, date of occupation by European powers, &c., of the chief islands or groups of islets included under the general term of the West Indies. To those named therein as belonging to England, may be added some territory on the South American Main, called British Guiana, which comprises Demerara and Berbice; and the settlement of Honduras in Central America. The Bermudas in the Atlantic cannot with propriety be designated West Indian islands, but they are commonly viewed as such, and were, until 1834, officially included among the western slave colonies; their description will, therefore, be comprised in the present Division.

Name of Island.	Area in square miles.	When first occupied.	By what People.	To whom belonging.
Jamaica and the Caymanas	6,400	1509	Spaniards	Great Britain.
The Bahamas	5,500	1672	English	Do.
Virgin Islands (Tortola, &c.)	250	1648	Dutch Buccaneers	Do.
Trinidad	1,700	1535	Spaniards	Do.
Tobago	104	1632	Dutch	Do.
Grenada and the Grenadines	109	1650	French	Do.
St. Vincent's	131	1719	Do.	Do.
Barbadoes	166	1624	English	Do.
St. Lucia	225	1639	Do.	Do.
Dominica	290	1610	French	Do.
Antigua	93	1632	English	Do.
Montserrat	78	1632	Do.	Do.
Barbuda	90	—	Do.	Do.
Nevis and Redonda	20	—	Do.	Do.
St. Kitt's, or Christopher's	70	1623	Do.	Do.
Anguilla	30	1640	Do.	Do.
Cuba and I. de Pinos	54,000	1511	Spaniards	Spain.
Porto Rico	4,140	1509	Do.	Do.
Martinique	370	1635	French	France.
Guadeloupe	675	1635	Do.	Do.
Deseada	25	—	—	Do.
Mariegalante	90	—	—	Do.
St. Thomas	40	1671	Danes	Denmark.
Crab Island	—	1717	Do.	Do.
St. John's	40	—	Do.	Do.
Santa Cruz	100	1643	Dutch	Do.
St. Martin	90	—	—	Netherlands.
St. Eustatia	22	—	—	Do.
Saba	10	—	—	Do.
Curacao	600	—	—	Do.
St. Bartholomew	60	1635	French	Sweden.
Margarita, Tortuga, &c.	354	—	—	Carraccas.
St. Domingo—Hayti	30,000	1493	Spaniards	Independent.

* *Chronological History of the West Indies*, in three vols., by Captain Thomas Southey, R.N., vol. iii., p. 616.
DIV. VIII. D

CHAPTER II.—JAMAICA.

POSITION, AREA, SPANISH OCCUPATION, BRITISH CONQUEST, HISTORY OF THE ISLAND, EFFECTS OF SLAVERY, EMANCIPATION, MISSIONARY LABOURS, AND THEIR RESULTS.

JAMAICA, called *Xaymaca* by the aborigines, in consequence, it is supposed, of the abundance of wood and water found there, is situated in the Caribbean Sea, to the southward of the eastern extremity of the island of Cuba, between the parallels of $17^{\circ} 40'$ and $18^{\circ} 33'$ N. lat., and the meridians of $76^{\circ} 12'$ and $78^{\circ} 23'$ W. longitude, 4,000 miles to the south-west of England, and 600 miles to the northward of Chagres on the isthmus of Panama. The island extends in an east to west direction about 143 miles, the breadth diminishes at either end, and in the centre measures 40 to 45 miles. The area is estimated at about four million acres.

HISTORY.—The blue mountain-tops of Jamaica were first seen by Columbus on the morning of the 3rd of May, 1494, during his second voyage. A large party of Indians offered some resistance to his attempt at landing on the northern shore, near the headland named by him Santa Maria; he therefore proceeded somewhat further, and anchored in a harbour about the centre of the island, to which, from the great beauty of the surrounding country, he gave the name of Santa Gloria. Attempting, on the following day, to enter a more sheltered haven, where his ship could be careened and caulked, as it leaked considerably, he was again opposed by the natives, among whom he forcibly landed, slew several, put the rest to flight, and let loose a powerful dog* trained to attack human beings, which pursued them with sanguinary fury, and from their previous want of acquaintance with savage beasts of any kind, terrified them beyond measure. Columbus proceeded to take formal possession of the island, where he remained for ten days, but having learned from the natives, whom he had conciliated by presents, that no deposits of gold were known to exist, he returned to Cuba, and for eight years after Jamaica remained unvisited by Europeans. At the expiration of that time the Admiral, during his fourth and last voyage

in search of a western passage to India, sought refuge for himself and his companions, when in imminent danger of foundering at sea, by beaching his two shattered caravels,† in a small haven of Porto Santa Gloria, which still retains the name of *Don Christopher's Cove*. Here the worm-eaten vessels were securely shored up, close along-side one another, and covered over from stem to stern, the water being almost up to the deck. The Indians evinced the most generous forgetfulness of the injuries they had formerly received from Columbus, who obtained from them ten canoes, two of the larger of which, called *piraguas*, he despatched under the charge of Mendez and Fiesco, accompanied by twelve Spaniards and twenty Indians, to inform Ovando, the governor of Hayti, of his situation. The undertaking was extremely arduous, the distance being forty leagues, and the sea turbulent, but it was successfully accomplished. Ovando, on the plea of having no ships of sufficient burden at hand, to enable the admiral and his crews to leave Jamaica, allowed them to remain eight months longer in their painful and wearisome position, neglecting even to furnish them with supplies of food, and leaving them dependent on the natives, who, from their desultory mode of labour, were ill able to meet the large and long-continued demand for provisions which had so suddenly arisen.

The difficulties of Columbus were enhanced by extreme personal suffering from gout, and by the mutinous conduct of some of his own people, whose proceedings excited the anger and distrust of the natives, and even led them to refuse holding further communication with the party on the wrecks. The prospect was really alarming, for the sickness of many of the sailors, and the idleness and discontent of nearly all, had prevented their making any attempt to raise food for themselves. In this emergency, the admiral took advantage of an approaching eclipse of the moon to terrify the Indians into compliance, persuading them that it was a special interference of Providence in his favour, and a token of the sure destruction which would overwhelm them, if they failed to supply him abundantly with provisions. This they promised, and were then told that intercession had been made for them, and that the threat-

* These fierce creatures would spring upon a man and tear out his bowels: all the early documents prove that they were extensively and systematically used by the Spaniards in their cruel warfare against the aborigines. A large dog, named Bezerillo, did more execution than any soldier, and was allowed in consequence the pay of a cross-bow man, and a share and a half of prize-money. Southey, who records the circumstance, does not attempt to explain in what shape Bezerillo received his revenues, but adds with all gravity that "he was killed in battle by an arrow." (vol. i., p. 113.)

† He had previously lost two of the four vessels attached to his expedition, partly through damages sustained in the hurricane in which Bovadilla perished (see note to p. 14). Remarkable indications of the

coming gale, he had entreated Ovando to permit his ships to enter the harbour of St. Domingo, and to detain the fleet then about sailing for Spain. Both these requests were scornfully refused. By keeping close in shore he weathered the storm, his vessel being the only one uninjured of the whole fleet; and the consummate seamanship of his brother Bartholomew (the adelantado, or lieutenant-governor), enabled him to keep afloat a vessel which had been before considered scarcely seaworthy. Among the treasure lost on this occasion, was the famous mass of virgin gold, said to weigh 3,600 castellanos, which had been discovered by an Indian girl in a brook, to the great delight of the miners, who, to express their joy, roasted a pig whole, and carved it upon the gold, boasting that no monarch ever ate off so costly a plate.

ened danger was averted. It is remarkable that Columbus, while thus profanely wresting the great laws of creation, and misinterpreting them wilfully for his private ends, was actually believed by many of the sailors to be deeply versed in necromancy;* nor was his own mind free from a similar superstition, for in a letter written from Jamaica, he assures the sovereigns that the people of Cariari (Central America) were great enchanters, using magic powders and other charms; and he adds that his seamen attributed all the delays and hardships experienced on that coast to the influence of witchcraft.

After remaining above a year, cooped up on the stranded vessels, Columbus was relieved through the indefatigable exertions of Diego Mendez, who, despairing of obtaining assistance, had hired and victualled a ship at the expense of his commander, and was about despatching it alone, when Ovando, whose conduct had been severely commented on by the San Domingo colonists, thought to avoid the reproach of having utterly neglected his duty, by sending a caravel at the same time.

On the 28th of June, 1504, Columbus quitted Jamaica, and proceeded to Hayti, whose state then afforded an appalling contrast to its condition at the time of its discovery only ten short years before. The five great caciques—the sovereign princes of the island—had all fallen victims to Spanish cruelty, and their tribes, which had peopled the mountains and valleys, and rendered by their towns and tracts of cultivation, the rich levels of the interior so many “painted gardens,” had been nearly swept away, the remnant being condemned to life-long and most oppressive bondage.

After unsuccessfully pleading that the natives might be less cruelly treated under the unjust system of slavery which he had himself instituted—at least as regarded the so-called prisoners of war—Columbus, in deep sorrow and disgust at the ruthless brutalities he witnessed, sailed for Spain, and after a tempestuous voyage, arrived there, thus terminating his last and most disastrous expedition. But his personal trials were far from being ended; it yet remained that he should descend in sorrow to the grave. When he reached Seville, suffering intensely from bodily infirmities, his noble-minded patroness lay upon her death-bed, sinking under the effects of a deep and incurable melancholy which had undermined her constitution, and given fatal acuteness to her bodily ailments. The death of her only son, her grandson, and a beloved daughter, together with other severe domestic trials, had outweighed the triumphs of a brilliant reign, and her last moments were embittered by a knowledge of the cruelties inflicted on the Indians, and especially of the fate of the beautiful and gifted Anacoana, the widow of Caonabo (p. 11). With her dying breath she exacted a promise from Ferdinand, that Ovando should be immediately recalled; but this was not done until four years after; the avarice of the king being meanwhile gratified by the revenues so mercilessly extorted.

Columbus urgently solicited the discharge of the arrears due to his seamen; for himself he sought less for pecuniary indemnification than for the restoration of the offices and dignities for which he had ex-

pressly stipulated in the first instance. Ferdinand met his demands by the most unworthy evasions, and his old and faithful servant expired on the 20th of May, 1506, his body, worn out by sickness and hardship, and his mind cankered by ingratitude and neglect. After his death, his son, Diego, claimed as his lawful and acknowledged heir, the long-withheld concessions, and wearied with vainly importuning his sovereign, instituted a memorable process against him before the Grand Council of the Indies, at Seville; and this court, with laudable integrity, adjudged his claims to be well founded, and declared him hereditary viceroy and admiral of all the territories discovered by his father. Ferdinand, however, could only be brought to confirm to him the title and authority of viceroy and governor, and admiral of Hayti. Diego, whose interest had been strengthened by his marriage with Maria de Toledo, proceeded to Hayti, attended by a brilliant retinue—he bearing the much desired titles, and his wife, who accompanied him, being styled the vicereine. To his mortification, he soon learned that the king had invested in two other persons, Alonzo de Ojeda† and Diego Nicuessa, not only separate and distinct governments, which comprehended all the adjacent continent as far as it had been discovered by Columbus, but had also included the island of Jamaica, as a joint appendage, to be used as each pleased, either as a garden for the production of food, or a reserve whence to procure slaves to work in the mines.

The newly appointed governors quarrelled respecting the partition of Jamaica, upon which, Don Diego stepped in, asserted his prior claim, and in November, 1509, sent thither, as his representative, a Castilian, named Juan de Esquimel, with about seventy men, to found a colony on the shores of the haven, where Columbus had been detained so long. Shipwreck and various calamities overwhelmed both Ojeda and Nicuessa; neither were able to offer any resistance to Esquimel, who landed at Porto Santa Gloria (now St. Ann's Harbour), and founded on its shores the town of Sevilla Nueva, afterwards called Sevilla d'Oro, from the circumstance of some gold ornaments having been obtained from the Indians. Herrera, in describing the early colonization of Jamaica, says, “the affairs of the island went on prosperously; because Juan de Esquimel having brought the natives to submission, *without any effusion of blood*, they laboured in planting cotton and raising other commodities, which yielded great profit.” Long, however, in his *History of Jamaica*, gives a different account of its first occupation; declaring that “the lieutenant-governor, soon after landing on the island, began to parcel out and distribute the country and inhabitants among his followers; which the Indians disliking [as well they might], betook themselves to the mountains, and stood on their defence; but Esquimel, after several engagements, in which the dogs he had brought with him were almost as destructive as his musketry, found means at length to cut off the chiefs or leaders of the malcontents; the rest submitted; and after being divided according to his original plan, they were employed in planting cotton and provisions.” This writer adds, “that Esquimel, perceiving the Indians more tractable than he had

* *History of Columbus*, by his son, p. 287.

† This Ojeda was the capturer of the unfortunate Guaronex (see p. 11); he was eventually reduced to extreme poverty, and, according to Harris, actually died of want. Nicuessa also perished miserably,

being forced by the turbulent Darien colonists to put to sea in an old rotten bark, with about seventeen of his men, who, it is supposed, were all drowned.—(Kerr's *Collection*, part ii., book ii., chapter iv., pp. 297–403.)

expected, soon won them over to subjection by the moderation of his government, without further effusion of blood." (Appendix, vol. iii., p. 959.)

Unhappily, the administration of this comparatively gentle ruler was, before the lapse of many years, terminated by his death. His successors appear to have been either unable or unwilling to prevent the same horrible carnage from spreading here which was rapidly desolating Hayti. In both cases, the tractable character of the people left their exterminators equally without excuse. Had their disposition been belligerent, inhospitable, or vindictive, they would have had little difficulty in sinking the miserable barks in which Columbus made his second visit, or in coping with his jaded, diseased, and almost starving crew; nor did he fail to acknowledge the mercy of Providence in conducting him, under such trying circumstances, to a place where provisions were abundant, and the inhabitants so well disposed. All who have written respecting them have reiterated the same favourable opinion, describing them as "a tractable, docile people, equal to any employment; modest in their manners; of a quick and ready genius in matters of traffic, in which they greatly excelled the neighbouring islanders; more devoted, also, to mechanic arts; more industrious; and surpassing them all in acuteness of understanding. They dwelt in cottages; and the island was so populous, that it appeared to Columbus to be full of villages. These consisted of several houses; and the buildings must have been extensive, since the custom was for a whole generation to live together in one house." (Long's *History of Jamaica*, Appendix to vol. iii., p. 951.) They cultivated various grain, roots, vegetables, fruits, and cotton, in large quantities;—some of their habitations were furnished with chairs of highly-polished ebony; and none were deficient in varieties of earthen and wooden utensils, curiously wrought. In the total absence of animal food, fish, both salted and fresh, was eaten extensively; the lines and nets employed were of bark. From the immense trunks of the cedar, or the cotton tree, they formed flat-bottomed canoes, or the much deeper and larger vessels, called *piraguas*; the latter were employed for sea voyages, and in carrying on trade with their neighbours, had raised gunwales and sharp keels. In customs, religion, historical songs, and in their agricultural tools, domestic utensils, and warlike weapons, the natives of Jamaica resembled the rest of the Leeward Islanders. Their attachment to their chiefs was unbounded and inviolable. Too generous to be revengeful, they frequently refrained from destroying the Spaniards when they had them in their power, although their ferocious cruelties might in the eyes of pagans have fully justified the most vindictive retaliation. They were, unquestionably,

says Long, "the most generous of foes, and their national disposition truly amiable, benevolent, and noble."—(App. vol. iii. p. 957.) Such were the people who in a few short years were utterly exterminated by Europeans, professing to be Catholic Christians.

The Indians of Jamaica did not, however, perish without some desperate struggles for life and liberty, if, as is alleged, the depopulation of the city of Sevilla d'Oro was occasioned by its Spanish inhabitants being cut off in native warfare—as also those of the small village of Melilla—situated about thirty-three miles to the eastward, at the harbour now called Port Maria.

Two other reasons have, however, been assigned for the desertion of the northern portion of the island in the early part of the 16th century. Sir Hans Sloane, who visited the ruins of the city in 1688, and beheld the remains of an unfinished cathedral, within whose stately walls timber trees upwards of sixty feet in height, were growing; and other costly fabrics, abandoned while still in course of erection, relates as the cause of this desolation, a plague of ants, whose innumerable swarms completely devastated the provision grounds.—(Sloane's *History of Jamaica*, vol. i. p. 66.) It is a singular coincidence that Oviedo should record, in 1519 and the two succeeding years, a similar visitation as having nearly depopulated the whole of Hayti. The other alleged reason is, the incursions of the "fibustiers," or French pirates, who about the year 1528 commenced making frequent descents upon the northern coast.

Possibly all of the above circumstances concurred in causing the overthrow of Sevilla d'Oro, in the very midst of its growing wealth,* while its resources were being developed, plantations of cotton and the sugar-cane rapidly extending; the vine being brought into cultivation; immense herds of cattle multiplying rapidly on the neighbouring pastures, and every thing seeming to prosper in the hands of the invaders, who had set at nought the rights of the natives, even to the enslaving of their persons.

The town of St. Jago de la Vega (of the plains) now commonly called Spanish Town, was founded by Diego Columbus, shortly before his death, in 1525, or the beginning of 1526.† It grew rapidly to importance, by means of the labours and sufferings of the natives; whom, however, the short-sighted avarice of the colonists speedily placed beyond the reach of oppression. Equally minute records of the barbarities which they commonly practised here, as in Hayti and the Spanish Main, have not descended to posterity, but there is abundant testimony that they were no less tyrannical, licentious, and—for no other word will express it—fiendish.‡ In 1558 the aborigines were almost wholly exterminated, more than sixty thousand

* A striking illustration of the power and influence which Jamaica had rapidly obtained, is afforded by the then Governor Garay having been able to fit out an expedition in 1523, comprising nine ships, and two brigantines manned by 850 Spaniards, accompanied by numerous Indians, with a view of founding a settlement on the American continent, near the river Panneo.—Southey, vol. i. p. 152.

† Edwards, *Hist. of the West Indies*, vol. i. p. 173.

‡ Many instances recorded by Las Casas, who, it should be remembered, published his account of the scenes he had witnessed, while the actors were yet living, are so horrible as to surpass the belief of those who have yet to learn the strength of the in-

centive to evil afforded by entrusting men with irresponsible power over their fellows, especially where the restraints of civilised society are by common consent thrown aside, and obligations of more constraining character unknown. To such minds a narrative like the following, distressing as it is, may not be without its use. Several writers have quoted it, among them Bryan Edwards, vol. i. p. 111, who cites the edition of Las Casas, published at Antwerp in 1579: "I once beheld," says the venerable ecclesiastic, "four or five principal Indians roasted at a slow fire; and as the miserable victims poured forth dreadful screams, which disturbed the commanding officer in his afternoon slumbers, he sent forth word

having perished in about sixty years. Mountain caverns, sheltering ground covered with human bones and skulls, preternaturally compressed, attest the fate of multitudes of wretched Indians who chose to encounter the agonies of famine rather than fall into the hands of their unrelenting persecutors. Gage (the earliest English historian of the West Indies, whose work* was greatly instrumental in directing the attention of Cromwell to this Archipelago), says, "Women as well here as on the continent [of America] did kill their children before they had given them birth, that the issues of their bodies might not serve so cruel a nation."

By the marriage of Isabella, the lineal descendant and sole heiress of the family of Columbus, its rights and titles became vested in the royal house of Braganza, and was from thence eventually transferred to the Spanish monarchy.

On the union of the crowns of Spain and Portugal, the people of the latter country emigrated in numbers to Jamaica, which had before been exclusively colonized by Spaniards. A bartering trade arose in provisions, cacao, hides, and lard; sugar and ginger were also partially cultivated; but national jealousies and distrust impeded the progress of commerce, and in 1605 left the capital an easy prey to Sir Anthony Shirley, a British admiral, who, while cruising in the neighbourhood with a fleet of five ships, a galley and pinnace, attacked and plundered the island, and then retired. About forty years after, a descent was made from the Windward Islands by a force of about 500 men under Colonel Jackson, who is said to have been bravely but unsuccessfully opposed by the inhabitants. After losing forty of his men, he entered St. Jago de la Vega (Spanish Town), sword in hand, exacted a heavy ransom as the price of its preservation, and returned with his booty, uninterrupted to his ships.

From this period up to the time of its capture by England, no important feature marks the history of the island. The colonists sank into a state of poverty through their own apathetic indolence, and in 1655 the whole white population numbered only from 1200 to 1400; of whom about 500 were in arms to meet the enemy. The negroes imported from Africa, and the mulattoes, were about equal in number to the Europeans. Of the aborigines not a single descendant existed.† The attacking fleet (see p. 16) was not perceived until a few hours before it came round Careening Point (Port Royal); it advanced directly up to Passage Fort, the only fortification that defended the capital, and the troops were landed under cover of the galley which conveyed the commanders to the shore. After a feeble struggle, the colonists were driven back upon St. Jago de la Vega, which was only six miles distant. Instead of pursuing them, and attacking the town forthwith, General Venables repaired on board ship to take his repose—the soldiers remained under arms all night, and were not suffered to march until late the next morning;

that they should be strangled; but the officer on guard (I know his name, and I know his relations in Seville) would not suffer it; but causing their mouths to be gagged, that their cries might not be heard, he stirred up the fire with his own hands, and roasted them deliberately till they all expired. I saw it myself."

* *The English American, his Travail by Sea and Land, or a Survey of the West Indies*, published in 1648.

the inhabitants, meanwhile, busily employed themselves in removing all articles of value, together with their women, children, and negro servants, some little distance in the country. After a week's negotiation, articles of capitulation were signed by Governor Sasi, by which the colonists were bound, either to remain subject to English laws and institutions, or to quit the island; in the latter case surrendering their slaves and effects to the discretion of the conquerors. Most of the Spaniards refused to abide by these conditions, and fled to the interior, where they were followed by the British. The higher, or "hidalgo" class, contained only eight families, among whom nearly the whole island had been apportioned in as many "hatos" or districts; these found means of escaping to Cuba, whither they were followed by Sasi, leaving behind them some of their poorer brethren, and the chief part of their negroes, whom they charged to guard their properties as far as possible until succour should arrive. These directions were obeyed, and Jamaica being, as Peter Martyr had said long before, "a rugged theatre for military operations," the new occupants had great difficulty in meeting the guerilla warfare maintained by the wary refugees, to whom the name of "Maroons"‡ was subsequently applied.

The dearth of provisions, resulting from the imperfect and limited state of cultivation, and distempers contracted from the exposure to heavy rain and other hardships which had attended the unfortunate attack of Hayti, had reduced the troops to so miserable a condition, that Penn determined to return to England with great part of the fleet, represent their condition, and seek succour. Venables, on the plea of failing health, accompanied him; both were severely reprimanded by the Protector, and ordered to the Tower. Major Sedgewicke was sent out as commissioner, with extensive powers; and Colonel D'Oyley, the senior field-officer, was appointed president of the military council then formed. Sedgewicke who bore the reputation of a judicious and honest man, brought with him abundant stores of provisions; but the soldiers, both officers and men, notwithstanding their recent sufferings from want, systematically thwarted his plans for preserving the present supplies, and being desirous either of obtaining their recall to England, or employment in military operations against the opulent Spaniards, in which they might obtain plunder, could neither be forced or persuaded into planting corn for a bare subsistence, but essayed by every possible waste and carelessness to create a perpetual demand for necessaries, and thus compel the Protector to relinquish his design of forming permanent settlements in this part of the world, by wearying him with their expense and unproductiveness. Sedgewicke complained bitterly of their unprincipled conduct, in seizing all the land about the town, and neither cultivating it themselves, nor permitting the planters to do so; and of their wanton destructiveness and perverseness in refusing to assist

† Southey, vol. ii., p. 6.

‡ The derivation of this word is disputed. According to Long, it signifies hog-hunters, and was applied in consequence of the fugitives subsisting chiefly on the flesh of the wild boar, with which the woods abounded; but it is elsewhere explained as being a corruption of a Spanish word, signifying monkey, which was applied as a term of reproach to the runaways.—(Edwards' *History of the West Indies*, vol. i., appendix, p. 523.)

in strengthening the fortifications. Cromwell was exceedingly annoyed at their ill-conduct; but so far from being deterred by the obstacles thrown in the way of his project, applied himself only the more vigorously to its execution, by adopting various measures for the settlement of the island. He encouraged the wives of the soldiers to join them, desired his son Henry, then major-general of the forces in Ireland, to engage two or three thousand persons of both sexes* to proceed from thence as settlers, and corresponded with the chief authorities in Scotland, and with the governors of the American colonies and the British Windward Isles (then very populous), respecting the best mode of promoting emigration to Jamaica. He interested himself most warmly respecting the welfare of the army, severely reprimanding their immorality as being fatal alike to their temporal and eternal welfare.† Unfortunately the exhausted state of the treasury compelled him to leave them in long arrears of pay,‡ and the disaffection thereby created, aided in inducing them to continue deaf to his remonstrances, and to a great extent to defeat his plans, by gaining for the place so bad a name as materially to check the immigration he so strongly desired. Notwithstanding the good conduct and steady labour of the sailors belonging to the ships left to guard the island, who, in addition to constructing a battery at Careening Point, and repairing the tower at Passage Fort, also formed a plantation; a scarcity approaching to a famine was the result of the avowed determination of the troops rather to starve than work; the most unwholesome substances that could be used to sustain life, were eagerly devoured; a fearful epidemic dysentery ensued; and for a considerable time 140 men perished weekly;§ Sedgewicke himself sinking, less from bodily disease than from the painful responsibilities of a position for which his amiable and gentle disposition was ill adapted. Upon his death the chief authority devolved undivided on Colonel D'Oyley, who took severe measures to bring the army into a better state of subordination, by dismissing considerable numbers of the most unruly, executing the ring-leader of an attempted revolt, though a man of rank and influence,|| and portioning out plots of land to the private soldiers, with the assurance that they should cultivate and employ them, unmolested by their officers.

To encourage trade there, Cromwell, in 1655, issued a proclamation, that all adventurers should be exempt from payment of excise or duty on any goods which they should transport to Jamaica, for seven years from the Michaelmas of that year: also, that no tax should be levied on any commodity, the produce of the island, when imported into the dominions of the Commonwealth, for the space of ten years: and further, that no embargo or hindrance, upon any pretence whatsoever, should be laid upon ships or adventurers bound to Jamaica. In 1659, the foundation of the celebrated "Navigation Laws"

was laid by an enactment of the Commonwealth, that no goods should be imported into, or exported from, the plantations, but in British-built ships, wholly owned by British subjects, and navigated by crews three-fourths of which were also British.

In 1657 and in the following year, two desperate attempts were made for the recovery of Jamaica, by the Spaniards, who landed and occupied the northern part of the island; but after a second complete defeat, in which they lost 380 privates, several officers, and two priests, and the English only twenty-three privates and four officers,¶ no other attack of any importance was made. The few remaining Spaniards were not long in quitting the island, but the Maroons remained, and became, as Sedgewicke had truly predicted, a thorn in the side of the conquerors. Their sudden and unlooked-for emancipation, bestowed by no generous impulse, or deliberate act of high principle, but simply resulting from circumstances over which neither slaves nor slave-holders had any control, produced its natural results. The inestimable prize of freedom they resolved to hold at all hazards, and though a portion of them accepted the offers of pardon and freedom made by the English, the majority viewed all friendly overtures in the light of treacherous endeavours to entrap them again into bondage. They and their descendants maintained, for nearly a century and-a-half, their position among the mountain fastnesses, whence, with occasional intervals of peace, they harassed the settlers by predatory expeditions, often attended with bloodshed, undeterred by the cruel punishment which attended them if captured in open hostilities, or tracked to their caves by bloodhounds. These latter auxiliaries were frequently employed in chasing the original Maroons, as well as runaways from the negroes imported by the new colonists, by whom their numbers were subsequently augmented. An order preserved in the State Paper Office, proves their use as early as August 1669: it directs "Mr. Peter Pugh, treasurer, to pay unto John Hoy the summe of twenty pounds sterling, out of the impost money, to pay for fifteen dogs, brought by him for the hunting of the negroes."

The death of Cromwell, in 1658, and the restoration of monarchy, made no change in the policy pursued towards Jamaica. Charles II. confirmed the previous measures, carried out the Protector's intention of forming a civil administration, conferred on Colonel D'Oyley the office of Governor, and ordered that the troops should be disbanded and settled throughout the country.

In 1662, a municipality was formed, judges of session and magistracy were appointed, a militia organized, the island divided into seven parishes, and land granted on free soccage tenures. A royal proclamation issued at the same time for the encouragement of the planters, declared, "that all the children of our natural born subjects of England, to be born in Jamaica, shall, from their respective births, be

* The endeavour of the Protector to maintain a due proportion between the sexes, was a praiseworthy feature in his colonial policy.

† Seven ministers of religion accompanied the armament when despatched from England, but the majority perished from the climate. Among the records in the State Paper Office is an order dated August 14th, 1656, and signed, Edward D'Oyley, for the distribution to the army of 1,701 Bibles!

‡ The charge to the Commonwealth of England

for the forces maintained in Jamaica, according to an account rendered to the House of Commons, 26th March, 1659, amounted to £110,228 11s. 3d. The annual issues afterwards, until the Restoration, were about £54,000.—(Southey, vol. ii., p. 31.)

§ Edwards, vol. i., p. 206.

|| Major Throckmorton was tried by court martial, and executed the very next day. Colonels Raymond and Tyson, for a similar offence, were shot in 1660.

¶ Long, vol. i. p. 276.

reputed to be and shall be, free denizens of England, and shall have the same privileges to all intents and purposes, as our free-born subjects of England." The population was increased by various individuals of note, connected with the Parliamentary party, who took refuge here, and whom Charles II. wisely suffered to remain unmolested, and some wealthy planters emigrated from Barbadoes; in 1684, the persons convicted in England of participating in the "Rye House Plot," were sent out for the period of ten years; in 1686, an extensive immigration of Jews gave a stimulus to commercial prosperity, and added another distinctive feature to the motley character of the inhabitants. African slaves were exported from time to time.

In January, 1664, the first legislative assembly, consisting of thirty members, was elected; and for a period of sixty-four years was engaged, with little intermission, in carrying on a contest with the Crown respecting the right of taxation, and in resisting the imposition of a tax of four-and-a-half per cent. on the gross produce of the island.

Previous to its disbandment, disease had fearfully thinned the ranks of the army, notwithstanding the reinforcements sent out under General Brayne, in 1656; for the entire population, in 1662, was stated to amount only to 4,355 persons, including 552 negroes, 1,600 settlers from Nevis established under General Stokes, and other immigrants. During the latter part of the administration of Colonel D'Oyley, a rapid tide of wealth set in, the source being neither more nor less than a system of legalized piracy, in which under the name of retributive and protective policy, the first rulers of Jamaica bore no inconsiderable share. After the second endeavour on the part of the Spaniards to regain their lost dominion, D'Oyley thought it best to carry the war into the enemy's country, by making a descent upon the Spanish Main, destroying the town of Tolu, and burning two galleons, bound from Carthagena to Porto Bello. Several rich captures had been before made by the squadron, and many others succeeded. Such examples were not likely to be lost upon a population of whom the minority were respectable planters, and the great majority men of disorderly habits, who, if they had not been positively convicted of offences against society, were at least regarded as bad subjects, whom the authorities in the parent state, or in the colonies, as the case might be, were glad to be rid of. The Spaniards themselves had tempted aggression, by endeavouring to monopolise the navigation of the American seas, and had incensed the merchants of other nations, by treating as pirates the crews of all trading vessels encountered by them in these regions.* The consequence was, that they were in turn deemed fair plunder; the class of men termed buccaneers, sprung up and rapidly increased, and England and Spain being then at war, their enterprises were authorised by D'Oyley and his successors as a means of relieving the former power from the expense of maintaining a large fleet for the defence of the island, and compelling the latter to abandon its exclusive policy, and enter into a solid and durable peace. The Jamaica privateers, from very small beginnings, mustered at last 3,000

fighting men, and thirty sail of well-equipped vessels. Reckless of hazarding or destroying life, improvident beyond measure, and constantly requiring new supplies, they were terrible foes to the Spaniards, being ever on the alert to intercept ships returning from Mexico, laden with the gold and silver, jewels and spoils of the western world; boasting that they avenged the wrongs perpetrated on the wretched natives, and though they did not dare to attack the assembled fleet, they waited—rarely without success—for any straggler detached by stress of weather or other circumstances. The demand for provisions, especially in the neighbourhood of Port Royal, the favourite resort of the buccaneers, gave a great stimulus to farming and agriculture; hence it happened that the planters and settlers, even when possessed of allotments of land not exceeding thirty acres, were able to maintain themselves comfortably by attending to the production of some one or other of the numerous smaller articles for which a ready money market was constantly open. The history of Morgan, the most remarkable of the buccaneers, forms a marked feature in the annals of Jamaica, but his character and conduct have been so variously represented, that it is difficult to form a correct estimate of either. This at least seems certain, that he was a bold and unscrupulous adventurer, essentially a man of war, whose abilities the English were glad to employ against the Spaniards, sanctioning his daring exploits, rewarding the political ends gained thereby, and wilfully ignoring the barbarity, licentiousness, and greediness of gain, by which they were accompanied.

Morgan and his followers were the dread of the Spanish Americans, not only by sea but by land, their settlements, as well as their vessels, being frequently the prey of these desperadoes, whose most extraordinary exploit was the capture of Panama, the great depot for the merchandise and treasure of Chili and Peru. It was assaulted by Morgan, at the head of 1,200 men, in August, 1670; and although defended by a force much superior in point of number and resources, the invaders entered the city sword in hand, and after a fearful interval spent in slaughter, rapine, and pillage, they set it on fire, and in a few hours reduced it to ashes. The costly and magnificent public buildings, and the houses, 7,000 in number, were all destroyed. Laden with an immense booty, the buccaneers returned in triumph to Jamaica, to lavish in the wildest, maddest debauchery, the spoils of the sacked city, and the heavy ransoms of its impoverished people, flinging away in reckless prodigality the wealth they had hazarded life to gain. In this respect they did not follow the example of their leader, who had always carefully husbanded his gains, and who, upon the proclamation of peace with Spain, immediately after his return from Panama, and the consequent endeavours of the English government to suppress buccaneering, settled down as a planter, and was subsequently created a knight, and appointed Lieutenant-governor of the island, in which position he continued until 1674.†

Jamaica had at this period made marvellous progress in respect to population and agricultural resources, but in a moral point of view its condition

* In the course of the negotiations entered into by Cromwell soon after he assumed the Protectorate, the Spanish ambassador is stated by Thurlow to have declared, that "to ask a liberty from the inquisition and free sailing in the West Indies, was to ask his mas-

ter's two eyes, and that nothing could be done in these points but according to the practice of former times."

† By some writers Morgan is said to have died peaceably in Jamaica, by others to have perished in an English prison.

was truly deplorable. The strife, vice, and misery attendant on slavery, became early manifest; the attempts of the wretched captives to regain their freedom, and the predatory incursions of the Maroons, even then scourged the colonists. Port Royal itself, united to more than regal opulence, the worst vices, and the lowest depravity that ever disgraced a seaport; nor could any thing else be expected in a city whose most honoured denizens were buccaneers, most welcome visitors, slave traders.

It scarcely needed the inspiration of a prophet to foretell that so much wealth and so much wickedness conjoined, would have a fearful ending; nor could any believer in a superintending providence, be surprised at the series of calamities which overwhelmed Port Royal at the time when its seeming prosperity had attained its climax. The doom went forth, and a fearful earthquake engulfed the scene of splendour and profligacy, burying in the ruins 3,000 individuals. The catastrophe was equally sudden as appalling. On the morning of the 7th June, 1692, the Governor and Council were met in session, the wharves laden with bales of the richest merchandise, the markets and stores displayed the glittering spoils of Mexico and Peru, and the streets were thronged with people; when the clear and serene sky became overshadowed by partial darkness, broken by faint gleams of red and purple, and a tremendous roar, like that of distant thunder, broke from the base of the mountains, and reverberated through the valleys to the beach, while the sea, impelled by the same mighty convulsion, rose in a few minutes five fathoms deep over the houses of the devoted town.

The scene was appalling beyond description, shrieks and lamentations rent the air, mangled corpses floated on the waters, or were flung upward by the violence of the shocks. Although there was no wind, billows rose and fell with such violence that the vessels in the harbour broke from their moorings, and one of them, the *Swan* frigate, was forced over the tops of the sunken houses, and afforded a means of escape to many persons. Several individuals were wonderfully preserved, being swallowed up during the awful concussion, and thrown back again through an aperture quite distinct from that which had yawned to receive them, without sustaining any material injury. Of the whole 3,000 houses, about 200, with the fort, remained uninjured: amidst the destruction of so much property, not the least was the irreparable loss of all the official documents and records. The whole island felt the shock and shared the disastrous effects of a visitation which happily stands alone in the annals of Jamaica; no other, before or since, having been known to compare with it. Chains of hills were riven asunder, new channels formed for the rivers, mountains dissolved with a mighty crash, burying alive the people of the adjacent valleys, whole settlements sunk into the bowels of the earth, plantations were removed *en masse*, all the sugar works destroyed; in fact, the whole outline was drawn afresh, and the elevation of the surface considerably diminished. The sentence of desolation was, however, yet but partially fulfilled; a noxious miasm, generated by the shoals of putrifying bodies that floated about the harbour, or lay in heaps in the

suburbs, slew 3,000 of the survivors. As if that so fearful a warning might not be forgotten by posterity, the sunken houses of Port Royal remain permanent memorials of divine justice, being in calm weather still visible beneath the surface of the ocean; in striking contrast, relieving the deep melancholy of the scene, is a monument erected at Green Bay, on the opposite side of the harbour, which commemorates the preservation of Louis Caldý, a native of Montpellier, in France, who left his country on account of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and, after having been swallowed up during the earthquake, was, by the great providence of God, flung into the sea by a second shock, where he continued swimming until rescued by a boat, and lived forty years afterwards.

The colonists attempted to reconstruct a portion of the walls of their desolated town, but their efforts were defeated by a hurricane. They had hardly time to rally from the prostrate and ruined condition to which they were reduced, when the alarming intelligence arrived, that the French were preparing to take advantage of their deplorable state, by making a descent upon the island. Accordingly, on the 17th June, 1694, a fleet of three men-of-war and twenty privateers, having on board 1,500 land forces, commanded by General du Casse, the Governor of Hispaniola (Hayti), appeared off Cow Bay, where 800 of the soldiers were landed, with orders to desolate the country as far as Port Morant. These instructions were obeyed with fearful precision. They not only set fire to every settlement they came to, but tortured their prisoners in the most shocking manner, and murdered great numbers in cold blood, after making them behold the violation of their wives by their own negroes.* These disgraceful outrages were committed with impunity, the militia having been drawn off this part of the country to guard the capital; but when the invaders—having plundered and destroyed all the plantations within reach, and returned to their ships—subsequently attempted to land at Carlisle Bay, they were gallantly resisted by a much smaller force, who kept them at bay, and by the aid of reinforcements of militia, dispatched by the Governor, Sir William Beeston, from Spanish Town, drove them off with considerable loss. It is asserted, that the English lost 100 killed and wounded, and the French upwards of 700; but that the latter succeeded in carrying off considerable spoil, and about 1,300 slaves.†

To carry on in minute detail the history of Jamaica, from this period to the present time, would be to record a melancholy series of calamities, dissension, and misrule, the latter mainly occasioned by the vices or incapacity of the individuals appointed to the office of Governor, who, though generally of high rank, appear to have been selected with a view rather to the benefit their drained resources would receive from the handsome salary attached thereto, than from any good the island was likely to derive from their services. Their respective characters and administration are detailed at some length by Long† and Bridges, in the works already quoted in these pages. The first of these historians is strictly trustworthy, though from his position as a large hereditary land

* Edwards, vol. i., p. 231.

† Bridges' *Jamaica*, vol. i., pp. 322-'3.

‡ "A faithful description of our provincial governors, and men in power, would be little better than a portrait of artifice, duplicity, haughtiness, violence, rapine, avarice, meanness, rancour, and dishonesty, ranged in succession;

with a very small portion of honour, justice, and magnanimity, here and there intermixed, to lessen the disgust which otherwise the eye must feel in the contemplation of so horrid a group."—*The History of Jamaica*, in three volumes quarto: London, 1774; introduction, p. 4.

and slave-holder, naturally not unprejudiced; the second wrote his clever volumes under the direct patronage and pecuniary aid of the House of Assembly during its most stormy period of opposition to the emancipating policy of Great Britain; and even his facts, much more his inferences, must be received with caution. The main feature in the history narrated in many respects so ably by the above authors, is, however, passed hastily over by the one, and too often wilfully mistold by the other; and certainly their readers would be little likely to form from their statements a just idea of the workings of slavery in Jamaica, or of the extent of internecine strife and moral degradation which characterized alike its wealthiest, and its most impoverished condition.

Edwards, though himself a planter and slaveholder, has furnished much valuable detail on this subject, as have also the indefatigable Captain Southey, R.N., and the worthy Dr. Coke; but the best information is contained in the ponderous mass of documents published by various parliamentary committees during the last half century. From these and other incidental sources, I have framed the following sketch of the establishment and growth of a system, which being founded on wrong, and maintained by oppression, never could produce any other results but sin and suffering to all concerned in it. The alternate visitations of earthquake and pestilence, war and famine, hurricanes and conflagrations, which have desolated one of the loveliest spots in the world, were nothing more than the counterpart of the moral plagues of extravagance, cruelty, and licentiousness, which, long before the slave trade was abolished, had involved the inhabitants in hopeless insolvency.

SLAVERY IN JAMAICA.—There is no complete record of the total number of negroes brought into the island from the period of its conquest, in 1655, to the abolition of the carrying trade, in 1807-8. For the first seven years of British rule, the importation was comparatively insignificant, but on the establishment of a civil government in 1662, it increased largely, by means of the Chartered African Companies, patronised by royalty; and subsequently through the working of the infamous Assiento contract. The destruction of the public records in 1692 prevents any correct estimate of the extent of the importations up to that period, but it must have been considerable, for in 1698 Governor Beeston reported the population at 47,365 souls, of whom 40,000 were blacks. In the ten following years, ending June, 1708, 44,376 negroes were introduced, or on a yearly average, about 4,437, and though some of these were exported to other islands, the growing preponderance of the bond over the free inhabitants, was deemed so alarming, that in 1704 an act was passed obliging the planters to maintain fourteen white servants for every 300 negroes.* From 1709 to September, 1775, annual returns give a total of 472,761. The number imported during the entire year 1775 was no less than 18,648; at this time Governor Keith, on the authority of the rolls of the respective parishes, stated the population at 12,737 whites, 4,093 free negroes, and 192,787 slaves, adding that these latter were underrated by at least 10,000, "as there were many 'jobbers and others' who did not give in their negroes."†

According to an aggregate return, between 1655 and 1787, 676,276 negroes were imported. I can find no record of the numbers introduced during the ensuing four years. The annual average, from 1791

to 1807 inclusive, was upwards of 9,000. If to the numbers officially stated to have been imported during the entire period of British rule, we could add returns for the aforesaid four years—and procure anything approaching a fair estimate of the Africans surreptitiously brought in, the aggregate amount would probably exceed one million.

After making large allowance for the proportion of slaves re-exported and emancipated, the amount of life which remains to be accounted for is truly appalling, when it is considered that, notwithstanding the vast immigration continued during a period of a century-and-a-half, the slaves, with their descendants, at its close numbered only 319,351.

The market value of a slave varied from £30 to £50, and this excessive cheapness of labour, together with an apparently unlimited supply, rendered it in the eyes of the planters a more profitable business to buy than to rear slaves. The working of this policy on the oppressed class was most disastrous; it removed the protection with which self-interest would have surrounded them, had healthy and strong frames been less easy of replacement, in the event of death or disease; and it fearfully aggravated the breaking-up of all social ties among the slaves, which, had their offspring been a matter of regard to their masters, would have been of necessity to some extent respected. During the seven years preceding the abolition of the carrying trade (1807), the *excess of deaths over births* was 41,772. In the above-named year, an act which had been passed for a limited period granting a premium of £3 to overseers of plantations in which the births should be found to exceed the deaths, was allowed to expire from the terrible nature of the facts it revealed. The evils of the system under which so many thousands perished, are rendered the more striking from the fact that the climate itself agrees well with the African constitution. Sir Hans Sloane bore witness, "that when he was at Jamaica, in 1688, he knew blacks of 120 years old, and that 100 years was very common among such of them as were temperate livers"‡ They were decimated by the direct effects of cruel usage, and insufficient food. How many perished by actual violence, it would be useless to inquire—no Las Casas has portrayed the deeds of the West Indian colonists in the eighteenth century, or the extent and ferocity of the public and private butcheries then committed; but we have at least partial records of the sanguinary codes of English and French jurisdiction, and they alone may suffice to teach us rather to deprecate the odium and the punishment incurred by the Spaniards in a former age, than to censure with virulence, conduct which is perhaps far from being unparalleled, even in our own annals.

Again, it behoves all unbiassed searchers after truth to judge leniently of the frail and sinning oppressors, and not to allow sympathy for their victims to overpower with indignation all temperate feelings. Never is this caution so necessary as in the case of slavery, that blighting curse, which more or less deadens the affections, warps the judgment, and pollutes the morals, of all under its influence. In Jamaica it poisoned every phase of society, and its effects were visible in the general state of demoralization, and in the terrible incertitude consequent upon the energies of a comparatively small section of the population, being all directed to the unjust subjection of a far more numerous, and, physically speaking, more powerful class.

* Southey, vol. ii., pp. 179, 196, 202.

† Southey, vol. ii., p. 421. ‡ *Idem*, vol. ii., p. 146.

MAROON WARS AND SLAVE INSURRECTIONS.—The conduct of the negroes left in the island by the Spaniards, was a significant token of the danger and difficulty attendant on attempting to enslave a race so fond of liberty, and so ready to endure extreme hardships, and hazard life in its defence. But the planters appear to have imbibed not a little of the buccaneering spirit, which drowned all forethought in the cup of immediate gain or enjoyment; and provided they could secure the temporary cultivation of their sugar and coffee estates, were quite heedless of the ulterior consequences of the means employed. Coercion, in its most bloody form, armed with the whip and the goad, with instruments of torture and mutilation, almost without number; with the cross, the faggot, and the gibbet, would, it was considered, strike terror into the boldest heart, and prove, with all-convincing arguments, the inborn right of the white race to use coloured men as useful and domesticated animals, if they could tame them; or to shoot, hunt, and destroy them like fierce beasts, if they could not. Still, notwithstanding all their resources, their sanguinary slave code, backed by regular troops, a trained militia, and large packs of blood-hounds, the slaves were often too strong for them, and many a murdered family and ruined homestead served to throw a light upon the depth of the abyss which frequently threatened to engulf them. The very year (1556) after the conquest, the Maroons succeeded in revenging some trifling successes by the defeat and slaughter of a detachment of forty men. In 1663 and 1664, being already reinforced by fugitive slaves, they maintained possession of the interior, so that no colonist dared settle any considerable distance from the coast, as they slew, without distinction of sex or age, every white person who came within their reach. "In this way," says Edwards, "they continued to distress the island for upwards of forty years, during which time forty-four acts of assembly were passed, and at least £240,000 expended for their suppression.*"

An eye-witness describing the general state of society in 1722, says—"the English subjects are computed at 7,000 or 8,000, the negroes at 80,000; a disproportion that, together with the severity of their patrons [masters], renders the whole colony unsafe. Many hundreds of them have at different times run to the mountains, where they associate and commit little robberies upon the defenceless and nearest plantations, and which I imagine they would not have done but for the cruelty of their usage, because they subsist very hard and with danger, by reason of parties continually sent out by government against them, who have £5 a head for every one killed, and their ears are a sufficient warrant for the next justice to pay it: *if the negro be brought in a prisoner he is tormented and burnt alive.*"†

In 1730, the Maroons, under a very able leader named Cudjoe, had grown so formidable, that it was considered necessary to strengthen the colony against them by two regiments of regular troops, which were afterwards formed into independent companies, and

employed, with other hired parties, and the whole body of militia, in their reduction. In 1833, it was stated in one of the legislative acts, that they "had within a few years greatly increased, notwithstanding all the measures that had been concerted and made use of for their suppression;" and several barracks, fortified by bastions, and strongly garrisoned, were erected as near as possible to the enemy's favourite haunts. "Every barrack was also furnished with a pack of dogs, provided by the churchwardens of the respective parishes."‡ In 1734, Captain Stoddart attacked one of their chief villages, called Wanny, situated on the top of a high mountain, and having succeeded in bringing up some portable swivel guns unperceived, he fixed them on a small eminence commanding the huts in which the negroes were asleep, and fired so effectively that many were slain in their habitations, others were made prisoners, and several threw themselves headlong down the precipice.§ Notwithstanding this and other disasters, the Maroons still proved so far superior to their antagonists in bush-fighting, that the Assembly in 1737 thought fit to enlist (as they had done on a previous occasion) 200 Mosquito Indians from the coast of Central America, to assist them in the war.|| Even with their aid so little substantial advantage was gained, that the colonists, wearied out with the harass and expense of a contest in which they had everything to lose and nothing to gain, induced Governor Trelawney to make overtures of peace, which were gladly accepted. Two distinct treaties were formed with the principal chiefs, Cudjoe and Quao, of which the main article was the settlement the insufficient tract of 1,500 acres on the followers of the former, and 1,000 on those of the latter, to be possessed by them and their descendants in perpetuity. On their part they were required to deliver up all slaves who should henceforth take refuge among them; and as it was sufficiently evident that if they had any spark of kindly or national feeling, they would be very unwilling to hinder their countrymen from obtaining the freedom they prized so highly themselves, laws were passed by the Assembly, decreeing most severe penalties against all who should venture to harbour the wretched fugitives, and offering a premium of £3 per head for their apprehension. With all these precautions it was nevertheless a dangerous experiment to distribute a body of nearly 600 persons who had snatched their liberty by force, in the midst of a slave-holding community, fixing them at five different points, (Trelawney Town, Accompong Town, Scots' Hall, Charles Town, and Moore Town,) more especially as no endeavour whatever was made to civilize or convert them. Mr. Long, though strongly prejudiced against the negro race, felt the impolicy of this neglect, and urged that they would probably prove more faithful allies and better subjects, if pains were taken to instil into their minds a few notions of honesty and religion; and he recommended the establishment of schools, and the erection of a chapel in each of their towns, as measures of indispensable necessity.¶

Jamaica colonists, that, in 1741, the Assembly passed an act prohibiting their further importation, but not interfering with what Mr. Bridges styles "the property already obtained." In 1764, Governor Lyttleton compelled the magistrates to make returns of the number of Indian slaves, and prosecute the offenders, in consequence of which just and vigorous measures, many were restored to liberty, but some were privately retained, whose descendants may yet be traced by their long hair and features.

¶ Long, vol ii., p. 347.

* Edwards, vol. i., p. 525.

† See Atkins' *Voyage to the West Indies*, p. 245.

‡ Edwards, vol. i., appendix, p. 528.

§ *Idem*, p. 525.

|| Upon the renewal of peace, these Indians were sent back to their homes with their stipulated rewards, and many protestations of friendship, but these latter were so badly kept, that their shores were often visited for the sake of carrying them off as slaves; and to such an extent was this traffic carried on, and fostered by the ungrateful

These suggestions were disregarded, the Assembly ostensibly contenting themselves with excuses for the omission of an obvious but onerous duty, resembling those of the Rev. Mr. Hughes, who thought it not unbecoming his holy calling to declare, in allusion to the whole of the negroes, that although to bring them in general to the knowledge of the Christian religion, was undoubtedly a great and good design, yet, "for reasons too tedious to be mentioned," he believed the difficulties attending it were and ever would be insurmountable.* Unhappily it would appear that this opinion was shared by a large proportion of the Church of England clergy then in Jamaica, and it is to be feared that their character and conduct were in general little calculated to remove the lamentable and almost contemptuous indifference commonly evinced in respect to religion.

It would occupy too much space to record in detail the long series of struggles made by the negroes. The dates of the more extensive insurrections and conspiracies are as follows:—1678, 1684, 1686, 1691, 1702, 1717, 1722, 1734, 1736, 1739, 1740, 1745, 1758, 1760, 1765, 1766, 1769, 1771, 1777, 1782, 1795, 1796, 1798, 1803, 1807, 1809, 1824, 1832.

Besides these there were many minor outbreaks on single plantations, occasioned by the wanton cruelty of overseers appointed by absentee proprietors. The leaders and originators of the wider and more deeply-laid plots were almost invariably found to belong to the class called "Coromantines," which comprised the warlike natives of Ashantee, Fantee, and Akim; and these, when first imported, rarely failed to form concerted plans for obtaining their liberty, taking as a first step the "great oath" of secrecy (see *African Division*, p. 188), so rarely if ever violated, even under the influence of extreme torture.

In 1760 a conspiracy was projected, in which almost all the Coromantines in the island are supposed to have been concerned. Sixty white persons perished, and about 1,000 negroes were either killed in action, died by their own hands, were executed, or transported.† The cost of this single rebellion is stated by Long at £215,000, viz., the suppression £15,000; making good the losses sustained, replacing the slaves, &c., £100,000; erecting parochial barracks in consequence, £100,000. Their losses infuriated the colonists, but could hardly palliate, much less justify, the vengeful atrocities perpetrated by them upon the captured negroes. The Rev. Mr. Bridges, a popular minister in the Established Church at Jamaica, and the avowed champion and apologist of the planters, thus describes some of the scenes enacted. "The records of crime and punishment can hardly equal or excuse the horrible barbarities and exquisite tortures which were inflicted by and upon these condemned rebels. Some of them were burned, some were fixed alive on gibbets; one of them lived 210 hours, suspended under a vertical sun, without any sustenance or even a drop of water; yet they all behaved to the last moment with a degree of hardened insolence and brutal insensibility which drowned compassion, and almost authorized their doom; and the reader will probably feel far more for the fate of these wretched sufferers than did the most humane of those who witnessed their expiring agonies."‡ Perhaps most readers will be inclined to attribute admirable fixedness of purpose,

and unalterable courage to the victims, and "brutal insensibility" to the ruthless bystanders. Other writers have given further details respecting these enormities, and the perfect self-possession, or, as Long also terms it, the "hardened insolence" of the victims. Richmond, the sufferer who survived so long, is described as having on the morning of his death been convulsed from head to foot; on being opened after his decease the lungs were found adhering so tightly to the back, that it required some force to disengage them. (Long, vol. ii. p. 458.) Those destroyed by fire suffered even fiercer though less prolonged tortures than their crucified associates, for the burning was performed by making the victim sit on the ground, the body was then chained to an iron stake, and the fire gradually applied, beginning with the feet. Bryan Edwards, describing the conduct of one of the Coromantines who was thus consumed, says—"he uttered not a groan, and saw his legs reduced to ashes with the utmost firmness and composure; after which, one of his arms by some means getting loose, he snatched a brand from the fire that was consuming him, and flung it at the face of the executioner."§ Numbers upon learning the fate of their confederates destroyed themselves, for "parties of militia frequently came to places in the woods, where seven or eight were found tied up with withes to the boughs of trees; and previous to these self-murders they had generally massacred their women and children."—(Long, vol. ii., p. 461.)

The conduct of the Maroons during the conflict was afterwards the subject of much discussion, some parties considering them to have done good service to the colonists; others declaring them to have been favourable to the negroes, against whom they took no part until their cause had become manifestly hopeless; an assertion which seems sufficiently probable. After the defeat of a body of the insurgents at a property called Ileywood Hall, a detachment of Maroons, who subsequently arrived at the scene of action, were ordered to pursue the fugitives, and incited to commit as much slaughter as possible by the promise of a considerable reward for every pair of ears they should produce. Whether from desire of gold, or fear of being deemed traitors if they came back empty-handed, the Maroons soon returned with a sackful of the frightful trophies demanded by the colonists, who thus put a premium upon murder, since the aged and the defenceless, however innocent, were the most likely to fall the victims of the savage and destructive spirit thus fostered in the breasts of these barbarians. In this case, however, no additional blood, guilty or innocent, was shed, the Maroons having, as it was afterwards discovered, obtained their loathsome credentials by mutilating the bodies of the unfortunate negroes left by the conquerors in unburied heaps. The same device they frequently resorted to, and perhaps if Englishmen had, by a similar artifice, succeeded in escaping the two-fold danger of capital punishment, or confiscation of land, on the one hand; and risking life to slay those with whom they sympathized, on the other; they would have been more praised for their cleverness than censured for their insincerity.

Connected with this insurrection, an anecdote is recorded, which is interesting as illustrating the illiberality with which the Jews were treated at this

* Long, vol. ii., p. 429.

† Six hundred were transported to the British settlement at Honduras, the logwood cutters gladly purchasing

the outcasts, notwithstanding their antecedents, because "they cost so little."—(Long, vol. ii., p. 462.)

‡ Bridges, vol. i., p. 99.

§ Edwards, vol. ii., p. 79.

period—although, in a commercial point of view, extremely valuable citizens; it likewise affords evidence of the reasoning powers of an uneducated African. "One of the rebel leaders," says Long, "having been taken prisoner in Westmoreland, was confined in irons in the barrack of Savanna la Mar to wait his trial. It happened, that on the night after his captivity, a Jew was appointed to stand sentry over him: about midnight, the rebel, after reconnoitring the person of his guard, took the opportunity of tampering with him to favour his escape. 'You Jews,' said he, 'and our nation (meaning the Coromantines) ought to consider ourselves as one people. You differ from the rest of the whites, and they hate you. Surely, then, it is best for us to join in one common interest, drive them out of the country, and hold possession of it to ourselves. We will have a fair division of the estates, and we will make sugar and rum, and bring them to market. As for the sailors, you see they do not oppose us; they care not who is in the possession of the country. Black or white, it is the same to them; so that after we are become masters of it, you need not fear but they will come cap in hand to us, (as they now do to the whites,) to trade with us.' Though backed by the promised revelation of a hidden treasure, the Jew was either 'too honest or too unbelieving' to be induced to set his prisoner at liberty, and the next day reported what had passed to his superior officer."

Shortly before the outbreak, the Assembly of Jamaica had increased the severity of the slave-code by an act, decreeing the punishment of death to any slave having gunpowder or weapons without a licence, and forbidding, under heavy penalties, their being allowed two successive days as holidays, suffered to dance to their national music, the tom-tom or drum, or to enjoy their accustomed diversions. After the insurrection was put down, yet more stringent and severe restrictions were enforced. No slave was suffered to quit his plantation without a ticket of leave; if found playing at any sort of game, to be scourged through the public streets; and every proprietor who "should suffer his negroes to beat a drum, blow a horn, or make any other noise" on his estate was to be fined £10. Every free negro and mulatto was to wear a blue cross on his right shoulder, on pain of imprisonment; and none allowed to hawk or sell anything except fish and milk: and an act was passed to prevent grants and devises from white persons to negroes, by which, all real estates, though bequeathed to them, were to go to the heir-at-law, and personal estates to be included under the Statute of Distribution. Mulattoes, unless born in wedlock (of which there was scarcely an instance), were incapacitated from purchasing property exceeding in value £2,000 currency; and any devise made them, even by their own parents, above that value, was declared void.†

In 1765, an insurrection broke out in the parish of St. Mary, which was not suppressed without the loss of many valuable lives, and the expenditure of a vast treasure, which the colony could ill afford. In the following year another outbreak occurred, in which nineteen white persons, in the space of one hour, fell by the knives of a few Coromantines. "Conspiracies" says Bridges, "were daily developed; insubordination and alarm reigned universally; the gaols were crowded with dangerous criminals;" and all this in defiance of the "sanguinary punishments"

to which this writer states, apologetically, the "harassed planters were provoked."‡

Mr. Long, writing in 1774, gives an account of the Jamaica "Code Noir" of that period, by which it appears that ten distinct offences—including the reception of stolen goods, the possession of fire-arms or offensive weapons; running away into the woods; attempting to escape in any ship or boat, and harbouring a fugitive slave—were punishable with death or dismemberment, such as amputation of the toes, which was the punishment of fugitives. There was no trial by jury; the planters made the laws, pronounced the sentences, and were the executioners thereof. Thus, by an enactment of 1760, any body composed of two justices of the peace, and three freeholders, were empowered to inflict capital punishment on *Obeah* men, pretended conjurors or priests, or any negroes found with arms in their hands.

Protection for life and limb there was in reality none; for though, in 1751, a law was passed "to prevent the bloody, inhuman, and wanton killing of slaves," which provided that any person so offending should be adjudged, on the first offence, to suffer imprisonment for a term not exceeding twelve months: yet it was next to impossible, even had it been desired, to procure evidence of the crime committed, since the testimony of a slave against a white man could not be received, but only against one another. Deliberate murder might therefore be committed with almost complete impunity, for a plea could never be wanting while *any person* was authorized to kill a negro "in the act of stealing, or running away, or found in the night out of his owner's or employer's estate, or on the road and refusing to submit," without becoming "liable to action or damage for the same." And, further, the several parishes were compelled to pay the value of all slaves who should be executed within their respective jurisdictions; so that a proprietor with an unmanageable, diseased, or unsaleable slave, had nothing to do but to accuse him of some one or other out of the long list of capital offences, and receive the blood-money wherewith to purchase a more profitable victim, or to appropriate in any other manner he might think fit.

Long, even while endeavouring to vindicate this sanguinary slave-code, admits that the punishments it decreed were arbitrary and ill-defined; that the slaves were in general quite ignorant of the penalties they incurred, and "might as well be condemned on the laws of Japan or Crin Tartary,"§ and that the law as it then stood, plainly taught the negro—"If a white man murders a white man he ought to die for it, but if a white man murders a black man he ought to be acquitted!" adding—"Is not the negro led to espouse the very same principle and creed, *ex converso*?"|| "The early West Indian planters," he says, "thought it no greater sin to kill a negro than to knock a monkey on the head." His own statements would lead the reader to doubt whether their descendants had made much progress in humanity, since he vainly urged, even as a matter of policy, that wanton murder, when proved, though committed by a white man upon a black, should be judged worthy of death; wanton maiming or dismemberment, of fine and imprisonment; and if perpetrated by the master upon his slave, the latter to be manumitted. All punishments by mutilation should, he considered, be utterly abolished and prohibited as "scandalously cruel; not warranted by necessity, nor justified by

* Long, vol. ii., p. 460.

† Southey, vol. ii., pp. 334, 339.

‡ Bridges, vol. ii., appendix, p. 500.

§ Long, vol. ii., p. 488.

|| *Idem*.

utility;" and punishment by whipping should be brought within some limits; and as the degree of correction so the instrument should be regulated, and none permitted which might lacerate or disfigure the body.* Interference in this matter was certainly very necessary; for though the law forbade the infliction of more than a certain number of lashes *at one time for one offence*, the spirit of the injunction was of course susceptible of the most direct violation, even while the words were closely abided by. Among the innumerable hardships under which the negroes laboured was, liability to be seized for bond and simple contract debts, and hurried from one part of the island to another, which, says Long, "renders their servitude more bitter and intolerable; and produces a very great annual loss to the public, by the mortality which it occasions."

The above paragraph, by the strong though indirect proof it affords of the frequency of insolvency, leads naturally to the consideration of the commercial and social condition of Jamaica at this time, before the abolition, even of the slave-carrying trade was mooted—and that condition once understood, affords a clear explanation of the sure destruction in which the landed proprietors were rapidly becoming involved. The testimony of Mr. Long is invaluable, as being incidentally given by a slaveholder and planter, the representative of one of the oldest and most respected families in the island. Though blinded by hereditary prejudice to the inherent curse attendant on slavery, he remonstrated forcibly with his countrymen upon the mad career of dissipation which many of them were pursuing; and in so doing has unwittingly exposed a state of things which, if described by the pen of an abolitionist, would have been deemed gross calumny and misrepresentation.

The mischiefs attending absenteeism, he showed to be incalculable;—large estates, lying in different parts of the island, being often entrusted to the charge of a single agent, who could not possibly reside upon, or even visit them frequently. The superintendence, therefore, devolved upon the overseers, whose chief aim being to raise large and immediate profits, forced the negroes to labour beyond their abilities, heedless of the waste of life thus occasioned; while the absentees, who had judged of the condition of their properties by the increased remittances sent them for a year or two, and were ignorant of the heavy losses sustained in their production, suddenly found both property and income largely abridged, and then having overshot the bounds of economy, too often endeavoured to extricate themselves by hopelessly exhausting their resources, either by overworking their remaining slaves, or purchasing others. "The purchase of new negroes," says Long, "is the most chargeable article attending these estates, and the true source of the distresses under which their owners suffer; for they involve themselves so deeply in debt to make these inconsiderate purchases, and lose so many by disease, or other means, *in the season*, that they become unable to make good their engagements, and are plunged in law-suits and anxiety." The absence of any regular increase of population by natural means, is abundantly accounted for—the relative number of the sexes being disproportionate in the extreme—there being "upon some estates as many as five men to one woman" and by the overworking and flogging of the women, especially on the sugar plantations. The afternoon of Saturday was usually allowed them to labour on their own

provision ground; the whole of Sunday was applied in a similar manner, no religious instruction of any kind being extended to them, and thus the weary frames that had laboured during the week, from sunrise to sunset,—stimulated by an incentive more powerful than the lash—renewed their toil with such ardour as to produce more in one day's labour for themselves, than the worth of a fortnight's hire."† Simply in a pecuniary sense, as a means of preserving their strength, it would have been better for their masters to have inculcated the value, and shared with them the privileges of a Christian Sabbath, prohibiting the system of Sunday markets, even at the cost of surrendering a week-day's labour. But at this time the very entrance to a share in religious ordinances, might be said to be barred against them—the baptismal fees payable for each negro being no less than £1 3s. 9d.

In reference to the character and conduct of the clergy of the Established Church, Long remarks: "I shall say but little. There have seldom been wanting, some, who were equally respectable for their learning, piety, and exemplary good behaviour: others have been detestable for their addiction to lewdness, drinking, gambling, and iniquity; having no control but their own sense of the dignity of their functions, and the censures of the Governor." "Some labourers of the Lord's vineyard have at times been sent [by the Bishop of London], who were much better qualified to be retailers of salt fish, or boatswains to privateers, than ministers of the gospel."‡

After referring to the "infatuated attachments" formed by the white colonists to black women, "in which not one in twenty can be persuaded that there is sin or shame," he remarks on the fashionable detestation in which marriage was held, the expense of keeping up the necessary establishment, being pleaded in excuse by men who lavished their fortunes on coloured women of the lowest class, and became the abject dupes of their artifices, thefts, and infidelities. His account (vol. ii. p. 328-9) of the immoral lives led by the most wealthy planters, cannot be transferred to these pages. He alludes also to the notorious and disgraceful circumstance of strangers, on first arriving in the island, being "shocked at seeing a group of white legitimate, and mulatto illegitimate children, (the latter generally slaves) all claimed by the same married father, and all bred up together under the same roof," adding, "habit, however, and the prevailing fashion, reconcile such scenes, and lessen the abhorrence excited by their first impression."—(vol. ii. p. 330.)

The inevitable results of intemperance and immorality did not fail to send numbers, in the pride of manhood, to their graves, so that the proportion of young widows formed a marked feature in society. Governor Lawes, in allusion to this fact used to say, that the female art of growing rich quickly in Jamaica, was comprised in two short words, "marry and bury." As to the overseer class, and indeed the white servants in general, they were largely composed of the very dregs of the three kingdoms, who had commonly more vices, and much fewer good qualities, than the slaves over whom they were set in authority. Their masters, with an inconsistency by no means rare, expected to find in the same person strict honesty and gross immorality; they did not desire, and in most cases would not employ, married men as overseers. To check the shameless and disgrace-

* Long, vol. ii., p. 497.

† *Idem*, vol. ii., p. 491.

‡ *The History of Jamaica*, vol. ii. (4th edition), p. 238.

ful policy observed in this respect, Long advised the recognition by the legislature, of the freedom of all mulatto children, thereby making it the interest of the planters to check, instead of foster, illicit intercourse with their slaves. But this suggestion was disregarded, being quite contrary to the tone and feeling prevalent in the Assembly.

Such a state of things as the above paragraphs reveal, seems almost incredible in a British colony, at a period comparatively recent: but something yet remains behind which makes the picture more repulsive—viz., the common practice of producing intoxication of a peculiarly demoralising kind, by means of laudanum; the planters, their wives and concubines, wresting its valuable medicinal uses by taking it for the same purposes for which its crude preparation, opium, is employed by the Chinese.

"I have known," says Long, "a whole company of men in Jamaica, at table, pledge one another in this liquor. The women, in general, are more moderate in the quantity they take at once, but although they sip it drop by drop, it is repeated so frequently that the whole they take in a twelvemonth is pretty near as much as what others drink who recur to it seldom, but in larger doses at a time; and its effects in both cases are equally fatal. Some ladies are never without a bottle of it in their pocket; * * * they pretend it is absolutely requisite for their comfort and happiness," and by this practice are at times "deprived of their reason, and driven into the most incoherent ravings in their conversation, and the wildest extravagancies in their conduct, thus sacrificing sense, beauty, health, fame, and even virtue, to this pernicious habit." * * * To the excessive use of laudanum, Long attributes the drawing faltering speech so frequent among the colonists, and says: "this notorious vice has ruined, and still ruins, the beauty of many a fine woman in this island, both in complexion and constitution, for it so poisons the whole corporeal mass as to render the lips of a deadly pale or livid hue, and the face cadaverous. After frequent repetitions of it, so importunate and strong are its solicitations as to admit of no denial, till in the end it constrains even debauchees to abuse it."* The historian then gives some personal illustrations of the operation of this deleterious drug, which correspond exactly with what I myself witnessed in China, (as stated in my report on the opium trade,) and with the descriptions given in official documents published by the Chinese authorities, respecting its ruinous effects on the moral character and physical structure of man.

In truth, the extensive use, or rather abuse, of opium in Jamaica, explains not only the immorality and crime which pervaded the island, but also, viewed in conjunction with slavery, accounts for the mercantile affairs of the planters having become so hopelessly involved. It is well known in China, that when once a merchant becomes a confirmed opium smoker, his business goes rapidly to ruin, and he becomes bankrupt in fortune, as well as in health of body and soul.

The victim of this devilish vice has his natural sense of right and wrong completely perverted; licentious indulgence absorbs every faculty; the exercise of cruelty becomes a delight; the slightest opposition calls into fearful activity the most violent passions; when strength is wanting, cunning is resorted to as an instrument of malice; intense selfishness prevails; and, until the corporeal strength

fails, man is converted, not into a brute, but into a demon.

In 1792 a Consolidated Slave Act was passed, for which the Jamaica Assembly took to themselves great credit, and whose modified provisions would, they probably hoped, check the growing feeling of sympathy for the enslaved Africans, and blind the British public to the numerous and cruel laws which remained unrepealed by the present enactment. Mutilation, or dismemberment, was prohibited, and made punishable by a fine not exceeding £100, and imprisonment for a term not exceeding twelve months; wilful murder was declared a capital offence; "iron collars, with projecting bars or hooks," were no longer to be fixed at the owner's pleasure round the neck of any slave, or his body or limbs to be loaded with chains, irons, or weights of any kind, "other than such as are absolutely necessary for securing the person of such slave." These were certainly mitigations, if carried out; but while no coloured person was allowed to give evidence against any white person, and the testimony of every coloured person was received against his fellow, the chance of the oppressed race being able to obtain a verdict against a planter, from planter judges, was poor indeed, even supposing no suborned or compulsory perjury to be resorted to in the matter. One very important clause in this act was that which enjoined every proprietor to plant in the proportion of at least an acre of land to every ten negroes, with ground provisions, in addition to the appointment of a sufficient quantity of land for every slave, and time to work the same, in order to provide for his own maintenance. This was a most necessary decree; the neglect of the cultivation of food had been already attended with fearful results, for in an island which, in the time of its occupation by a handful of Spaniards, had afforded animal food in the greatest abundance, and which was capable of producing an almost incalculable amount of vegetable supplies, 15,000 negroes are stated to have perished in a period of little more than six years (between the latter end of 1780 and the beginning of 1787), either from famine, or diseases contracted by scanty and unwholesome diet.† The planters attributed the scarcity to the prohibition of foreign supplies by Great Britain, and to the destructive hurricanes by which the island had been visited; but the true cause was the insufficient ground, and yet more insufficient time for labour, apportioned to the slaves. The planters had, from an early period, found it to be their interest to compel the negroes to maintain themselves, which they did with the exception of a small quantity of salt provisions dealt out to them weekly. All that they could raise, beyond what was necessary for their own consumption and that of their families, they were allowed to sell, and hence arose the system of Sunday markets, held by them and the Jews, which so long disgraced Jamaica. The time generally allotted them to provide for their own sustenance, was the afternoon of Saturday (except in crop time, when the labour was continued day and night), three days at Christmas, two at Easter, and two at Whitsuntide; to which the act of 1692 added a day in every fortnight. The slaves of Jews were better off, having the whole of every Saturday as well as Sunday at their disposal. The incitements to labour, even on their own account, were however few, and the discouragements very heavy.

No law guaranteed to slaves the possession of property they must have striven so diligently to earn,

* *History of Jamaica*, vol. ii., pp. 545-'7.

† Southey, vol. ii., p. 15.

the master might at any time seize it, and his slave would have no remedy. The highest and most honourable object, the purchase of his freedom, of that of his wife, or his children, was in most cases quite beyond his reach; he could not demand it on payment of any reasonable sum. Cattle, horses, mules, asses, &c., they were forbidden to acquire, under pain of confiscation. In fact, the condition of the negro depended almost entirely upon the character of his master, or more frequently upon that of the overseer, to whom little less than irresponsible power was delegated.

To check the decrease occasioned by the extortion of excessive labour, wanton mutilation, and the infliction of whipping and other punishments, the justices and vestry of every parish were formed into Councils of Protection, and directed to investigate any case of the kind with which they might become acquainted, and bring the offenders to justice.* This measure does not, however, appear to have produced much, if any, mitigation of the deep-rooted evil it was professedly designed to remedy. Another cruel hardship, which could not but damp the energy of the negro, and lessen the pleasure he might otherwise take in cultivating his small allotment of land, was the uncertainty of its continued possession, for even under the kindest master, the most considerate of overseers, his position was yet fraught with cruel uncertainty. He might have spent years of unremitting anxiety, toiling still, when almost wearied out with labour, for his master, upon his own cherished spot of ground; he might have built himself a house, obtained a wife, and become surrounded by a young family, but he was at any moment liable to be sold by his master's creditors, and made subject, in a course of administration by executors, to the payment of all debts, both of simple contract and specialty. However irreproachable his conduct, he might be seized on by the sheriff's officer, dragged to public auction, purchased by a stranger, separated from his wife and children, and perhaps sent to terminate his miserable existence in the mines of Mexico.

The parliamentary act authorizing such proceedings, passed in the reign of George III., for "the more easy recovery of debts," was repealed in 1797, and the Assembly were directed to adopt measures to remedy so crying a grievance, but they paid not the slightest heed to this intimation. The extent of misery which must have originated from this source alone, may be partially understood from a statement made by the House of Assembly, in 1792.

"In the course of twenty years, 177 estates in Jamaica have been sold for the payment of debts; 55 estates have been thrown up, and 92 are still in the hands of creditors; and it appears from a return made by the Provost-Marshal, that 80,121 executions, amounting to £22,563,786 sterling, have been lodged in his office in the course of twenty years."

LAST MAROON WAR.—It has been already stated that no endeavour whatever was made by the colonists to introduce among the Maroons the rudiments of Christian civilization. It was taken for granted that they were incapable of receiving any such instruction; and the only species of good conduct expected from them, and to which they were incited by the hope of reward, was the capture and betrayal of fugitive slaves; and as they were useful in this respect, and as a body, inoffensive in others, they were suffered to remain unmolested. This state of

things was disturbed by the bloody revolution which broke out in Hayti (San Domingo) in 1790; the smouldering flame of rage and despair, having been fanned by the declaration of the National Assembly of France, that all men were free, the negroes and mulattoes flew to arms, and, after a desperate struggle of several years, succeeded in obtaining their liberty, and ultimately acquiring from France (by the payment of a heavy ransom) the recognition of their independence, and undisturbed possession of the island. Such proceedings as these were not likely to be viewed with indifference by an insulated slaveholding community, not ninety miles distant. The idea of a possible coalition between the slaves and Maroons readily suggested itself, and was followed by an endeavour to increase the aversion already existing between them. This was done by an act passed in 1791, which admitted without reserve the testimony of slaves against the free people, who had often, pursuant to legal requisition and encouragement, captured and brought them home, when attempting to escape to the woods. Such a measure was, under the circumstances, nothing less than a direct invitation to revenge.† The Maroons had increased considerably since the pacification of 1739. Though nominally confined within the liberties of their respective towns, they were really allowed to wander through the country; many employed themselves as pedlars, and, in spite of the ill-feeling sedulously fostered between them and the slaves, an intercourse sprung up, which was cemented by the alliance of blood, if not of interest. The legislature considered such connections dangerous, because likely, according to Bridges, "to interfere with the active pursuit of deserters, the occupation most congenial to the temper of the Maroons, and most serviceable to the country;"‡ and therefore proceeded with their usual tyranny and violence, suddenly to confine the people within the precincts of their towns, to remove their captain or superintendent (to whom they were enthusiastically attached) on account of his alleged laxity of discipline, and to place another person in his stead.

At this crisis the Earl of Balcarres arrived as Governor. Impetuous and prejudiced, he appears to have taken for granted that all the coloured population were ready to follow the example of their brethren in San Domingo; he was consequently on the watch for the slightest demonstration from any quarter that could be construed into rebellion, that he might crush it in the bud. This readiness with regard to the Maroons helped to produce the very disasters it was intended to prevent; the imprudent chastisement of two of them for the theft of some pigs, by the hands of a negro slave, created great discontent, and led them to dismiss, but without violence, the new superintendent, to whom they attributed the ignominy with which they were now treated. The earl at once proclaimed martial law, declared them rebels, marched up large bodies of troops, and surrounded Trelawney Town with an armed force of 1,200 men. Their aged leader, named Montague, with thirty-seven of his best marksmen, surrendered unconditionally, declaring that his countrymen only waited to see how they would be treated, to do the same. Lord Balcarres had them bound hand and foot, and cast into prison, but afterwards released two of them, and sent them into the woods, to hasten the submission of the rest. Their report, as might have been expected, produced an opposite

* Edwards, vol. ii., p. 173.

† Southey, vol. iii., p. 49. ‡ Bridges, vol. ii., p. 223.

result; the main body, indignant at the treatment received by their leader, instantly set fire to their scattered abodes, collected all their strength, fled to the woods, and there, for four months, a body alleged to have comprised only 300 fighting men, held their ground against 1,500 European troops, and more than double that number of colonial militia. Well acquainted with every cavern and footpath, they made the most of the natural advantages offered by the impenetrable character of the country, and defended themselves so skilfully as to generally lose but one man where their trained and well-armed assailants were deprived of thirty.*

Lord Balcarres' plan of clearing the woods, enclosing the besieged people by a cordon of troops, and starving them into submission; even if practicable, must have been very slow in its operation. Christmas was approaching; and the brief season of relaxation then universally allotted to the negroes was much dreaded, lest they should be tempted to join the Maroons. It was therefore of great importance to terminate speedily a war which had already cost many valuable lives, including those of Colonels Sandford and Fitch. The latter officer, by the influence of his personal character, had endeavoured to pave the way for peace, which the enemy, without doubt, earnestly desired; but having no authority to make terms, he proposed a temporary truce, and permitted two of them to pass through his lines and visit their imprisoned comrades. These had been placed on board ship for security, which the deputies concluded to be a preparatory step to their transportation, and probably enslavement, in some distant place of punishment, such as they well knew was the doom of rebellious or ill-conducted slaves. They returned to their den; at once renounced all further friendly intercourse, and prepared for a death-struggle. Artillery was brought; the outposts of the army were advanced; and Colonel Fitch, habitually careless of danger, pressed forward with a few followers, into the deep and pathless forests, with a view of examining the most defensible and advantageous positions. His more wary guides, alarmed by finding in various places the dying embers of Maroon fires, entreated him to return; but, heedless of their warnings, he continued his progress though mountains of great height rose before him, and the prospect at every step became more gloomy and forbidding. At length, when about to enter a narrow track, scarcely to be called a path, a voice near him commanded him to return, for no white man had ever passed that boundary. Fatally daring, Fitch still kept onwards, but had not proceeded many yards when a volley of musketry† was poured upon him from among the surrounding rocks, and he fell mortally wounded.

The governor had returned to the capital before the death of Colonel Fitch. General Walpole succeeded to the command, for which, both from skill, discretion, and humanity, he was well adapted. Fresh troops were ordered up, the horrible resource of shells was used to destroy the lives and habitations of the Maroons; and all these means, added to immense superiority of numbers, proving insufficient, a body of chasseurs and trained bloodhounds were sent for, and actually arrived from Cuba. Happily, in time to prevent this last atrocity of hunting men,

women, and children like wild beasts, the wise policy of the general procured their voluntary surrender on the simple terms, "that they should on their knees beg his majesty's pardon; that they should occupy in peace and subjection *whatever land the governor might think proper to allot them*, and that they should deliver up all the slaves who had deserted to their standard."‡ The second condition clearly implied that territory would certainly be allotted them; but the Maroons, naturally distrustful, and, as the event proved, with only too much cause, insisted on receiving the personal pledge of the general, who engaged, by a solemn oath, that if they submitted immediately, they should not be banished the island. He was in fact only too glad to end hostilities so easily, having shortly before assured the governor that "there seems but little chance of any but a Maroon discovering a Maroon." "Dogs (he adds) cannot scent but on a recent step, and I fear the Maroons are now so deep in the woods, that no expedition can be supported against them, without risking a failure of food and water for those animals; with a great probability, even if it could be sustained, of never finding the enemy. The die is cast, and it is now too late, unless they discover themselves; for I am told that the Spaniards say, that they could live in these woods for ever; that they never saw such woods for sustenance anywhere."

The governor hastened to the spot, but the apprehensions of the Maroons, the real difficulty of collecting their scattered body, and the time required to communicate the information to each other, detained them beyond the day appointed for their surrender. Heedless of the remonstrance of General Walpole, that the time allowed was too short, and that he had given assurance to the Maroons, who were delayed by sickness, of a little longer indulgence to come in with their families, Lord Balcarres ordered the dogs into the woods; and although the terrified people came as speedily as possible, he took advantage of their temporary failure to excuse the infringement of the very article which they had so specially insisted upon, and transported all who placed themselves in his hands, on the ground of the non-fulfilment to the very letter, of a condition which can hardly be considered to have formed a part of the treaty, but was rather superadded as a convenient plea for the violation of a solemn pledge. General Walpole indignantly appealed to the Assembly, who refused to hear him; he then addressed both public and private communications to the governor—declared that the Maroons had come in on the faith of the promises given, for that before the last expedition (with the dogs) had been sent against them, they had proceeded more than half-way, with loads on their back of clothes and children." The opinions of the field-officers, he said, had never differed; all agreed that unless the Maroons had been induced to capitulate by the offer of favourable terms, treble the number of troops would not have brought in so many in twelve months more. The general's just arguments were quite unheeded, but the legislature voted him a splendid sword in token of their sense of his services: he refused it, and declared his intention of resigning the command, and quitting the service, stating that he would make public the facts, and leave the world to judge how far he ought or ought not to be impli-

ration, sufficed to counterbalance the temptation of large profits, and prevent the sale of fire-arms and gunpowder by the small traders to the natives.

‡ Journals of the House of Assembly, vol. ix.

* Bridges, vol. ii., p. 235.

† In Jamaica, as in the Cape of Good Hope and other colonies, neither regard for life and property, restrictive duties, prohibitory laws, penalties, or any other consid-

cated in the guilt and infamy of such a proceeding.*

Upwards of £500,000 were spent, long before the conclusion of the war, and after it the sum of £25,000 was devoted to the transportation of the captive Maroons, 600 in number,† to Nova Scotia. To wilfully expatriate a people under such circumstances was an act of flagrant injustice, but to expose negroes whose sufferings from the slightest coldness of temperature were known to be intense,‡ to the rigours of a North American climate, was the very refinement of cruelty.

Probably, the energetic and disinterested conduct of General Walpole alone preserved them from being condemned to that lowest depth of suffering and degradation, the mines of Mexico. He vainly pointed out the *expediency even* of retaining them in Jamaica, indicating how useful the abilities they had evinced might be made, and showing that they really wanted nothing but judicious treatment to become contented and valuable subjects. That he was right was sufficiently proved by their conduct in Nova Scotia. Notwithstanding the trying temperature, they were cheerful and contented. Measures were instantly taken for instructing them in Christianity, teaching the youths and children to read, write, and cipher, and leading them to adopt the more simple usages of civilized life. "I have no doubt," says Governor Wentworth, "but that these will be a useful and happy people. * * * Last Sunday I attended public worship in their chapel, at opening the church. The Maroons were particularly attentive, decent, and most exceedingly delighted. Next Sunday many are to be baptized, and the remainder in due course. They are solicitous for this duty, and appear desirous of instruction, from whence civilization will naturally result." Eventually, through the exertions of Granville Sharp, they were removed to the free African settlement formed at Sierra Leone, where their descendants are now fulfilling Governor Wentworth's prediction, by proving useful and happy citizens.—(See Div. vii., Africa, p. 178.) These active mountaineers must have doubtless been very displeasing to the assembly of Jamaica, whose members could ill brook the sight of coloured men in possession of even personal, much less civil and religious liberty.

The planters probably foresaw that the enlightenment of the mind could scarcely long co-exist with

* Southey, vol. iii., p. 105.

† The Maroons of Trelawney Town were principally concerned in the outbreak. As Bridges states that the Maroons had increased from 600 (their number in 1739) to 1,200, it would appear that about 600 must have remained in different parts of the island, having never been engaged in the contest; but the records on this head are so imperfect, that it is difficult to understand clearly the state of the case. Reports were circulated, some of which have been recorded by Mr. Dallas in his *History of the Maroon War*, of indignities supposed to have been perpetrated on the dead bodies of British officers and soldiers—but all these were eventually proved to be wholly without foundation.—(Bridges, vol. ii., appendix, p. 479.)

‡ Edwards says that "when the mornings are chill and foggy, as frequently happens even under the zone, the sensations of the negro are distressful beyond the imagination of an inhabitant of frozen regions;" and he mentions that those who do not come with sufficient speed to their work, to which they are summoned before daybreak and not released till after sunset, are punished for their sluggishness by the driver's whip.—(Edwards' *History of the British West Indies*, vol. ii., p. 158.)

§ The excessive severity of decreeing the punishment of

the enslavement of the body; they therefore sedulously discouraged every species of instruction which should raise their victims above the degraded and brutalized state in which they desired to keep them. Devoid of any fixed religious principle themselves, it was of course useless to reason with them respecting the benefit which they would derive from the improved morality of their slaves; nor could they be expected to understand how completely sound Christian teaching counteracts the spirit of strife and sedition, which knowledge without piety rarely fails to rouse in the breasts of either white or coloured men.

In Jamaica and in too many other West Indian Islands, the experiment was fully tried, of whether human beings might not be so completely bowed down by the yoke of slavery, so spirit-broken, as to endure, not in the strength of that Christian fortitude which wins the martyr's crown—but from mere brutish indifference, to labour on through life, with no other incentive than the cart-whip, until the time should come when, physical power ceasing, dust should return to dust. Meanwhile, so utterly was the image of the Creator expected to be blotted out, that none of those vents were allowed through which even the most barbarous savage implores the mercy or deprecates the wrath of the, to him, unknown God. Every manly impulse was to be nipped in the bud, and how could this have been more ably attempted than by preventing the formation of marital and parental ties, encouraging animal instincts, and smothering every better feeling by compelling men to witness tamely, and even to inflict cruel and indecent punishments on their own children, and on the mothers of those children? But the impious endeavour failed, numerous and increasingly dangerous insurrections proved that the negroes were men, and not a superior kind of ape,|| and a conviction of the fact began to dawn upon the unwilling minds of their masters. In vain they quoted the examples of various nations in support of a system as impolitic as it was sinful; they could not or would not see the difference between the cases they cited and their own. Slavery especially, in a very mild form, might exist for ages under a despotic government among a semi-civilized race, whether engaged in the peaceful pursuits of husbandry, or living in constant warfare; but its prolongation among a free and uneducated people, whose political and social rights formed the never-wearying theme of public and private discussion, was death against any one who should assume the character of an Obeah-man, or sorcerer, was excused by the planters on the plea of their frequently administering poison to the subjects of their spells. Wilberforce, in his admirable *Appeal on behalf of the Negro Slaves in the West Indies*, shows that this was not the view taken of the proceedings of the Obeah-men. The colonists, he says, preferred employing "the devilish instrument of persecution" to root out pagan superstition, rather than the mild but efficacious instrument of Christian knowledge (p. 29). But besides this, a leading motive doubtless existed in the jealous distrust with which slaveholders would naturally view the influence acquired by a slave over his followers, even when beneficially used.

|| Long does not scruple to express his acquiescence in the "common known proverb, that all people on the globe have some good as well as ill qualities, except the Africans," and, remarking upon the narratives of ouran-outangs carrying off negro women to the mountains, he adds, "ludicrous as the opinion may seem, I do not think that an ouran-outang husband would be any dishonour to an Hotentot female."—(Vol. ii., pp. 353-364.) The conduct of the European colonizers of the Cape of Good Hope, contrasts strangely with this opinion.

an impossibility. The field negroes were indeed in great measure out of the reach of this powerful influence; treated like beasts of burden,* they might learn to think themselves created for no other purpose; but the domestic slaves, occupied in personal attendance on their master's household, could hardly be expected to listen unmoved to the doctrine of resistance to oppression, which they heard so frequently enunciated and applauded. Under such circumstances it was evident that sooner or later the negroes would become leavened with a desire for freedom, and probably for vengeance, the knowledge of their numerical superiority would quickly follow, and then the issue of a struggle between some 300,000 enraged blacks and 30,000 whites could not long be a matter of doubt. Religious instruction, however contradictory the assertion may at first sight appear, was the only efficacious means of rendering them peaceable and orderly slaves, or qualifying them to receive, without danger to themselves or others, the inestimable boon of freedom. I know it is not the general, and is very far from being the popular view of the subject, but a long and totally unprejudiced course of inquiry, reading, and reflection, has nevertheless impressed upon me the conviction that Jamaica was saved from the fate of St. Domingo mainly through the instrumentality of the persecuted missionaries. It is a painful confession for a member of the Church of England to make, but the testimony of both friends and foes proves that with some exceptions her unworthy representatives confined their efforts, such as they were, to their white congregations, and openly declared that their ministrations were not designed to extend to the negroes.

The "Establishment" was liberally, if not lavishly provided for, but the clergy were completely under the control of those who annually voted their stipends in the House of Assembly, with whom in other respects their interests were closely identified, for most of them were slave-owners, many of them openly kept concubines,† and some, having formerly been overseers of plantations, had renounced the office, but not the feelings of the slave-driver. Under such circumstances it is not to be wondered at that the few who really valued religious teaching, should seek for it through a less corrupted channel, and by this means awaken the degenerate clergy to some sense of the deep responsibility attached to the functions they were so grossly neglecting, and bringing into disrepute. Jamaica is far from being the only arena in which the zeal and self-sacrifice of non-conformists have taught the Church of England a humiliating but salutary lesson.

The first labourers in the wide field of negro con-

* Dr. Pinckard, who visited Jamaica in 1797, incidentally adverts to the manner in which slaves were there treated, as unlike anything he had seen in the Windward Islands; he observed, in Kingston, "sixteen or eighteen negroes, linked in a sort of harness, and forming a regular team, drawing an immense trunk of mahogany, conducted by a driver with a cart-whip, who went whistling at their side, and flogging them on, precisely as an English carter does his horses."—(*Notes on the West Indies*, 2nd edition, 1816; vol. ii., pp. 371-2.)

† Vide Long's remarks on the state of the clergy, quoted at p. 29; Dr. Coke's *History of the West Indies*, vol. i., p. 416; and the Rev. P. Duncan's *Wesleyan Mission to Jamaica*, p. 8.

‡ On Dr. Coke's second visit to Jamaica, he was treated even more disgracefully than before. "The persecution [he says] which we have experienced in this place, far, very far, exceeds all the persecutions that we have met with in the other islands, unitedly considered. Mr. Hammett's

version in this island, were the United Brethren, or Moravians; three members of that society being sent out, in 1754, mainly at the expense of a few proprietors, who set a good example by themselves attending the ministrations of the missionaries. Their proceedings being confined to a very few estates, attracted little attention, and they might probably have been long suffered to remain unmolested, had not the rebellion of 1760 broken out. They then refused to carry arms, and thus excited the indignation of the freeholders of the parish of St. Elizabeth, who presented a petition against them to the House of Assembly, but without result; the circumstance of no negro connected with them having taken part with the insurrectionists, but, on the contrary, having been remarked for their fidelity, possibly being a strong plea in their favour. A body of Quakers, principally from Barbadoes, who had at an earlier period settled near Kingston, had been driven from Jamaica by the obligation imposed by the militia laws on all males capable of bearing arms. Their doctrines carried them farther than the Moravians, because they not only refused to be personally concerned in war, but also to contribute to its pecuniary charges, to which the latter sect appear to have offered no objection.

Notwithstanding its promising commencement, the mission made little progress in Jamaica for more than half a century; meanwhile the Wesleyan and Baptist Societies entered the lists. So late as 1789, the immense mass of heathenism remained almost wholly unbroken, the Moravian brethren acting chiefly as chaplains on the estates to which they were attached; and although some members of the Baptist denomination had arrived from America at the close of the revolutionary war, their circle of influence was very limited. The visit of Dr. Coke,‡ the representative of the Wesleyan body, marks the commencement of a new epoch. After preaching four times in a private house at Kingston to increasing congregations, a Roman catholic gentleman offered him the use of a more convenient apartment, which had frequently been employed as a public concert room. Gladly availing himself of the opportunity, Dr. Coke addressed an assembly of 400 white people, and about 200 negroes, there being no space for more; choosing for his text, "Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her hands unto God." He had scarcely commenced when he was rudely interrupted by a number of white persons, calling themselves gentlemen, who pressed towards him, calling out "Down with him! down with him!" The intrepidity of a lady (Mrs. Smith),§ who, at no light peril to herself, stepped between the preacher

life was frequently endangered. Mr. Bull several times narrowly escaped being stoned to death, particularly one night, when he eluded the vigilance of the rioters by being disguised in a suit of regimentals. We forbear to record specific instances of brutality and wickedness, or to mention the names of those whose sons shall blush their fathers were our foes."—(*Coke's West Indies*, vol. i., p. 421.)

§ Mrs. Smith was born in the United States, but came to Jamaica about the time of the war of independence, and was one of the eight persons (three whites and five free blacks) who formed the first "Methodist Class," as it was termed: shortly before her death, in 1822, at the advanced age of eighty years, she was informed that the Wesleyans then numbered about 8,000, upon which, raising her hands to Heaven, she exclaimed, with streaming eyes, "I was once one of eight, but God has permitted me to see the little one become a thousand."—(*Duncan's Wesleyan Mission to Jamaica*, p. 12.)

and the infidel mob: her bold remonstrances, together with the christian composure of Dr. Coke himself, exercised such an influence over the meeting, that the disturbance ended more quietly than might have been expected; and was even satisfactory as proving that though many were inclined to persecute, or, at best, tacitly discountenance so new an experiment as the evangelization of the negroes; some were disposed to favour and encourage it.* A missionary, the Rev. William Hammett, was sent out in the following year, and a small society was formed, whose members continued to extend their operations without interference, until they found it necessary to quit the inconvenient and obscure house they had hitherto occupied, for a spacious building, which comprised a good chapel, meeting-room, and dwelling-place. The grand jury of Kingston, in 1790, declared their chapel a nuisance, and urged that Methodist teaching was injurious to the peace of the town. The magistrates do not appear to have taken any steps with regard to this presentment, but neither would they interpose to prevent the systematic annoyance offered to the missionaries, or punish the attempts made to injure their persons, and destroy their premises.

Notwithstanding various discouragements the mission prospered, and gradually spread to different parts of the island, by means of the negroes themselves. The contemptuous indifference with which its commencement had been viewed by the local authorities, was exchanged for alarm and aversion, which soon manifested itself most unequivocally. Towards the close of 1802, a small body of Wesleyans, newly formed at Morant Bay, of free coloured persons and slaves; being repeatedly molested in their prayer meetings, applied for a licence for the houses in which they were in the habit of assembling. This was refused by the magistrates, and the houses were indicted at the next quarter sessions, as nuisances. The Assembly determined to apply the axe to the root of the tree, and passed "an Act to prevent preaching by persons not duly qualified by law," under the penalty of being treated as rogues and vagabonds; if of free condition to be sent to the work-house (*i.e.*, the House of Correction), to be kept at hard labour one month for the first offence, and six for the second; or in the event of the offence appearing of "extraordinary heinousness," to suffer such punishment as the judges of the next supreme or assize court should see fit to inflict, not extending to life. If a slave, the offender was to be publicly flogged,—and any person permitting unlicensed prayer meetings in his or her premises, to be fined £100 for each offence, and compelled to furnish whatever securities the judges might think fit.

This disgraceful act was signed by Governor Nugent the following day, and was of course a most formidable weapon in the unscrupulous hands of the planters. "Not only," says Dr. Coke, "the Methodist missionaries, but many pious and useful preachers of different denominations, were involved in its influence. Mr. Reid, the Scotch missionary, and

* Among the extraordinary and unlooked-for results which attended this meeting was the effect it exercised upon the minds of many who heard of it only by report. For instance, a free coloured woman residing at Manchioneal Bay, nearly sixty miles from Kingston, learned that Dr. Coke had especially urged the performance of two duties; namely, that people ought to meet together to pray to God, and that instead of living as they were doing, they ought to be regularly married. She set to work forthwith, and assembled a few neighbours, who joined with her in prayer. The solemnization of matrimony was

Mr. Swiggle, the Baptist minister, [a man of colour,] together with all the local preachers and exhorters throughout the island, were silenced in an instant." The first person who suffered under this act was a free coloured man, of exemplary character, named John Williams, who had done much good in the capacity of a local preacher. He applied to be qualified according to law, but was refused, and reprimanded, as were others who made a similar request.

On the evening of the day on which his application had been made, about twenty persons having assembled in his house, he joined them in singing a few hymns, and offering up prayer to God, but he did not venture either to teach or preach. He was, nevertheless, taken before five magistrates on the following day, and found guilty of singing and praying, and encouraging others in committing the same offences, which, by some strange species of casuistry, their worships decided to be equivalent to preaching, and he was sentenced to a month's imprisonment and hard labour—but only the former part of the sentence was performed—the authorities probably fearing the notoriety that would result from such an evidence of the first working of this intolerant measure, when known in England. As it was, a month's imprisonment in a close unhealthy room, paved with brick, was no slight punishment. Mr. Campbell, a white missionary, was soon incarcerated in the same place, for having ventured to preach on the authority of the licence he had received in England, and was afterwards obliged to escape to Europe, in consequence of the numerous attempts made to arrest him and subject him to a fresh prosecution, on the plea of his having committed the crime for which he had been already punished, in his own house. The magistrates, therefore, could not only compel him to pay the penalty of £100, but were also authorised, as before shown, to require such sureties for his future good behaviour, as *they should think fit*; and as he was well aware that he could find none, which might not, for very plausible reasons, be rejected, it was clear that he was threatened with nothing less than perpetual imprisonment. The same proceedings were instituted against Mr. Williams, but were happily cut short by George the Third's disallowance of the intolerant enactment under which they were commenced.

The House of Assembly, when informed that His Majesty in Council had refused to sanction the Act passed by them respecting preaching, by persons not duly qualified, and had sent the draft of another bill for that purpose; formed themselves into a committee, and resolved, *nem. con.*, that such an attempt to direct or influence their proceedings on a matter of internal regulation, was an interference to which it was their bounden duty never to submit.

Long before this the Assembly of Jamaica had been in the habit of indulging in intemperate invective against the mother-country, more especially since the abolition of the carrying trade, and the amelioration of a worse difficulty—negro marriages had never been heard of; the parish church was between twenty and thirty miles distant, and no minister of the Gospel ever visited the district. In this emergency she thought it best to take upon herself the clerical duty, and actually married several couples, who were among the first of their race united by any christian ceremony in the island. Gradually her mind became more enlightened, and she continued learning and teaching for the rest of her life, dying in peace in 1840, having numbered, it was believed, little short of ninety years.—(Duncan, p. 20.)

tion of the condition of their slaves, had been so warmly advocated. When the decree was at length finally issued (1807) for the complete renunciation of the foreign traffic by British subjects in every part of the globe, their anger was unbounded.

By their own accounts they had for the last fifty years been constantly becoming more deeply involved in debt and embarrassment; some of their earlier reports on this head have been already cited. A gleam of prosperity had followed the revolution in St. Domingo, in consequence of the increased price for sugar and coffee, occasioned by the temporarily diminished supply; but this soon passed away, for a Report of the Assembly, issued in 1804, and published by the House of Commons, 25th February, 1805, states that—"Every British merchant holding securities on real estates, is filing bills in Chancery to foreclose, although when he has obtained his decree he hesitates to enforce it, because he must himself become the proprietor of the plantation, of which, from fatal experience, he knows the consequence." The document proceeds to assert, that sheriffs' officers were everywhere selling property "at less than half the original cost;" that "all kind of credit is at an end;" that "confidence has ceased," and that "a faithful detail would have the appearance of a frightful caricature."

In 1807, a West-India Committee of the House of Commons reported that "since the year 1792 there had taken place a progressive deterioration in the situation of the planters." A report of the House of Assembly in the same year declared that within the five or six previous years sixty-five estates had been abandoned, thirty-two sold under decrees of chancery, and that there were 115 more, respecting which suits in chancery were pending, and many other bills preparing. Moreover that "the sugar estates lately brought to sale and now in Chancery in this island and in England, amount to about one-fourth of the whole number in the colony." The committee anticipated "very shortly the bankruptcy of a much larger part of the community, and in the course of a few years that of the whole class of sugar-planters," with few exceptions.

The most sceptical inquirer could scarcely desire stronger evidence of the ruinous tendency of the system so blindly pursued. Several of the best informed British statesmen beheld its working with alarm, and scrupled not to declare their belief that the suppression of slave importation was a measure demanded not only for the sake of justice and humanity, but also necessary to save Jamaica from utter ruin. This view of the case the colonists could not understand, nor could they be induced to believe the abolitionists actuated by any better motive than a sickly sentimentality to be gratified at their expense. For a long time they had repudiated the idea of the forcible suppression of the slave-trade, as an infraction of their rights of internal traffic which England would never venture to attempt, much less to enforce; and so late as 1793, Bryan Edwards had declared, that no man could "hesitate a moment to pronounce, that an attempt to prevent the introduction of slaves into our West Indian colonies, would be like that of chaining the winds, or giving laws to the ocean." This grandiloquent declaration proved to be nothing better than bombast; it showed, however, how deeply this clever though prejudiced writer was imbued with the principles of his fellow-colonists. The decree of abolition went forth, and its most active

promoters were content to wait quietly and watch its effect, hoping that the increased-value of the slaves would lead to their improved treatment, and that consequently their numbers, instead of annually diminishing (by the preponderance of deaths over births) might be yearly augmented. But they did not calculate upon the effect of the fierce passions roused into action, in the minds of men already soured by disappointment and debased by the habitual exercise of tyrannical power, nor in the bitter animosity which would be manifested to the negroes.

The missionaries did not escape unscathed. On the 15th of June, 1805, a bye-law was passed by the common council of Kingston, enacting heavy penalties against any person who should hold a meeting for the purpose of preaching, teaching, praying, or singing, without being authorized by licence to officiate in that particular place; and even, if licensed, as aforesaid, the same penalties were attached to preaching, praying, &c., if performed before six in the morning, or after sunset. This effectually prevented any instruction being afforded to the negroes in the week-days, and almost precluded it even on the Sabbath. Still the planters were not satisfied; they desired nothing less than the expulsion of the missionaries; but the well-known character of the sovereign, his deep-rooted religious feelings, evinced in many acts of his long reign, and impressed upon them by the fate of their recent enactment, forbade the hope of acquiring the royal assent to any measure bearing upon the face of it a tendency to keep back spiritual instruction from the negroes. They therefore embodied the obnoxious measure in a law, or rather code of laws, professedly passed "for the protection, clothing, and for the better order and government of the slaves, and for other purposes," which really contained several clauses calculated to improve their condition, and would, the assembly trusted, by its general tenor, outweigh the disapprobation that might be excited by a provision which forbade "any Methodist missionary or other sectary, to presume to instruct our slaves, or to receive them into their houses, chapels, or conventicles under the penalty of £20." This unqualified intolerance was attempted to be justified upon the plea of an ardent desire for the instruction of the slaves exclusively in the doctrines of the Established Church; but for the performance of this duty by masters and overseers, no rules were laid down, and for its neglect no penalty was attached; and it is to be feared that it was urged with no better view than to blind the home-government to the utter indifference, not to say aversion to every species of religious observance entertained by the major part of the community.

Mr. Renny, writing in 1807, says—

"Surely there never was greater inconsistency than a profession of religion here; in some parishes, which are larger than our shires, there is no church; in others there is no priest, and in most of them there is not a sermon above once in a quarter of a year, and even then the white inhabitants never think of attending. * * *

In the town of Port Royal, which though only the ghost of what it was, is still a place of considerable trade and wealth, where the church, from age and neglect, had gradually decayed, a subscription was opened for building a new one, when, strange to tell, there was not one righteous person found in the whole town (at least if one may judge from this part of their conduct), since not one would subscribe a single *bitt* (a Spanish coin value 7½d. currency) for this pious purpose. In the town of Kingston (the commercial capital of the island), which contains

* Bryan Edwards, vol. ii. p. 137.

between twenty and thirty thousand inhabitants, there is but one church, while the attendance of the people is really at first sight somewhat surprising. When you enter the church on Sunday, you see the curate, clerk, sexton, one or two magistrates, and about a dozen gentlemen, with nearly double that number of ladies. The mulattoes, who are more ignorant, more unhappy, and consequently, perhaps, more devout, attend to the number of about one hundred or one hundred and fifty, and this composes the congregation of the faithful in Kingston.* "Nothing," he adds, "troubles the inhabitants of this island less than the concerns of religion; and, like the philosophers of old, they are neither elated or comforted with its hopes, nor depressed or tormented with its fears. When a people disregard religion, not from a serious belief of its being an imposition, but either from a carelessness of its truth, or the example of others, in a country too where the laws do not require, or do not exact any credit to its doctrines, attention to its precepts, or attendance on its ceremonies, and where they have not only the necessities, but the luxuries of life in abundance, while a great majority of them are kept in the most abject slavery—there, laziness, pride, cruelty, and the most irregular desires will naturally prevail in the conduct of the inhabitants. These general observations will I am afraid be but too applicable, not only to the Jamaicans but to the inhabitants of all the West India islands. Christianity is so contrary in its spirit, in its doctrines, and its injunctions to their conduct, their prejudices, and their interests, that it is not at all surprising it should be very obnoxious, and though not much spoken against, yet secretly despised and openly neglected." * * * [Writing from personal observation, he states that in the towns many of the stores were open on Sundays; amusement, idleness, and debauchery prevailed among the clerks and negroes; the gentry passed the sabbath in smoking, drinking, playing cards, or dancing. Few of them were married, but almost every householder kept a "housekeeper," without being at all thought guilty of any breach of morality or decorum; and so completely had this arrangement superseded a holier tie, that the "parents of brown ladies never think of seeing them married,"† but would in fact have regarded the position of the wife of a mulatto, much less a negro, as far inferior to that of the "housekeeper" of a white man.]

The act of November, 1807, was eventually disallowed, as its predecessor had been, but it continued in operation until August, 1809, the labours of the missionaries being meanwhile completely stopped. It was quite evident that if the local authorities were permitted to continue making laws; enforcing them until they were disallowed, and then repeating the same subterfuge over and over again, the supreme power of England was an empty name, and could afford no real protection to any injured class of persons, whether white or coloured.

To prevent a repetition of the same conduct, the governors of the West Indian colonies were directed

* *A History of Jamaica, with Observations, &c., by Robert Renny, Esq., quarto. London, 1807, p. 326-7.*

† *Idem*, p. 327-8.

‡ Southey, vol. iii., p. 468.

§ George Lisle and his wife had formerly been slaves to a British officer, who brought them to Jamaica in 1782; and when he died, bequeathed to them their freedom. Lisle first preached on the race-course at Kingston, and pleaded so earnestly, that he succeeded in raising a public subscription, amounting to several hundred pounds, towards the construction of the first dissenting place of worship in the island. His funds proving insufficient, he was imprisoned by the builder, and although urged to take the benefit of the insolvent act, in order to regain his liberty, he refused to do so, and remained incarcerated until he was enabled to pay the whole debt. As may be easily conceived, much contumely was heaped upon the "black parson." One Sabbath morning, during the celebration of the

to withhold their assent from any law relative to religion which should be devoid of a suspending clause, to prevent its provisions being carried out until it should have received the royal sanction. The Assembly of Jamaica resented this most necessary precaution with such intemperate violence, that the Duke of Manchester, although a "planter's governor," was compelled to dissolve the house. The corporation of Kingston, availing itself of a clause in its charter,‡ forbade the missionaries to reopen their chapel in that city; at Morant Bay they were for a time more successful, but they were at length compelled to relinquish preaching there also, and the only places which remained open to them were Spanish Town and St. Thomas-in-the-Vale. Notwithstanding the numerous impediments heaped in their path, through divers public and private channels, the sectarians, as they were reproachfully termed, still strove to hold their ground, and towards the close of the year 1815 they succeeded in obtaining, through the influence of some worthy proprietors, leave to reopen the chapels at Kingston and Port Morant on the Sabbath before dark, but not on any week-day, excepting at such times as divine service should be performed at the parish church. Even this was a great boon, notwithstanding the severe restrictions by which it was fettered, and the coloured people attached to the mission received it thankfully. The chapels were opened with much rejoicing; at Kingston, the ceremony was performed by the hands of the venerable lady who some six and twenty years before had interfered to preserve Dr. Coke from the personal violence offered him at the very commencement of his benevolent enterprise. (See p. 34.) Mrs. Smith accompanied the act with a fervent prayer, that the Father of Mercies would never more permit those gates to be closed against his worshippers by oppression or intolerance, and her petition was granted, the chapel having been ever afterwards exempt from magistral interference.

In 1813, the Baptist Missionary Society in England having been informed of the efforts made by coloured people of their own denomination for the improvement of the slaves, and of the considerable number who, in despite of imperfect teaching and great external discouragements, still adhered to the ministrations of Mr. Lisle's§ zealous though illiterate disciples, determined upon sending them a duly qualified instructor, which was accordingly done in the following year. Mr. Rowe, the gentleman selected for this arduous service, possessed both the piety and discretion necessary to enable him to act as a successful pioneer in a work in which his suc-

Lord's supper, a gentleman, so called, rode into the chapel, and urging his horse through the midst of the people to the very front of the pulpit, exclaimed, "Come, old Lisle, give my horse the sacrament." Mr. Lisle mildly replied, "No, sir; you are not fit yourself to receive it." On a similar occasion three young men went up to the communion table, and one of them took the consecrated bread, broke it, and gave it to his companion, who, with a horrid oath, swore it was good ship bread, and presented it to the third of the party, who refused to take it. The Rev. F. A. Cox, in recording the above incident, says, "It is not unworthy of remark, that the two former individuals were, in a few days, removed into the presence of that God, with whose institution they had so profanely trifled. One died in a state of raving madness, from brain fever; the other went out of the harbour in a boat, which was upset, and never seen after."—(Cox's *History of the Baptist Mission*, vol. ii., p. 15.)

cessors were destined to suffer and accomplish so much. His own labours were arrested by death in June, 1816; but the legal prosecutions which had impeded the progress of all missionary teaching having been meanwhile suspended, his place was soon filled, and Moravians, Baptists, and Wesleyans were allowed to pursue their course, comparatively unmolested, for several years.

Meanwhile the condition of the slaves was much what it had been before the abolition of the carrying trade. Their increased value, by reason of the cessation of external supplies, had effected little if any amelioration in their condition, and the evident policy of augmenting their number by births, had been counterbalanced by the constantly progressing decay of estates, by which resources being diminished, and hands lessened, the negroes were too generally becoming harder worked and worse fed.

From a dread of the effects which exposure of the practical working of the system might produce on the British public, the only enactment that ensured even partial evidence of natural increase or loss (see p. 25) was set aside at the very time when the question became of paramount importance. In 1815, Mr. Wilberforce and others having reasonable grounds for believing that negroes were surreptitiously brought into the British West Indies, introduced a bill into the House of Commons for the purpose of obtaining in every island the registering of the number, age, and condition of each slave; H.M. ministers consequently forwarded to the Jamaica Assembly a courteously worded but positive intimation, that a law for this purpose must be forthwith passed, leaving its details to be framed according to the feelings of the planters. The law being, after much violent declamation, reluctantly passed, affected, not the slaves only, but also guarded the free coloured inhabitants. The following circumstance may serve to illustrate the strong necessity that existed for such a measure. A free woman, named Ann Higgins, and her three children, had been seized by a man named Rutherford, and kept in a state of slavery, though they were removed two degrees at least from any servile stock. The mother was separated from her infants, transported to Honduras, and there sold as a slave, whence she succeeded in returning to Jamaica, bringing an action against her oppressor, and obtaining a verdict of £350 (currency),* but he nevertheless continued to detain her children in slavery. Nor was it until after nearly six years of obstinate litigation, through which she found friends to uphold her, that she (in 1813) obtained the restoration of her children.† A single case like this was alone sufficient to show the necessity of general and complete registration, unless indeed white men were to be suffered to commit the last outrages upon coloured men, even though confessedly as free as themselves, without the slightest prospect of punishment. The days of such unbroken tyranny were fast passing away; the free coloured race were steadily improving, under missionary influence, and though, as a class, orderly and well-conducted, they were no longer disposed to submit to the hopeless dead-level of inferiority in which they had heretofore been kept. In 1813 their firm, though temperate, remonstrances, presented in the form of a petition signed by 3,000 of their number, induced the House of Assembly to pass a bill, expressly for the

extension of their privileges, which rendered them for the first time capable of giving testimony against a white man, either in civil or criminal cases. This was a great point gained, and such the white inhabitants of Kingston evidently considered it, for they first petitioned the Assembly to throw it out, and failing in this, appealed to the privy council of the island to protect them from the measures of their representatives by refusing their assent, but with equal ill-success. The preamble of the bill was almost as ungracious as even the Kingston faction could have desired—it expressly precluded the free people of colour from ever holding civil or military rank, or in any shape interfering with the legislation of the island.

In the following year, the onerous enactments by which free coloured persons were exposed to the alternative of providing one or more white persons for the militia service, in proportion to the number of slaves they possessed, or of paying a very heavy annual fine; and the absolute restraint placed upon devisees of land, or bequests of personal property, were repealed. These were certainly concessions; but the spirit in which they were made was very evidently that of compulsion rather than of justice or liberality; they therefore were not likely to be received with any grateful feeling. The same remark applies, still more forcibly, to the slaves who, from the intemperate language of the planters themselves, especially since the Registration Act, were led to attribute every amelioration in their state to the direct interference of England, and with only too much cause, for even the most moderate portion of the abolitionist party—those who, like their great leader, Wilberforce, had hoped to see the social improvement, and eventually the emancipation, of the slaves gradually brought about by almost unfelt transitions—through the workings of just and holy principles in the minds of both master and bondman, found their hopes disappointed by the perverse and short-sighted conduct of the colonists, and especially of the House of Assembly, and could not but feel that England alone possessed the power of forcibly arresting, in her West Indian colonies, the ruin of the dominant, and the extermination of the servile class.

In 1823, Mr. Buxton moved a resolution in the House of Commons, declaring that "slavery was repugnant to the principles of the British constitution and of the Christian religion, and that it ought to be gradually abolished throughout the British dominions." One chief means which he proposed was the emancipation of all children of slave parents who should be born after a certain stated period. This motion was negatived; but Mr. Canning moved and carried a resolution expressive of the desire entertained by parliament for the adoption of effectual and decided measures, for the improvement of the condition of the slaves, and for their emancipation at the earliest period compatible with their own well-being, and with "a fair and equitable consideration of the interests of private persons." To this end, circular letters were addressed by the government to the different colonial authorities, recommending them to adopt various reforms—such as the abolition of the Sunday Markets, and the allowance to the negroes of equivalent time on other days; the admission of the testimony of slaves (*quantum valeat*) in

* The nominal difference between Jamaica currency and sterling was 40 per cent.; but this did not include the premium on bills, which varied. The average real difference

was greater, being about £60 per cent. In 1841 the currency was assimilated to that of the United Kingdom.

† Stephens' *Defence of the Registration Bill*, pp. 49, 50.

courts of justice, and the legalization and protection of their marriages. Reform in this last respect, as in so many others, was loudly called for in Jamaica, marriage being still far from general even among the white population, and among the slaves almost wholly unknown, except in four parishes, where the Wesleyan missionaries insisted on the union of those whom they received into their society being consecrated by the sanction of religion. In these parishes the number, in fifteen years, amounted to 3,467; in the whole of the remaining portion of the island there were only 109 marriages between 1808 and 1822.

Notwithstanding the reasonableness of the measures suggested by the British government, the West Indian legislatures, for the most part, viewed them with unqualified disapprobation. When H. M. orders in council were sent to the Jamaica House of Assembly by the governor for its consideration, it was proposed that they should be thrown over the "bar" of the House, and there burned by the hands of the common hangman; it was intimated that the Assembly had 18,000 bayonets at its command, a force which recent events had shown to be "most truly great, most truly powerful, and most truly formidable;"* and that with such means of defence it would never submit to be dictated to by H. M. government. Despite this insulting and absurd language, and very much more of the same description, the British ministers, aware of the deep-rooted prejudices of the planters, and of the unpopularity of the just and necessary reforms they were endeavouring to introduce, made every possible allowance for their unruly conduct, but continued steadily to urge that they should, as the lesser evil, do that for themselves which would otherwise be done for them.

With the view of producing an improvement in the general state of the Established Church, a bishop (Dr. Lipscomb) and some additional clergy were sent out. The records respecting this stormy period of ecclesiastical history in Jamaica are scanty and unsatisfactory, but there seems ground to believe that Dr. Lipscomb effected a very beneficial change in the general character of his clergy, and exerted himself diligently to repair the evils done by the appointment of notoriously unfit men during the nearly twenty years' administration of the Duke of Manchester, whose long rule was in itself a standing reproach to the home government. The difficulties with which the bishop had to contend must have been very heavy. Among the most popular of his subordinates was the Rev. Mr. Bridges, the author of the cleverly and carefully written *Annals of Jamaica*, cited in these pages; a man whose seditious disposition, joined to a ready and unscrupulous pen, wrought an incalculable amount of mischief. "Sectarians" of all denominations, but especially the Wesleyans, (who, in addition to the tacit reproach of leading exemplary lives as heads of families, added that of keeping no slaves, either predial or household,) were honoured with his undisguised aversion; and much public and yet more private persecution was traced to his direct instigation.

On one occasion, in consequence of an inflammatory morning discourse, an attack was made on the evening of the same day (the 25th of December, 1826), by a militia guard, composed exclusively of white persons, who, about midnight, came to the outside

of the mission-house, and knowing that Mr. Ratcliffe and his family were within, fired upon it in different directions. Several of the bullets perforated the walls and went through the opposite side; but seven of them were afterwards found in various parts of the house, exclusive of one which stuck fast in a wooden post not far from the defenceless inmates, who, by the providence of God, escaped uninjured. In the island the matter soon dropped, but the news reaching Great Britain, Dr. Lushington brought the whole case before the House of Commons, and some official correspondence passed between the colonial secretary and the Duke of Manchester, who made light of the whole business, and endeavoured to exculpate Mr. Bridges by pleading that the discourse in question had "been repeatedly preached before on the island, and that it was not written by Mr. Bridges, but by the archdeacon of Colchester."† His grace does not explain how the archdeacon came to express himself so bitterly with regard to the proceedings of the Wesleyan missionaries and their coloured congregations, but he states on the authority of the attorney-general, that after strict magisterial investigation no evidence could be found to induce the grand jury to find a bill: this was incorrect, for although the young men concerned in the riot surrendered themselves, the grand jury ignored the bill; and though the missionaries long expected that the attorney-general would prosecute *ex-officio*, he never did, and thus the affair ended.

The chief point urged by Mr. Bridges (or the archdeacon of Colchester) against the Wesleyan missionaries, was their receiving pecuniary oblations from the negroes, who cheerfully offered a liberal share of their hard earnings to aid in the propagation of religion. According to Mr. Bridges, the Wesleyans were convicted, "on their own reluctant testimony, of draining the almost incredible sum of at least £7,000 from the lower orders, the slaves principally." (Vol. ii., p. 496.) As the restrictions on devises of property to mulattoes had been removed, it is probable a large portion of the yearly contributions came from them; in any case it was absurd to urge against the missionaries the self-denying liberality of "the lower orders," as it was well known their salaries were fixed and paid from home, and, unlike the ministers of the establishment, were in no way affected by the contributions of their flocks. Nevertheless the Assembly took up this point very seriously, and in the new law for the admission of the evidence of slaves, enacted in reluctant compliance with the repeated injunctions of the home government, a clause was introduced forbidding, under heavy penalties, any dissenting missionary to receive offerings or contributions from slaves, or to hold prayer-meetings between sunset and sunrise. Notwithstanding the express direction issued to all governors to abstain from assenting to any act containing restrictions on the religious liberty of any class, the Duke of Manchester (who was soon afterwards recalled) gave his immediate assent, and thus its enactors secured at once the rejection of the bill, and an interval of legal persecution for the sectarians. Bitter indeed that persecution was; even before the time specified for the new law to come into operation had arrived, a Wesleyan minister, Mr. Grimsdall, for preaching between the hours of

Jamaica-born British subjects, named Leceane and Le-coffery, under pretence of their being aliens, but in reality because they had given offence by taking part in the endeavours made by the mulattoes for the removal of their

* Parl. Papers., printed 11th of April, 1832; p. 144.

† Despatch, dated King's House, Jamaica, April, 1827.

‡ One of the most tyrannical acts committed by the duke of Manchester, was the deportation of two free

seven and eight o'clock, was confined in a loathsome den, only separated by a wooden partition, which did not reach half-way up to the roof, from a hospital or rather lazaretto, where a number of diseased negroes and others were confined; nor was he allowed so much as a straw pallet to lie upon. Three months after his release he was again apprehended, and charged with having married a couple of slaves without obtaining the consent of their owner, although Earl Bathurst, in an official despatch, had expressly declared no such consent was required. Mr. Grimdall was bound over to answer this charge at the next quarter-sessions; but before the time arrived his earthly career was ended, his healthy frame having been brought to the grave at the age of thirty-two, mainly by the cruelties to which he had been subjected. (Duncan's *Wesleyan Mission*, p. 206.)

The disallowance of their last attempt at slave legislation was the occasion or pretext for a fresh outbreak in the House of Assembly; and the observations of the new colonial secretary, Mr. Huskisson, respecting the intolerance evinced in it, drew forth a torrent of fierce invective. One member (Mr. Barrett) declared Mr. Huskisson's despatch to be neither "the work of a statesman, nor of an honest man, but that of an enemy to his country." Another (Mr. Stamp) talked freely of the "fraud and villany" of British ministers, and advised the House of Assembly to impeach any minister who should attempt to violate the constitution of the island.

Harangues like this re-echoed through the island, and were diligently circulated by a very discreditable publication called the *Courant*; in public and private society, separation from England, and junction with the United States, was the favourite theme. The morning deliberations of the slave-holding politicians of Jamaica were scarcely exceeded in violence and sedition by their after-dinner harangues. In England the reports of these proceedings were treated with the contempt they deserved, but the effect on the minds of the slaves was very different. They beheld with indignation the insults and injuries to which the missionaries were subjected for endeavouring to instruct and benefit them; they knew that they were sent by English people, and protected by English ministers; and the names of Clarkson, Wilberforce, Buxton, Sturge, Macaulay, and many others, were familiar to their ears, as persons who for their sakes had earned the bitter hatred of their oppressors. They heard repeatedly that the British public desired universal emancipation, and that the planters deprecated it as the greatest possible evil, and the exaggerated and contradictory statements put forth in the public journals, which many of them could now read, kept them in a constant state of excitement, which was repressed mainly by the exertions of the missionaries, who urged them most strenuously to wait with patience, and do nothing to disgrace their Christian calling. Meanwhile they were most cruelly treated by their masters, many of whom flogged them severely for no other crime, real or alleged, than attending prayer-meetings. In 1829, the same slave-law that had been previously sanctioned by the Duke of Manchester, and disallowed by H.M. ministers, was again (with very slight alterations) passed by the Assembly; and, notwithstanding its intolerant clauses regarding religion, obtained the assent of the new governor, the Earl of Belmore. Sir

civil disabilities. They obtained redress and pecuniary compensation from the British government, and by a decree in chancery procured the cessation of the sale of the

John (now Lord) Keane, while, after the recal of the duke, holding for a brief season the reins of office, had been solicited to consent to this same measure, but had refused and had interfered to protect the dissenting ministers, by warning their implacable foes, the magistrates of St. Ann's, that "they were not to be hunted like a parcel of dogs." Probably the hopes of the colonists in again passing the oft-rejected measure, was the total change in the administration which had recently occurred, and still more the favourable reception it might receive from the new sovereign, William IV., who, from the part he had been induced to take in the abolition question, and also from his having personally visited Jamaica, and received from the people a valuable star of brilliants, would, they probably considered, be induced to comply with their wish. Their expectations were completely disappointed, the act was again disallowed, and the governor was admonished to abide by his instructions for the future.

To add to the exasperation of the Assembly, they were compelled in this year to remove entirely the disabilities of the free coloured people, who, conscious that they would be supported by the mother country, in claiming their rights, had used their power and influence to obtain at length their full privileges as British subjects. The slave law of 1826 was again brought before the House, but rejected by a majority of eight. In the next year, 1831, Lord Goderich, the secretary of state for the colonies, intimated to the governor the necessity of reconsidering and adopting, the reforms suggested in 1823. The often-mooted bill was, in consequence, passed without the favourite sectarian clauses, and duly confirmed by an order of the king in council. But though, by its provisions, the slave obtained a hearing, and the privilege of legal protection in a court of law, yet, in effect, when his crime amounted to a resistance of authority on the part of his master, however cruel and tyrannical the attendant circumstances might have rendered it, these advantages were almost wholly nominal. As to surrendering the right of flogging females, or carrying out the various other ameliorations recommended, these innovations were rejected with unqualified disdain, as was also a bill brought in for the purpose of enabling slaves to demand manumission, on payment of a reasonable price.

The discussion of these measures, both in and out of the House, was attended with extreme excitement. The local papers were filled with the most inflammatory language, and the before-named *Courant*, edited by a man of low origin and immoral character, teemed with violence and sedition. Resistance to the authority of Great Britain, separation from such a saint-loving and slavery-hating nation, and annexation to the United States, were the favourite watchwords of the day. The *Courant* numbered among its contributors the Rev. Mr. Bridges, a writer who certainly could not be excused for flinging about fire-brands, under the plea of not understanding the danger of such a proceeding, since he had himself stated, very few years before, "that a spark of republicanism falling upon a combustible body of nearly three hundred thousand slaves, would produce a conflagration which a present example [San Domingo, or Hayti] had proved could never be extinguished." Yet any hazard was deemed preferable to the adoption of measures calculated to lead

Rev. Mr. Bridges' *Annals of Jamaica*, on account of the calumnious libels it contained respecting them.

* Bridges, vol. ii., p. 255.

the way to emancipation. Parochial meetings were held to determine upon the best manner of resisting the "unconstitutional interference" of the mother-country; the missionaries were stigmatised as the paid advocates of the anti-slavery party, and the negroes themselves were more cruelly used than ever, and taunted with the increased severity of their treatment, as being the only harvest they would ever reap from the exertions made on their behalf.

These proceedings, but especially the parochial meetings, inspired the negroes with the idea that their masters were not merely conspiring to defeat the ultimate designs of their friends in England, but also to disobey a general order for their emancipation, already issued by the home government.* The missionaries, towards the close of 1831, perceiving with alarm the deep root this opinion had taken in their minds, strove diligently to undeceive them, and to induce them to bear, with hope and patience, their galling servitude; but the intrigues of a very clever negro, named Sharpe, who took advantage of the suspicions aroused among his fellows by the impolitic conduct of the planters, and some peculiar acts of barbarity exercised at a critical moment, defeated their efforts, and the result was an insurrection in the north-western part of the island, which the undecided conduct of the militia, in the first instance, and their ruthless destruction of life, when all resistance was at an end, would have converted into a servile war, but for the judicious and temperate policy adopted by Sir Willoughby Cotton.

SLAVE INSURRECTION OF 1831-'2.†—The parishes of Hanover, Westmoreland, St. James, and Trelawney, where the slaves were very numerous, constituted the scene of the outbreak which commenced a few days before Christmas, at an estate called Salt Spring, in the neighbourhood of Montego Bay, under the following circumstances:—Mr. Grignon, the "planting attorney," while visiting the property, met a female slave with a piece of sugar-cane which he supposed to have been stolen from the cane-field. After flogging her himself on the spot, he took her back to the estate to have her flogged by the head driver, who, happening to be the woman's husband, positively refused obedience. The second driver was then called upon, but he being a brother or near relation of the alleged culprit, likewise refused, and these examples probably influenced others, for the attorney could not succeed in inducing any one to fulfil his hateful orders. Being aware of the reports current among the negroes in the neighbourhood, that their "free papers" were wrongfully kept back by the planters, he became alarmed at so extraordinary an instance of insubordination, as for men to refuse to strip and flog a defenceless woman; and rode off at once to Montego Bay. Constables were despatched to apprehend the offenders, but were glad to retreat speedily; and before a party of militia could reach Salt Spring, the persons chiefly implicated had made their escape. Tranquillity was

temporarily restored, but so great were the apprehensions generally entertained, that at the monthly muster of the Westmoreland militia, held the day before Christmas day, the black companies were disarmed, on some trivial pretence, which ill concealed the true reason, namely, fear, in the event of an outbreak, of their taking part with their enslaved brethren. Eventually their fire-arms were restored, and their services thankfully availed of for the suppression of the insurrection. Christmas day came, and passed without the anticipated disturbances. On the following morning, a new Baptist chapel was opened at Salter's Hill, near Montego Bay. The Rev. Mr. Knibb, during the service, adverted to the report he had heard was current among them, of their "free paper" having been sent out by the king, warned them that they had been cruelly deceived, and reprobated in the strongest terms the resolution which many of them had avowedly taken of not working any more except for wages.

This address occasioned great surprise and dissatisfaction; the excited audience declared that "Parson Knibb had no right to meddle with the free paper; that the white people had bribed Mr. Blyth (a Presbyterian missionary) to tell lies; and that Mr. Blyth had given Mr. Knibb half the money to keep the free paper from them."

After earnestly entreating the negroes to return submissively to their work at the expiration of their brief season of rest,‡ the clergy, of whom several had assembled to witness the consecration of the chapel, left the place. The effect of their arguments was probably instrumental in deterring many from taking part in the conspiracy then organizing, the existence of which the missionaries did not suspect, but believed that they had a feeling of general discontent and disaffection to deal with, rather than a deeply-laid plot, as it afterwards proved to be, originated by one firm and clear-headed man. Samuel Sharpe, the individual before referred to, had long been connected with the Baptist communion, and was much respected both by his own pastor (Mr. Burchell), and by the family to whom he belonged. The absence of Mr. Burchell in England removed a powerful restraint, and allowed the discussions of the period to have their full influence upon the mind of the slave, who suspected that the colonists, in their endeavours to rivet the chains of their victims, would, as the pages of the *Courant* daily advised, not scruple to proceed to the last extremities. He was not, of course, sufficiently well versed in the condition of foreign powers to understand the utter folly of the grandiloquent language held by the planters, but he could not mistake its seditious tendency, or misunderstand the open threats of a West Indian confederacy and union with the United States—which measures he well knew could have but the one end and aim of defeating the humane intentions of Great Britain. Resolving therefore to make, while time permitted, a desperate struggle for liberty, he spent

* The hope of emancipation by the power of England, had long been cherished by the negroes, and the celebrated M. G. Lewis, M.P., author of *The Monk*, &c., while visiting his estates, in 1817, was reported to be the bearer of the welcome gift. Mr. Lewis says, "'Good King George and good Mr. Wilberforce' are stated to have 'given me a paper' to set the negroes free [i.e. an order], but that the white people of Jamaica will not suffer me to show the paper, and I am now going home to say so.'" (*Journal of a West India Proprietor*, p. 232.)

† For the account of this important feature in the history of Jamaica, I am largely indebted to a manuscript account written by the Rev. Henry Bleby, a Wesleyan missionary, who was located at Lucea and Montego Bay during the insurrection, was an eye-witness of the scenes he has graphically described, and by the request of the Major-general of the district, examined several of the rebel leaders after their capture.

‡ Three days' holidays were given them by law at Christmas. This time, Sunday intervened, and some of the planters refused to allow more than two days, counting Sunday as the third, a proceeding which excited much dissatisfaction.

months in gradually imbuing the minds of his fellow-slaves with the idea that their "free papers" had already been sent out and were withheld by their masters; that their friends in England who had done so much for them, now expected them to do something for themselves; that the soldiers had received secret orders not to make war upon them; and, in short, that emancipation would be theirs if they would only be true to the cause, and with one consent stop work after Christmas, and refuse to recommence except for wages. In support of his assertions, he read to them passages from the local papers,* and bade them listen to the language uttered by their masters in their own hearing. Being gifted with much natural eloquence, and an excellent memory stored with Scripture, Sharpe roused the enthusiastic minds of his countrymen to a state of extreme excitement, and persuaded them to take on the Bible an oath of secrecy and fidelity. His scheme hinged on the power of passive resistance: doubtless, he said, many would be cruelly tortured, and even killed, but everybody must die some day, and at the worst, the planters could not destroy them all; besides which, the king of England would not suffer it. The opportunities offered by the Baptist prayer-meetings were used by Sharpe for the purpose of spreading his doctrines, and thus it happened that so many members of this denomination were concerned in the outbreak. Had his plan been strictly followed—no property destroyed, no life assailed, and readiness to work for reasonable wages been very generally manifested, the result might have been different, but the appeal of the missionaries had induced many even of his immediate followers to resolve to stand by their masters; and the Wesleyans, without exception, remained in the ranks of order and submission. Notwithstanding his intimate acquaintance with Holy Writ, and his evidently careful study of life and character, the conspirator had forgotten the emphatic warning, that the beginning of strife was like the letting out of water, and that negroes in the first moments of freedom, snatched by force, would be far beyond human control. And so it proved. On the evening of the 27th December, a few ungovernable spirits, excited, in the first instance, by the curtailment of their holidays, and infuriated with liquor, set fire to an estate named Konsington, belonging to a Mr. Morris; the example once given was speedily and extensively followed, and incendiary fires burst forth on property after property, until one of the fairest portions of the island became the scene of wide-spread desolation. It is impossible to describe the consternation that prevailed when the fires commenced; the horizon for miles shone with the red glare of the burning estates. None could tell the extent of the danger; and the strongest hearts turned sick at the thought of the horrors enacted so lately in San Domingo. The feelings of many an overseer at that awful hour must have been maddening, as pictures rose before him of bleeding figures, covered with deep welts and gashes; of beings in whom the dignity of manhood, the tenderness of womanhood, and the endearing weakness of

childhood, had been long crushed under the iron heel of oppression, now rising in the might of the savage ferocity, so repeatedly but so falsely attributed to them. Even at this hour, incited by revenge and by unchecked success, they displayed no blood-thirstiness that would bear comparison with the spirit displayed, by the conquering soldiers of any European power, in civilized warfare. Many disgusting atrocities were, it is true, attributed to them by the late Peter Borthwick, and other hired advocates of the West India interest, but these, almost without exception, were proved to be unfounded: it would be well if the conduct of the white militia could bear the same investigation.

To return to the narrative. The terrified inhabitants of Montego Bay crowded their wives and children on board the few ships, then in the harbour. The militia of the various parishes, who were "keeping guard" as usual during the Christmas holidays, now augmented with the addition of all capable of bearing arms, were assembled in the towns, or distributed on the estates skirting the shore, with the exception of the Western Interior regiment (under the command of Colonel Grignon, the planting attorney† already referred to), which occupied a central position at Belvidere estate, and the barracks of Shottlewood, near the borders of the three parishes, St. James, Hanover, and Westmoreland. On December 28th, Colonel Grignon, with about 150 men, thought proper to quit these stations, and take up a position at Old Montpelier, the property of Lord Seaford, where he was strengthened in the evening by the arrival of the 7th company of the St. James' regiment from Montego Bay. The insurgents, encouraged by Colonel Grignon's retreat, burnt the deserted barracks, and proceeded to attack Montpelier. They advanced in two parties, making a loud and discordant noise with shells, horns, &c. The 7th St. James' (coloured men) boldly withstood them, but, owing to the darkness of the night, could not for some time see where to direct their fire, except by the flashes of the insurgents' pieces, as they fired over the walls at the militia, from among the cane pieces. At length, a negro succeeded in setting fire to one of the "trash houses," (i.e. where the refuse of the cane is kept for fuel); the light, thus produced, enabled the militia to aim correctly, and a few volleys sufficed to put the undisciplined assailants to flight, one leader, calling himself Colonel Johnson, being killed; the other, Colonel Campbell, mortally wounded. All this time Colonel Grignon, being apparently little disposed to face his former victims, remained inactive, with his entire force, the men being drawn up in a hollow square. Immediately after the enemy had been driven off, the coloured company proposed that the united force should proceed further into the country, and attack the fugitives in their strongholds, but this proposition was negatived, and the colonel,‡ on the following morning, headed a hasty march to Montego Bay, without stopping even to carry away the body of one of his own people, who had been killed overnight. Nothing could have been more ill-advised than this second retreat;

* For instance, such quotations as the following:—"It must be alarming when *whispered* that our brethren the BRITISH SOLDIERS, who have been ostensibly stationed for our protection, who are liberally paid by us, the expense of whom forms the chief drain upon our exchequer, have received secret orders to remain neutral, or to act against us, in the event of disturbance!"—(Umbratus' letter, *Courant*, August 16th, 1831.)

† The term "planting attorney" was applied to the person who, by power of attorney, represented the proprietor.

‡ The conduct of this officer formed the subject of investigation by a Court of Inquiry, and the result of its proceedings being laid before the governor, his excellency directed a court-martial to be convened, but from some informality in the trial (probably not undesigned), it was suddenly brought to a close without result.

had the 200 or 300 insurgents, for there were no more then in the field, been pursued at once, thousands of well-disposed slaves would have flocked round his standard, and the whole affair would probably have been speedily ended. Two of the ringleaders, who afterwards acquired considerable notoriety under the names of Colonel Gardiner and Captain Dove, declared that they had determined to abandon the enterprise after the repulse at Montpelier, but were inspired with fresh hope on finding the "buck-rus" (white men) had run away.

The negroes soon learned the desertion of Montpelier; they immediately proceeded thither, burnt the buildings, took the corpse of the white man out of the coffin that had been made for it, threw it into the flames, and substituted that of their own comrade Johnson, whom they buried with the usual ceremonies.

By the desertion of Colonel Grignon's body, nearly the whole county of Cornwall, with the exception of a few isolated spots round the sea-coast, was left in the hands of the blacks, the militia being generally all stationed in, or round about the principal towns of the parishes to which they belonged, so that for about eight days, the roads were in the possession of the rebels, and hardly a white face was to be seen from Montego Bay to Savanna la Mar, and from Black River to Lucea. Thus the insurgents met with no obstacle, but went about from place to place destroying everything in the shape of a building, sparing only their own huts, and all places of worship, overpowering the well-disposed slaves, who in many cases attempted to prevent the destruction of their masters' properties, and compelling them, under pain of death, to join their ranks.

As soon as tidings of the insurrection arrived at the seat of government (Spanish Town), martial law was proclaimed throughout the island. General Sir Willoughby Cotton, the commander-in-chief, arrived at Montego Bay, January 1st, 1832, with a detachment of the 84th regiment, and on the following day the *Blanche* frigate arrived from the south side of the island, having on board 200 men of the 77th, and two companies of the 84th regiments. Sir Willoughby spent several days in making himself acquainted with the actual state of the case, and then rightly judging that kindness and leniency, would be more effectual in reclaiming the insurgents and inducing them to return to the estates, than the adoption of violence and excessive severity, he offered, in the king's name, a free pardon to all, who within a limited period, would return to their masters, except the principal leaders and incendiaries. This proclamation had the effect of undeceiving many of the negroes, who had been previously fully persuaded that H.M. troops had come down expressly to take part with them; and it would have been almost alone sufficient to quell the disturbance, but for the bad faith of the majority of the militia officers, whose ungovernable passions had been roused to fury by the destruction committed by the insurgents, and were probably additionally exasperated by the panic to which they had blindly yielded.

* By an order of Sir Willoughby Cotton, this person was afterwards tried by court-martial. He did not attempt to deny the act of which he was accused, but in defence, declared that he had acted for the best, and could not tell why, among several similar acts of his, this one should have been brought forward. His planter-judges, in the teeth of the clearest evidence, and even of his own admission, declared the charge not proved.

† Parl. Papers (Commons), August, 1832; p. 260.

Many, who returned to the estates to which they respectively belonged, in reliance upon the promise held out to them, were put to death nevertheless, and thus the proclamation came to be regarded simply as a snare, and numbers held out who would otherwise have gladly surrendered. In one instance, a subaltern officer of militia actually went on an estate about an hour after the general had left it, and without any pretence of trial, shot dead a man whom sir Willoughby had himself expressly pardoned.* Cases such as these induced the negroes to continue the struggle, but it was a hopeless one, for by the able plans of their commander, both the regular troops and militia were effectively employed, and soon reduced to subjection the undisciplined, and, for the most part, unarmed mob. The attack on Montpelier was the only approach to a battle that occurred during the whole insurrection, which sir Willoughby completely crushed in a few days; but several subsequent weeks were spent by the militia in hunting and taking vengeance upon the wretched fugitives. They marched from estate to estate, shooting every negro who attempted to escape; and such was the terror excited by their approach, that the very sight of one of them would be the signal for a general flight, while the Maroons were employed in their old service of murder and mutilation, the usual premium being offered for every pair of human ears, however acquired, without any proof being required of the guilt of their victims.

Some few of the militia officers conducted themselves with creditable humanity, but by so doing became extremely unpopular with their fellows. One of them (Mr. Beaumont) in replying from his place in the Assembly, to a taunt respecting the non-efficiency of the corps which he had commanded, declared that by its exertions 1,500 deluded slaves had been brought in, without one life being sacrificed; and held up in strong contrast to the deeds of other bodies, that his soldiers had "killed no old men, no old women, and no children."

At a very early period, many persons, suspected of being concerned in the disturbances, were apprehended, tried by court-martial, and executed immediately. The mode of destruction was soon changed from shooting to hanging. At Montego Bay, and the other principal towns, the amount of life thus sacrificed must have been terrific; nor must it be forgotten, that for each slave put to death the master was liberally remunerated by the parish; but for this arrangement the planters might not have been disposed to witness, without remonstrance, the waste of so much property. At Montego Bay alone, above a hundred executions took place; a court-martial sat there daily for some considerable time, and it often happened that men were tried, sentenced, and hanged, all in one hour and a-half.† No return was ever made of the number thus destroyed; the Assembly absolutely refused to answer the questions put to it on this subject by H. M. ministers;‡ but some idea of the extent may be formed by the fact, that one of the local papers gravely announced, after six weeks incessant slaughter, that "the exe-

‡ The late Sir Fowell Buxton moved in the House of Commons for a return of the number of lives lost on either side, the sentences passed by the respective courts, and the punishments actually inflicted, with various other information which it was highly desirable to obtain. Returns to this effect were demanded through the governor, Lord Mulgrave, but obstinately resisted by the planters, who might well shrink from offering an exposition of their sanguinary excesses.

cutions during the week have been considerably diminished, being in number only fourteen," and this related exclusively to the town of Montego Bay. The effect of such continuous carnage on the public mind, was to render it utterly callous to the very sights which were intended, it is to be hoped, to serve as a warning. "I have seen," says Mr. Bleby, "three men led out, tied up to the gallows, and launched into eternity, in the public market-place; and the people around buying and selling, and scarcely turning round their heads to look at the awful scene that was passing in their presence, so entirely had they become familiarized with the slaughter of their fellow-men. The gallows erected in the public square, in the centre of the town, was rarely without occupants. Generally four, seldom less than three, were hung at once." The bodies remained stiffening in the breeze, till the court-martial sent other victims to the hands of the executioner, a savage brutal fellow, who would then ascend the ladder which rested against the fatal beam, and with his knife cut the ropes, and let the corpses fall heavily to the ground. The poor creatures, newly arrived, were then suspended in the vacant places, and in turn, removed to make room for others; the accumulating heap remaining at the gallows-foot, until the workhouse negroes came in the evening, carted it away as if it had been so much dung, and flung it into a pit dug for the purpose, a little way out of the town. In receiving any sepulture at all, these unfortunates were, however, better treated than their comrades who had fallen in the open field, for they were left to rot where they fell; and years afterwards, the bones of scores of human beings, whose flesh had been devoured by carrion, remained to taint the heated air, and bear loathsome testimony to the barbarities of war.—(Parl. Papers, August, 1832; p. 261.)

It need hardly be stated, that no very conclusive evidence was required to secure the conviction of the accused. Mr. Bleby gives the following account of one of the many trials at which he was present:—

"A man named George Spence was charged with rebellion and rebellious conspiracy. All that was proved against him was, that he was present in a crowd of persons when the buildings of an estate were burning. Much of the evidence was elicited from himself, in answer to inquiries put by the president of the court; but nothing came out to show that he had borne arms or taken any part with the insurgents. Leading questions were proposed, the design of which was to criminate Mr. Burchell, the Baptist missionary, then on his way from England. 'Burchell told you you were to be free at Christmas, didn't he?' 'Didn't Burchell say that you must fight for freedom?' In answer to these and similar questions, the poor man said he didn't know Mr. Burchell; he was not a Baptist, but belonged to Mr. Watson's church. The manifest impropriety of such proceedings induced an officer present, though not a member of the court, to interfere and protest against them. However, he was silenced, the court cleared, and the prisoner led out to be shot. That the formality of passing sentence had been omitted, I am not prepared to say, but I heard the man inquire as he came out, 'What are you going to do with me?' The marshal replied, with a bitter sneer, 'O you never mind; you will see presently what will be done with you.' He was marched direct to the market-place, and tied between the posts of the gallows. Observing the soldiers load their muskets, he seemed to apprehend the truth, and in great alarm repeated his former inquiry. No reply was made, but the officer, commanding the detachment, took the jacket the man had worn, and threw it over his head, tying the sleeves loosely round the neck,

and stepping aside, gave the fatal order, 'Make ready—present—fire!' The report echoed amongst the cliffs for a second or two, and the poor fellow dropped a bloody corpse. Several negroes had gathered round, and were looking on the body, when a white man addressed them; 'Come here,' he said, 'and put your finger in this hole,' pointing to the spot where a bullet had entered the skull; 'you want free, do you? this is the way we'll give you free, every devil of you.'

The above is a specimen of a formal trial; but many were put to death by the decree of what was called a drum-head court-martial, and some without any pretence of official investigation whatever. In all cases it was the veriest mockery of justice, to allow men, many of whom had been recently reduced to the verge of ruin, to sit in judgment upon those, by whom they had been thus injured; under such circumstances, it was not to be supposed that they would be capable of impartially weighing the merits of the cases brought before them.

A planter would come from his estate, driven thence by the insurgents, gnashing his teeth, and literally foaming with rage against the negroes; and a few hours after, that same person might be seen presiding at a court-martial, and sending those by whom he had been, or by whom he believed himself to have been aggrieved, to die by the bullet or the halter.

Where life was spared, other severe punishments were inflicted. The floggings extended in some instances to 500 lashes, and occasionally terminated fatally, which is not to be wondered at, since the cat having nine thongs, the number of lashes amounted in effect to 4,500. From twenty to thirty persons would be successively tied up to the gallows-foot, and after receiving a certain number of lashes, were cast aside to lie bleeding and fainting about the streets, until they were sufficiently recovered to crawl to a place of shelter.—(Parl. Papers, Aug., 1832; p. 259.)

On the 8th of February, the governor, Lord Belmore, repealed martial-law, and offered pardon to all the negroes who still held out, having neither surrendered nor been captured, on condition of their giving themselves up within 10 days, with the exception only of the principal ringleaders. Great popular outcry was raised at these measures; and in fact, though intended to stop the slaughter which had been so long suffered to continue, they only partially checked it. Courts-martial were superseded by slave-courts; and although these included trial by jury, yet the alleged criminals were little benefited by the change, since both judges and jurors were generally planters. The prisons were still crowded with captives charged with having taken part in the insurrection, and as if enough blood had not been shed already, a general gaol delivery took place, after the most approved Jamaica fashion, and nearly the whole were sent to the different estates to which they belonged, to be executed there, as a means of striking terror into the breasts of their comrades. "One day," says Mr. Bleby, "I saw nineteen negroes led out at once to be hanged; these were followed by fourteen the day after, and the day after that by twenty-two;" and this system was being carried out in more than one parish at a time. The attention of the governor being at length called to these proceedings, he directed that no more executions should take place without his sanction; but Gardiner, or Colonel Gardiner, as he was termed, a noted leader of the insurgents, was hanged upon the estate to which he belonged, in defiance of this prohibition.

The number of lives^{*} lost during the insurrection cannot now be exactly ascertained, the Assembly having, as before stated, refused to make any return on the subject. Of the white population probably not twelve persons perished; of the negroes there is reason to believe at least 1,500 must have been sacrificed. The destruction of property was unquestionably very large, although the committee of the House of Assembly much exaggerated the facts, in stating it at £1,111,628 8s. 9d. currency, equal to £666,977 1s. 3d. sterling. This included the loss occasioned by the destruction of buildings, grass, and cane-fields, robbery and plunder of every description, damage done to the existing and succeeding crops, loss of the labour of slaves, and the marketable value of the vast amount of life wantonly destroyed during and after the disturbances. To this was to be added the sum of £165,000, being the military expense incurred during the period of martial law, and another sum, not specified, incurred afterwards for the pay and rations of a portion of the Maroons, as well as detachments of militia employed in hunting fugitive slaves. Upwards of 160 properties, of various kinds, were desolated by the hands of the incendiaries, leaving thousands of people homeless; and the militia following the example of the negroes, without any politic reason to plead in excuse, utterly destroyed the huts upon many properties, under the pretence of retaliation; but the loss ultimately fell upon the proprietors, at whose expense they were necessarily rebuilt, before the disaffected could be brought to their usual employments. The mischief done in this respect would have been much greater, but for the interposition of Sir W. Cotton, who was much blamed for this, as for other judicious measures.

The leaders of the insurrection were all captured at an early period. Sharpe, as before stated, acknowledged himself to have been the originator of the conspiracy. He admitted that as an individual he had had no cause to complain of the treatment he had received. His master, Samuel Sharpe, Esq., and the family, had always been very kind to him; but he thought white people had no more right to keep black people in slavery, than black people could have to make white people slaves; and, for his part, he would rather die than live in slavery. He expressed sorrow that he should have been the cause of so great destruction of life and property, but declared that it had formed no part of his plan of passive resistance. Mr. Bleby (who, with two other ministers, was requested to procure from him evidence respecting the origin of the rebellion) endeavoured to convince him that he had sinned in violently asserting his claim to freedom, and at length drew from him the admission, "I have done wrong in that, but I cast myself upon the atonement." After this, the missionaries were prohibited by the magistrates from visiting the prisoners. Some weeks elapsed before Sharpe's execution, on the 23rd of May, 1832. Long confinement in a close and noisome dungeon had not impaired his courage; he walked to the scaffold with a calm, firm bearing, and, unappalled by the near approach of an ignominious death, or by the number of spectators, who, in consequence of the notoriety he had acquired, had assembled to witness it; he addressed them with a clear, unfaltering voice, acknowledged that he had violently trans-

gressed the laws of his country, vindicated the missionaries from any share whatever in the insurrection, and exhorted all his hearers to practise the christian duties enjoined by their ministers. He declared emphatically, "I depend for salvation upon the Redeemer who shed his blood upon Calvary for sinners." In a few moments the executioner had done his work, and a man, endowed with capacities far above mediocrity, and whose ardent thirst for liberty for himself and his fellows, had alone led him into the grievous but too common error of seeking right ends by wrong means, had been cut off from the earth, as if too vile to live.

Of the other conspirators, none equalled him in ability; but their behaviour, and, indeed, the whole conduct of the insurgents, from first to last, proved beyond dispute that their object in the struggle was not blood, plunder, or revenge in any shape, but solely freedom, and this they firmly believed to have been conceded by the Imperial Parliament, and wrongfully withheld by the colonists. No single instance of violence was committed by them until after the executions by martial law had commenced. Then they perpetrated the literally few barbarities of which they were really guilty. On the 5th of April, 1832, Mr. Jones, a member of the "Rebellion Committee," stated in the House of Assembly, that "Mrs. Holmes and Mrs. Pearce were the only persons whose husbands were murdered during the rebellion." Mr. Pearce, who belonged to the Hanover regiment of militia, having imprudently ventured into the interior alone, and in his military dress, fell into the hands of a small party of negroes, who slew him with their cutlasses, and left his mangled body lying in the road, where it was soon afterwards found by a body of militia. The principals in this horrid transaction were afterwards captured and executed at Montego Bay, with the bloody clothes of their victims tied about their necks, and the head of their leader was cut off and carried to Welcome Estate, to which he had belonged, to be set on a pole as an object of terror to others. The most cruel act perpetrated by the insurgents was the murder of Mr. Holmes, in the presence of his wife. Two other white men were reported to have been killed by small bodies of negroes, into whose hands they fell. In reference to violence offered to females, concerning which so many vague charges were made, only one solitary case was ever authenticated.

Fifty thousand negroes were probably more or less concerned in the insurrection, and out of these perhaps twenty were accessory to acts of personal violence. When it is considered how many defenceless families of men, women, and children, were completely in their power, and that it is the very nature of war to give a free rein to every evil passion, that moreover a large part of these negroes were totally devoid of any religious instruction, that they had groaned and writhed under the lash, and been for years subjected to the most degrading and grinding oppression,—the wonder is, and ever must be, not the excesses of the few, but the moderation of the many.

The cold-blooded murders committed by the militia were known to be numerous, and the assembly when called together at the close of the "Reign of Terror," hastened to pass a bill of indemnity, to prevent inquiry into the doings of a period in which sooner than remain in slavery.—(Parl. Papers, Commons, 1832.)

† The planters and overseers were scarcely in any in-

* The negroes who were executed, almost without exception, manifested remarkable firmness; many declared that if they had twenty lives they would sacrifice them all,

all law, and even Christianity itself, was considered to be abrogated.*

The opportunity afforded by the insurrection was availed of for the persecution of many slaves, whose religious character and habits had rendered them objects of ill will. One of them, Henry Williams, whose name had previously been brought before the notice of the British public in connexion with the unjust treatment he had received at the instigation of the Rev. Mr. Bridges, the rector of St. Ann's, had long been a marked man with the anti-sectarian, or rather anti-religion party.

Although there had been no disturbance, and no evidence of insubordination in the parish of St. Ann's, Henry Williams was taken from the estate which he was superintending during the absence of the white people on militia duty, and questioned concerning what the missionaries had preached about, &c. His answers were deemed unsatisfactory and impertinent, and he was sentenced to receive some hundred lashes. Part of the punishment only was inflicted, because a medical man declared that if it were continued, he would die under it. Another case was that of a negro at Falmouth, named Lamont, who was also flogged, not for any share, real or alleged, in the insurrection, but simply for being a Methodist. Three hundred strokes, i.e. 2,700 lashes, were inflicted upon him, and he was sent to the workhouse for life; where, separated from his wife and children, degraded and oppressed, he soon sunk under the effects of the torture of body and mind to which he had been so causelessly subjected.

James Malcolm, a class-leader among the Methodists, had rendered himself extremely obnoxious to the overseer of the property to which he belonged, by having more than once stood in the way of his guilty pleasures, by persuading female slaves to marry and live consistently with their Christian profession, for whom the overseer had other and very different views. Such offences were too great to be forgiven, and although the unfortunate slave was actually employed during the rebellion, as a pioneer to the militia, and on the restoration of tranquillity sent back to his master's estate, yet through the malice of the overseer he was forwarded to take his trial as a rebel, and would have been hung but for the strenuous exertions of the missionaries, Messrs. Murray and Bleby, who, by causing the intended victim to be subpoenaed on an approaching trial, procured his removal by writ of habeas corpus to Montego Bay, trusting that during the delay thus occasioned something might transpire to save his life. The governor's prohibition of further executions, without his own warrant, had the desired effect. The man was removed to his own parish, tried by a slave-court, and condemned to death; but the sentence, notwithstanding the opposition of the overseer, was commuted to imprisonment and hard labour for life. The prisoner's gentle and inoffensive conduct during his confinement, pleaded for him: he obtained a pardon from the benevolent Earl of Mulgrave, and was restored to his wife and family. But the irons with which he had been loaded, lamed him for life, and the horrible ordeal of a Jamaica workhouse had

stance, however tyrannical their previous conduct, subjected to personal violence, or even insult.

* The attorney-general gave it as his opinion that "martial law abrogated all law," and a colonel of militia gravely asserted, that "martial law abrogated Christianity."

broken down his frame, as it had done many an one before, and did many an one after; so that he lingered only a few months, spent in communion with the church of which he had been a consistent member, and then his spirit passed away, rejoicing in the dawn of the freedom which his children and his countrymen were soon to inherit.

As an instance of the minor oppressions daily committed by overseers in compliance with the dictates of that fiendish spirit of tyrannous cruelty which, in all ages, and among all races, is found, like every other fearful propensity, to grow the faster the more it is indulged, I cite the following passage, from the Journal of the Rev. Mr. Bleby, not as by any means exhibiting an extraordinarily heinous case, but simply as an illustration of the every-day workings of the slave system, in its ameliorated form, as it prevailed in the West Indies in the year 1832, at a period when the planters impudently asserted, that if compelled to change their state with that of a slave or a free British labourer, they would choose the lot of the former:—

"One day soon after the rebellion, while I was residing at Montego Bay, a gang of negroes were repairing the road opposite the house in which I lived. I observed a decent-looking man, with an iron collar fastened about his neck, fainting by the road-side, apparently from exhaustion and loss of blood, with which his shirt and pantaloons were saturated. I called the driver, and requested that he would allow the sufferer to come over to my house, and take something to revive him, as he appeared so much exhausted. When he was brought over, I was surprised to find that he was one of our own members, who had distinguished himself in the late disturbances by his faithfulness and courage in defence of his master's property. On inquiring what had brought him into his present circumstances, he stated, that on account of the cruelties of the overseer, a number of the negroes on the estate had fled into the woods. To revenge this, the overseer had taken away or spoiled everything he could find belonging to the fugitives, and, without any provocation, had entered his house, and destroyed the little property he possessed, whilst he was at work as usual. On learning this, he went to inquire why he had been so dealt with; but the overseer answered him only by calling him a rebel and a sectarian; and then beat him severely about the face with his fists, to which statement the poor man's bruised and swollen features bore ample testimony. Not satisfied with this, the overseer sent him to 'the cage' [prison], and lodged a complaint against him before a magistrate, by whom he was dispatched to the workhouse, and sentenced to receive three hundred lashes. When the punishment had been inflicted, a collar and chain were fastened round the sufferer's neck, and he was turned out, all mangled and faint, with his clothes soaked in blood, to labour in the streets."

Immediately after the abolition of martial law, a committee (whose proceedings have been already referred to) was appointed by the House of Assembly to examine into the origin and consequences of the insurrection. Under the weak government of the Earl of Belmore, the popular faction carried matters with a high hand; and the sole design of this movement was to obtain aid from Great Britain, and shelter themselves from deserved censure by casting it abundantly where it was least merited. The men chosen for the investigation† were, with only two excep-

† A singular fatality attended the thirteen men who formed that committee, for, although mostly in the prime of manhood, before as many years had elapsed, they had all, except one, passed from the earth. The chairman (L. Lynch) secretly left the island a few months after, a defaulter to a large amount, with regard to property en-

tions, known to belong to the anti-sectarian party; one of those two, Mr. Beaumont, openly accused the chairman and others, of having "garbled the evidence taken before them." They refused to listen to the statements of Samuel Sharpe and other ring-leaders, obtained through the intervention of Messrs. Murray, Knibb, and Bleby, at the express desire of Mr. Miller, the commanding officer of the Montego Bay district, and suppressed all testimony as to how, when, and where the disturbances commenced; and this from the evident fear of criminalizing themselves, as they assuredly would have done had they permitted the truth to be told.

The result of their investigations may be readily conceived. They declared, "the primary and most powerful cause" of the insurrection to have been "the excitement created in the minds of our slaves by the unceasing and unconstitutional interference of H. M. ministers with our social legislature, in regard to the passing of laws for their government; with the intemperate expressions of the present ministers, as well as other individuals in the Commons House of Parliament of Great Britain, coupled with the false and wicked reports of the anti-slavery society." Another alleged cause was the teaching of the missionaries—Baptist, Wesleyan, and Moravian—but especially the former, and the mischiefs attendant on their system of distinguishing certain members of their congregations as leaders or elders; and, lastly, the committee introduced a brief mention of the main source of so much misery, by noticing "the public discussions of the free inhabitants here, consequent upon the continued suggestions made by the king's ministers regarding further measures of amelioration, to be introduced into the slave-code of this island."

The committee commented on the ill effect produced by the publicity given by the press to speeches made in the House of Commons, but they passed over in silence the direct lessons of incendiarism given in the pages of the *Courant* and *Courier*, which teemed with abuse against England, and declared that unless measures were adopted to put a stop to "the encroachments of such statesmen as now rule the destinies of the empire," a revolution would take place, which "would reach across the Atlantic;" and fearful pictures were drawn of "blazing corn-fields" and "burning houses" * * * "Neither earth nor hell has power to sustain the colony another year; but what St. Domingo is, Jamaica too soon must be."† Language like this was not likely to pass unnoticed by the negroes, any more than the measures of sedition and rebellion against constituted authorities, constantly urged in these papers, but the Assembly thought proper to ignore all this, and these journals in return lavished praise on the local authorities very much in proportion to the blame they deserved, and inveighed against the "sectarians" more bitterly than ever. Had there been a title of evidence to prove that the teaching and preaching of the missionaries, referred to in the report, had tended to cause the rebellion, it is certain the authorities, whether civil or military, would have

spared no pains to use it as a means of bringing them to condign punishment. Prosecutions were instituted against Messrs. Burchell, Knibb, and Gardner, Baptist missionaries. The bill against Mr. Burchell was ignored by the grand jury, but he narrowly escaped assassination at the hands of a white mob: the prosecution against Mr. Knibb was dropped for want of evidence to sustain it; and Mr. Gardner was honourably acquitted; Mr. Box, a Wesleyan minister, was apprehended and his papers examined, but nothing was alleged against him, and he was discharged.

The efforts of the Assembly to disguise from the Imperial Government the true causes of the insurrection, and vilify the missionaries, were all in vain, as may be judged from the following extracts from an admirable despatch written by the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Viscount Goderich (now Earl of Ripon).

"After exhortations repeated by H.M. Government for more than eight successive years, without effect; after such public meetings as I have mentioned in every part of the island; after the circulation of the resolutions and public journals already noticed; after the convention of a body of delegates at the capital; and after secret debates in the House of Assembly, followed by the rejection of the measures proposed there for the benefit of the slaves, it must have become, to every reflecting man, sufficiently evident, that the peace of the island was placed in extreme jeopardy, and that the slaves could scarcely escape the infection of these opinions, which they appear to have adopted. How fraught with danger to the public safety was the prevalence of such opinions among a people so ignorant, and so easily excited, it were superfluous to remark. Induced as they had been to suppose that the royal authority was opposed in their favour to that of their owners; and that designs were entertained by the king's government, which the colonial magistracy and proprietors intended to counteract by force; the sense of supposed injustice, combining with a plausible expectation of impunity in resisting it, could scarcely fail to urge them to acts of open rebellion."

After adverting to the necessity of suppressing the manifestation of "any intemperate or hostile spirit" towards the missionaries, his lordship thus proceeds to comment on the charge made against them, as fomenters of disaffection.

"I must distinctly avow my conviction, that the improbability of the charge is so extreme, that nothing short of the most irresistible evidence could induce a belief of it. The missionaries who engage in the office of converting the slaves in our colonies cannot, in charity or in justice, be supposed to be actuated by any views of secular ambition, or personal advantage. They devote themselves to an obscure, and arduous, and ill-requited service. They are well apprised, that distrust and jealousy will attend them, and that the path they have chosen leads neither to wealth nor reputation. If in their case, as in that of other men, motives less exclusively sacred than those which are avowed, may exercise some influence on their minds, it were irrational either to feel surprise, or to cherish suspicion on that account. The great ruling motive must, in general, be that which is professed, since, in general, there is no other advantage to be obtained, than the consciousness of having contributed to the diffusion of Christianity

trusted to him as a master in chancery, and finished his career by committing suicide. Another, during the following year, was mortally wounded in a duel by a third member of the committee. A fourth perished from the result of a family dispute, occasioned by the refusal of the son to sit down at table with his father's concubine. The father, in a fit of passion, struck the son upon the mouth, and slightly wounded his hand against the teeth; the

wound inflamed, and finally terminated in gangrene and death. I do not record, without reluctance, details such as these, but I dare not withhold facts which I believe to be absolutely necessary to show the fearful depths of depravity in which Jamaica was fast being engulfed, and from which England saved her by the noble sacrifice which has been so little appreciated.

* *Courant*, 15th Aug., 1831. † *Idem*, 30th Sept., 1831.

throughout the world. To suppose men who act habitually on such a principle, either so insensible to the restraints of conscience, or so perverted in their estimate of right and wrong, as to foment insurrection and civil war, for the subversion of slavery; or to believe them insensible to the extreme danger and suffering, in which by engaging in such an enterprise they must involve those, for whose benefit the contest was to be undertaken, would argue rather a heated and prejudiced mind, than a discerning judgment, and a correct acquaintance with human character. When, therefore, I consider that no motive can be rationally assigned, which should have induced the missionaries to embark in so guilty and desperate an undertaking, I cannot but earnestly trust, that the trial of any one of their number, who may be charged with a participation in this rebellion, may have been postponed, until comparative tranquillity should have succeeded to the first panic; and that such trials may have been conducted, not before a military tribunal, but with all the regular forms of law. Should any such missionary have been convicted, and be awaiting the execution of his sentence, on the arrival of this despatch, your lordship will not permit that sentence to be carried into effect, till his majesty's pleasure can be known.***

When Lord Goderich penned these temperate and judicious admonitions, he probably little anticipated the excesses to which the "heated and prejudiced minds" of the planters were then being impelled. The *Courant*, weary of repeating such verbal abuse, as styling them "vagabondizing reverends," "consummate hypocrites," and "preaching miscreants," proceeded to declare that "if evidence could be elicited to prove their guilt, it would be a grateful exhibition to the island to see a dozen of them gibbeted." (*Courant*, January 11, 1831.) To obtain the desired evidence, most unwarrantable measures were resorted to, including shameless bribery and perjury. Torture was used to induce the slaves to criminate the missionaries: one man was flogged, another was smoked with fire and brimstone in the gaol; a woman had the gallows shown her, and was told she would be hung there. William Plummer, an aged free man, a servant of the Rev. Mr. Burchell, when confined in Montego Bay gaol, on suspicion of being connected with the rebellion, had "a pot of brimstone and other materials placed in his cell, and set on fire, and those who brought it said they did it to give him a taste of hell before he went there." It was done "to extort confession." [*Evidence on Oath before the House of Lords Committee*, 18th July, 1832; pp. 776-7.] The property of Mr. Box (who was arrested merely on suspicion, and confined for upwards of a week in a loathsome cell, surrounded by negroes suffering with small-pox) was ransacked to find papers which might be made to bear testimony against him; and his trunks having been broken open by a magistrate named Dyer, the editor of the *Cornwall Courier*, extracts from the private journal found therein were published in its pages. When dismissed from prison, no specific charge having been brought against him, Mr. Box demanded that his property should be restored, and, at length, succeeded in obtaining all, except his journal; eventually, Lord Belmore having been superseded in the governorship by a nobleman of very different character, Mr. Dyer, alarmed at the probability of being prosecuted for having, in his magisterial capacity, broken open, rifled, withheld, and used for his own purposes, the property of an innocent person, thought it

prudent to resign the office which he had so greatly abused. The Moravians did not escape persecution—

"The case of Mr. Pfeiffer furnishes a remarkable instance of the extraordinary measures resorted to, to procure evidence against missionaries; while it shows the barbarity and villany of the men, who, as militia officers, rioted in the plenitude of almost irresponsible power, and controlled the lives and destinies of their fellow-beings. Mr. Pfeiffer was arrested in his own house, by some thirty or forty militia men and their officers, and dragged away from home, without being allowed time to get a change of apparel, or take leave of his wife and family. The first thing after that was to remove him, on some pretence, to another parish, where he could not, without difficulty, obtain the testimony of those who knew him and attended his ministry, for his defence. His wife had found means to send a small bundle after him, containing a change of apparel, which he was allowed to receive. Arrived at Mandeville, in the parish of Manchester, he was imprisoned in the organ-loft of the church, with four soldiers to watch over him, but forbidden to remove, or to speak a word with the sentinels. He lay down, and had begun to sleep, when he was aroused by the demand, 'Prisoner, give me your bundle.' The bundle was examined and returned; but no sooner had he laid down and began to sleep, than he was aroused with the demand, 'Prisoner, shew me your bundle.' This was repeated so often, as to make it evident that it was only done to tantalize him, and prevent his getting the rest which his exhausted frame required. At length, one of them, making the observation that such a rascal did not want a pillow, the contents of his bundle were scattered about where he dared not move to pick them up. By the kindness of one of the sentinels, he afterwards obtained his property. For twenty-four hours they kept him without food or water; and on his remonstrating against such barbarity, food was tendered to him, but it had been wantonly thrown in the dirt, and covered with grit and filth, so that he could not eat more than a small portion of it. He had to complain a second time of having been kept without food or water for a whole day, when it was excused as an oversight by the very officer, who was looking after him every half-hour of the day. One evening, after having been kept several days in entire ignorance of the charges that were to be alleged against him, he was informed by the deputy-judge-advocate, that his trial would take place the following day, 'for rebellion and rebellious conspiracy.' He inquired what he would be permitted to do in his defence; but was distinctly informed that he might obtain whatever documents he liked, to lay before the court-martial, but he could not be allowed to bring any witnesses. This, of course, was depriving him of all opportunity of defending himself; for the ruffians had taken care to remove him away far from those, who might be induced to give testimonials in his behalf. However, it providentially occurred that a gentleman obtained an interview with Mr. Pfeiffer, and informed him that he had the right of producing witnesses; and that what had been told him was only a part of the diabolical plot laid for his destruction; at the same time, tendering his services to summon whatever friends Mr. Pfeiffer might wish to be called. This was only a few hours before the trial was to commence; but so well was the time improved, that a respectable array of witnesses was prepared for Mr. Pfeiffer's defence, by the time the trial commenced. For nine days the court-martial sat on the trial of that persecuted missionary; and such was the weight of testimony brought to rebut the charges against him, that they were compelled to bring him in 'not guilty,' although two of the officers in the court clamoured for his death. Of the witnesses brought to criminate Mr. Pfeiffer, two women afterwards offered to make affidavit that they were bribed to swear away his life. Their freedom was promised, with a donation in money, and a certain quantity of land, if they would swear that he had preached freedom to them. The barbarities inflicted upon this unoffending man by the wretches into whose hands he had fallen, after all, nearly proved fatal to him. The sufferings, privations, and cruel anxieties to which he was sub-

* Despatch dated Downing Street, 1st of March, 1832; given in full in appendix to House of Lords' Committee on Slavery, August, 1832; part ii., p. 1321.

jected, ended in a serious illness, which placed his life in jeopardy for six months.”—(Mr. Bleby’s manuscript.)

It was indeed quite necessary that something tangible should, if possible, be proved against the sectarians, as nothing else could palliate even, much less justify, the open persecution to which, both as societies and as individuals, they had been subjected. On the 26th of January, a public meeting was held at St. Ann’s Bay, for the permanent establishment of a COLONIAL CHURCH UNION, the avowed object being to expel all sectarian preachers from the island, and oppose the Anti-Slavery Society in every possible manner. Happily for the good name of the Colonial Church, her clergy, with only two exceptions, one of whom was the Rev. Mr. Bridges, the instigator of the plot, and the other an unhappy man who fell in a duel, were never even suspected of having had any concern in a conspiracy, the results of which were equally mischievous and disgraceful.

The favourite motto of the Unionists was—“Destroy their nests, and the rooks will fly away.” The pages of the *Courant* and *Courier* were crowded with similar advice; and the direct consequence was, the destruction of 31 Baptist, and 6 Wesleyan chapels, and other mission property, to the value of £30,000.

The Baptist chapel at Falmouth was the first demolished, on the 7th of February, after which the Methodist chapel, a handsome building, which had just been put in complete repair, shared the same fate, at the hands of some of the local magistrates and the militia of St. Ann’s western regiment, aided by a mob composed of troopers from the Trelawney regiment, sailors from the ships in the harbour under the direction of their captains, and other white inhabitants of the town of Falmouth. At St. Ann’s the triumph of the Unionists was complete, so far as the destruction of property was concerned, the chapels at the Bay and at Ora Cabessa being pulled down, and those at Ocho Rios and Ebenezer burnt to the ground; but, to the great disappointment of the incendiaries, the Wesleyan missionaries, Messrs. Whitehouse and Wood, and the Baptist missionary, Mr. Nicholls, succeeded in effecting their escape, so that they were obliged to content themselves with hanging them in effigy. Attempts were made to destroy the chapels at Kingston, but defeated by the firmness and discretion evinced by the free coloured population, who night after night kept guard over them.

The governor (Lord Belmore) issued a proclamation, desiring the magistrates to seek out and punish the authors of these outrages, and to use the force entrusted to them in preventing similar proceedings. This proclamation was treated with the utmost contempt; one of the copies was hung upon the gallows,* others were torn down, and under one posted up in the court-house was written, “Whoever gives information respecting the above shall entitle himself to be tarred and feathered.”

The papers continued to put forth such counsel as the following:—

“We can only say, in the words of the reformer, John Knox, ‘To get rid of the rooks effectually, you must destroy their nests.’ As to the rooks—the preachers, we

* Evidence before the Lords, July, 1832; p. 739.

† The gentleman here referred to is a well-known advocate of the West India interest, but as his name may have been affixed to a suggestion he never gave, I have thought it best not to reprint it.

‡ The *Jamaica Watchman* and *Kingston Chronicle* advocated the cause of order and toleration.

§ *History of Wesleyan Missions*, p. 305.

DIV. VIIII.

would recommend the advice of our staunch friend —† to be observed towards them. ‘Tar and feather them whenever you meet them, and drive them off the island, excepting always those who may merit a greater elevation—a more exalted distinction.’”—(*Jamaica Courant* and *Cornwall Courier*.)‡

The often-urged tarring and feathering scheme so exactly accorded with the promptings of popular feeling, which in fact these journals did but echo, that many attempts were made to put it in practice.

One of the most ferocious of these was directed against Mr. Bleby, who had been selected to occupy the Falmouth station (from which Mr. Box had been driven), because “his prudence and respectability were admitted by all.”§ The emissaries of the Union bestirred themselves so actively, that the proprietor of the house which he had hired, requested him to quit, as it would certainly be destroyed if he were suffered to remain in it, and threatening letters were sent him advising him to quit the place; but as the coloured people had welcomed him gladly and gratefully, he felt it his duty to remain, and endeavour, by patience and forbearance, gradually to disarm opposition. Mr. Dyer, the magistrate-editor before mentioned, abused Mr. Bleby in the public streets, and sent several constables to inform him that he would be prosecuted if he preached without a licence, and that all persons attending his family worship would be taken into custody. Justly apprehending personal violence, Mr. Bleby requested several free coloured persons to sleep in and near the house, a precaution which probably disconcerted the machinations of his enemies, by obliging them to renounce the idea of a midnight attack and choose an earlier hour.

On the evening of the 7th of April, while Mr. and Mrs. Bleby, and some visitors (a lady and her daughter), were seated at tea, a large body of men, from eighty to one hundred in number, were seen approaching the house. They forced in the garden gate, smashed the windows, broke open the front door, ascended the stairs, entered the room where the family were assembled, and seizing Mr. Bleby, secured and held him fast, loading him with opprobrious epithets. One of them named Dobson dealt him a heavy blow on the head with a stick, the violence of which was providentially broken by the glass candle shade, which it shattered in a thousand pieces; while others brought in a keg of tar, and turning up their coat sleeves, dipped their hands into it and commenced daubing the person of the missionary, especially his head and face, and rubbing the tar into his eyes with the intention of blinding him. Dobson then took a candle from the table, and stooping down, attempted to set fire to the trowsers of the intended victim, but Mrs. Bleby, having forced her way through the crowd, struck the candle out of his hand. She was dragged away and violently trampled upon; but seeing some of the ruffians seize the remaining candle, and try to ignite the tar with which her husband’s neckcloth, and, indeed, his whole apparel, was by this time covered, she again rushed forward and succeeded in extinguishing the light, just in time to prevent the commission of a foul murder. At this moment, an infant of a few months old, who had been lying asleep on the sofa, awakened by the uproar, cried piteously, upon which the person who appeared to be the leader of the party called out, “Throw that d—d child through the window;” and this brutal order was actually about to be obeyed, when the mother, disengaging herself a third time from the hands of

the men who were now endeavouring to fasten her into an adjoining closet, sprung forward, seized her infant, and rushed out of the house bareheaded, with only one shoe, and nearly covered from head to foot with the tar she had received in her endeavours to protect her husband. The alarm given by her brought several black and coloured persons to the rescue; they seized some sticks from a bundle of firewood in the yard, and commenced a vigorous attack upon that portion of the assailants who had remained in the lower part of the house. Those in the upper room, having no light but that of the moon, hearing the noise, and thinking it might possibly proceed from a detachment of troops, precipitately retreated down stairs, where a general scuffle took place.

Favoured by the darkness and confusion, Mr. Bleby made his escape; but one of the gang, an overseer named Hopkins, being mistaken for him, was set upon by his own companions, who broke his collar bone and fractured his skull.—The injuries thus inflicted were long expected to prove fatal, but after undergoing the operation of trepanning, the wretched man partially recovered, and survived a few years, subject to periodical fits of insanity.

On learning what had occurred, Mr. Miller, a magistrate who formed one of the bright exceptions to the general character of the body to which he belonged, hastened to the scene of the riot with a party of the 22nd regiment, then garrisoned in the town. Mr. Bleby was taken to the barracks, where he found a safe asylum for the night; and his wife and child were kindly received and sheltered by Mrs. Jackson, the lady of the clerk of the peace.

With a view to prevent the repetition of similar outrages, Mr. Bleby, in the following week, waited upon several magistrates; but Mr. Miller having left the town, none of them cared to receive his statements. On the return of that gentleman, he discharged his duty, in defiance of the menaces of the "Colonial Union" party, and arrangements were made to prosecute the rioters at the Cornwall assizes. But though no magistrates could be found, on Mr. Bleby's first application, who would take his depositions, there was no want of promptitude in dealing with the men who ran to his rescue. They were speedily arrested, and bound to answer at the quarter sessions;* but when one of them requested that his depositions should be taken against a rioter who had assaulted him, he was sternly refused.

Oppression had now reached its climax; in a professedly Christian land, chapels erected for the worship of God might be destroyed, and ministers of the Gospel hunted to death's door with impunity. The Colonial Union boasted, that while they kept possession of the jury box their members might feel secure

* A coloured man, named Brown, was fined £5.

† In the early part of 1833 an extraordinary sensation was created throughout the United Kingdom, by a pamphlet, entitled, "*Three Months in Jamaica*," by Henry Whitley, a young man of unimpeachable character, who had gone out, with an excellent introduction, to the estate of a planter, a relation of his own, for the purpose of obtaining a situation as book-keeper. The scenes he there witnessed inspired him with deep disgust, and he returned to England, bringing with him a fund of valuable, but to him dearly-bought experience. His simple narrative of the common incidents of a sugar plantation, bore the impress of truth on every page. The driver looking on with lazy indifference—the piercing cries of the miserable negro woman, the mother of several children, and her earnest entreaties to be allowed to retain some portion of her covering for the sake of decency—the aged negro man brought out,

as to the results of any prosecution that might be commenced against them; and this was literally the case, for, in opposition to the clearest evidence produced respecting the destruction of the chapels and the assault upon Mr. Bleby, the grand jury in each case ignored the bills. Meanwhile a great change was working in the mind of the British public; and the internecine strife, pecuniary involvement, and moral degradation, which had for so many years characterized the beautiful and fertile island of Jamaica, began to be generally looked upon in their true light, as the fruits of that root of bitterness which pervaded and poisoned the whole social system. The excesses of the planters, whether committed against the missionaries or against their wretched slaves, afforded the strongest arguments against their being permitted any longer to retain the power which they so grossly misused; and their very intolerance, by inducing Messrs. Knibb, Burchell, Duncan, and Barry, to proceed to England, did good service to the anti-slavery cause; for these men, coming fresh from the scene of action, and describing atrocities which their own eyes had witnessed, and hardships inflicted on their own persons, spoke with a power and energy which exercised irresistible influence over their hearers.† They arrived at a critical juncture, in time to give most important evidence before Parliament, and to support, by their personal testimony, before the numerous public meetings convened throughout England and Scotland on the question of slavery, the emphatic statement of Powell Buxton, who had declared, "I stake my character on the accuracy of the fact, that negroes have been scourged to the very borders of the grave, uncharged with any crime save that of worshipping their God." In reference to the cruelties and indignities heaped upon those who had ventured to preach the gospel among them, he added—

"There have not been, in our day, such persecutions as these brave and good men have been constrained to endure. Hereafter we must make selections among our missionaries. Is there a man whose timid or tender spirit is unequal to the storm of persecution? Send him to the savage—expose him to the cannibal—save his life by directing his steps to the rude haunts of the barbarian: but if there is a man of a stiffer, sterner nature—a man willing to encounter obloquy, torture, and death—let him be reserved for the tender mercies of our Christian brethren and fellow-countrymen, the planters of Jamaica."‡

The Assembly were not blind to the effect the missionaries would assuredly produce by their revelations respecting the late proceedings, and a motion was made that none of them should be permitted to leave the island; but it did not pass. Two delegates were, however, sent by the House, whose statements,

and lying quietly down to receive the decreed punishment; the crack of the fearful cart-whip, and the shriek of agony, as it cut deeper and deeper into the mangled flesh—youth and age, womanhood and childhood, all subjected to the same brutalising and degrading torture,—appalling as the picture was, every feature was incontestably correct, only perhaps it had never been so graphically, because so plainly told before. Many and many British youths must have shuddered at similar scenes; but they had not dared or cared to reveal them, and the great majority had probably grown callous, and ceased to sicken at such loathsome sights. I much regret having no space to spare for the lengthy extracts which could alone convey an adequate idea of the deeply interesting and thrilling descriptions given by Mr. Whitley, but the entire pamphlet well deserves, and will well reward a careful perusal.

‡ *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, vol. v., p. 149.

it was hoped, would counteract the influence of the religious and anti-slavery parties, whose views were, of necessity, now daily becoming more nearly identified.

In May, 1832, select committees were appointed in both Houses of Parliament,—that of the Lords for the purpose of inquiring into the “condition and treatment of the slaves, their habits and dispositions,” &c., and also “into the distressed condition of the several West India colonies;” that of the Commons, to consider “the measures most expedient to be adopted for the extinction of slavery throughout the British dominions at the earliest possible period compatible with the safety of all classes in the colonies.”* A large mass of evidence was collected; that adduced for the information of the Commons was peculiarly valuable, and “disclosed a state of affairs demanding the earliest and most serious attention of the legislature.”

The active members of the House of Lords' committee were all proprietors of estates in the West Indies, excepting the Duke of Richmond (the chairman), and Lord Suffield; the three spiritual peers (Canterbury, London, and Lichfield,) attended only twice, and then for some brief ten minutes. The one-sided character of the evidence, its absurdities and inconsistencies, were well exposed in December, 1832, by Sir George Stephen, under the name of *Legion*, in a publication addressed to the Duke of Richmond.† The Commons committee also contained some West India proprietors, but their manœuvres were counteracted by Powell Buxton, the chairman, and by the uprightness of Sir R. Peel, Lord John Russell, and other impartial men, and the inquirers, instead of diverging into the wide and discursive field of vague generalities, directed their investigations mainly to the two following points:—

1st. Whether the slaves, if emancipated, would be likely to maintain themselves, and would be industrious and disposed to acquire property by labour.

2nd. Whether the dangers of convulsion were greater from freedom withheld than from freedom granted.

The evidence adduced was considered to afford so decisive an answer to these questions, that not even the *ex parte* statements made to the Lords could hinder the general conviction, that slavery was an unmitigated evil, which must be speedily extirpated throughout the British dominions.

In the ensuing session of parliament a bill was introduced for this purpose; and it was proposed to make a loan of £15,000,000 to the planters, at a low rate of interest, to assist them in cultivating their estates by means of labour obtained by the stimulus of wages instead of the whip. This arrangement was far from being satisfactory; the West Indian proprietors persisted in asserting that slavery had utterly unfitted the negroes for continuous voluntary industry, or for peaceful habits, and that a sudden transition to complete freedom was fraught with imminent danger to society and utter ruin to themselves. They alleged—unhappily with truth—that the purchase of slaves had been approved and encouraged by the British government—and this was, in reality, their strongest argument; but against the flagrant iniquity of making slavery an hereditary curse, they could plead no law divine or human. save that of

an infamous custom.‡ They succeeded in inducing Parliament to convert the loan of £15,000,000 into a gift of £20,000,000, and to renounce the idea of immediate emancipation in favour of a system of apprenticeship. Before entering into the details of the new measure, it is necessary to return to Jamaica, and notice the changes there taking place.

The recall of Lord Belmore in June, 1832, sorely disconcerted the Unionists; their leader, Mr. Bridges, having been well known to possess considerable influence with the Earl. This circumstance accounts, to some extent, for the miserable inefficiency of the administration of a governor whose private character was generally admitted to be amiable, and in many points deserving of respect. Lord Belmore, in tacitly permitting the fierce current of religious persecution to flow on unchecked, could not have been actuated by the culpable desire of obtaining popularity thereby, since, had he placed so high a value upon the short-lived applause of a colonial faction, he would hardly have dashed it to the ground by publicly expressing, when about to quit Jamaica, his opinion that “the resources of the island would never be developed till slavery was abolished.” The records of the House of Assembly amply support the truth of this assertion.

It has been previously shown, by statements made at various intervals, that the condition of Jamaica before the abolition of the slave-carrying trade, in 1807, had for many years been gradually deteriorating. It now remains to demonstrate that the possession of upwards of 300,000 slaves did not enable the planters to cultivate sugar and coffee either so extensively or so profitably as to repay them for the heavy expenditure with which compulsory labour must ever be attended.

In 1808, a committee of the House of Commons recommended a suspension of the use of grain in the distilleries of Great Britain for one year, in order to “save the West Indies from the disasters that await them” in consequence of the depreciation in the price of sugar, and the increased expense attendant on its cultivation, the value of the produce being barely equal to the charges of production, leaving no rent for land and no interest for the large capital employed on it. (The price was, in 1807, 34s. per cwt.) The committee stated that 115 sugar estates were then in the Court of Chancery, that foreclosures had become unusually frequent, and that “annuitants dependent on West India property for their provision have in many instances been totally deprived of their income.”—(Report, 13th April, 1808, p. 4.)

In 1812, a memorial from the Jamaica planters to the Crown states “that the ruin of the original possessors has been completed; exactions, debasement, and privations have been long and patiently endured by the proprietors; a large portion of them now see approaching the lowest state of human misery, absolute want to their families, and the horrors of a gaol for themselves. Estate after estate has passed into the hands of mortgagees and creditors, absent from the island; until there are large districts, whole parishes, in which there is not a single proprietor of a sugar plantation resident.” The non-residence of proprietors would certainly be no proof of their dis-

* Report on “Extinction of Slavery,” by House of Commons' Committee, dated 11th of August, 1832; p. 3.

† *Two Letters from Legion, &c.* London: Bagster, Paternoster-row; 8vo, pp. 196 and 152.

‡ Infamous, indeed, was that custom, which enabled

“the father to hold his own son in bondage, and the son to demand the wages of slavery from his own mother, and to claim the services of his own sister as his bond-woman.” (Madden, vol. ii., p. 171.) These practices took place in Jamaica, even under the apprenticeship system, and the special magistrates had no power to prevent them.

treas; but the meaning of the above passage apparently is, that the European mortgagees had generally, by foreclosures or otherwise, superseded the resident planters. The remedy proposed was a high protecting or prohibitory duty on foreign coffee. It was also declared that a price of 50s. per cwt., exclusive of duty, could alone save the sugar-grower in the crisis that had arrived.

In 1813, during a debate in Parliament on the East Indian sugar duties, Mr. Marryat, an eminent colonial agent, declared that "there were comparatively few estates in the West Indies that had not, during the last twenty years, been sold or given up to creditors."

In 1821, the Jamaica House of Assembly addressed the King on the "distresses which afflict this colony," and complained of the "pressure of unmitigated suffering." They protested against the introduction of sugar from British India—a territory then yielding an income to the imperial revenue of several millions sterling—and claimed the privilege of exclusively supplying the United Kingdom with sugar and coffee.

In 1822, another address from the House of Assembly to the King petitioned for assistance to rescue the landholders and capitalists from ruin and their "labourers from absolute want."

In 1824, a somewhat similar memorial declared that property had gradually depreciated to one-half its value; and, in 1825, the still increasing sufferings of the planters were set forth.

In 1826, it was asserted that "commerce is deserting the shores of Jamaica"—that "signs of prosperity are no longer perceptible, one universal gloom lowers around, and ruin in the most dreadful shape, and to all appearance inevitable, advances with rapid strides,"—and the petitioners intimate the probable "dismemberment from the empire of this valuable colony."

In 1831, Viscount Goderich, then Colonial Secretary, in a despatch, dated 5th November, observed—"The existence of severe commercial distress amongst all classes of society connected with the West Indies is unhappily too evident." His lordship added, "Without denying the concurrence of many causes, it is obvious that the great and permanent source of distress which almost every page of the West Indies records, is to be found in the institution of slavery. It is in vain to hope for long-continued prosperity in any country in which the people are not dependent on their own voluntary labour for support—in which labour is not prompted by legitimate motives, and does not earn its natural reward. * * * I cannot but regard the system itself as the perennial spring of those distresses of which, not only at present, but during the whole of the last fifty years, the complaints had been so frequent and so just."

In 1832, the West India interest petitioned Parliament, declaring that "the alarming and unprecedented state of distress in which the whole of the British West India interest is at this time involved," justified them in imploring the legislature "to adopt prompt and effectual measures of relief, in order to preserve them from inevitable ruin." The remedies proposed were a large additional bounty on sugar, &c.

* See "Addresses and Memorials to his Majesty from the House of Assembly at Jamaica," printed by order of the House; pp. 5, 6, 16, 17, 20, 22, 29, 38, &c.

† Vide some very able remarks on this head, in Bigelow's *Jamaica* in 1850; p. 81.

‡ Dr. Madden, referring to the evils consequent upon leaving the management of estates solely in the hands of

Mr. J. M'Queen, in his evidence before the House of Commons, on 8th February, 1832, was asked (question 844)—"Is the distress which prevails among the various interests connected with the West India colonies, the proprietors of the colonies and the mortgagees, at present urgent?" He answered, "Exceedingly severe; hardly anything can be more so. I do not think it possibly can be worse." Evidence of a similar nature to that above quoted might be multiplied to almost any extent, but enough has been already given to show that the commercial state of Jamaica, after gradually declining from bad to worse, had at length well nigh reached the last stage of prostration. The evils described by Long, in 1775, still rioted in open day, and their consequences had verified his predictions. Insolvent planters had continued to the last possible moment living in splendid style in England, on money advanced, at the rate of 15 to 20 per cent., by the merchants to whom their sugar, rum, and coffee, were consigned; and their whole properties, including lands, buildings, and slaves, were heavily mortgaged. Meanwhile, in Jamaica, this system of absenteeism, combined with slavery, necessitated the maintenance of a perfect hierarchy of agencies,—every estate requiring, first, the supervision of a resident attorney; secondly, that of an overseer, who usually occupied the mansion, and was personally waited upon by from three to five, and not unfrequently twice that number of servants, and as many horses; thirdly, from one to three book-keepers, according to the size of the estate, whose duty was primarily to keep the accounts, and incidentally to act as checks upon the overseer, who was, in his turn, supposed to be under the surveillance of the planting attorney. It followed, of necessity, that whatever reached the pocket of the proprietor was just so much additional profit as could be raised over and above that required for the support of the local establishment; and, consequently, when the estate, through mismanagement or misfortune, such as the failure of crops, &c., failed to produce even that amount, it became insolvent.

If the planters, in some few cases, escaped the alternative of sale or mortgage, they were rarely able, perhaps more rarely willing, to invest money in improvements, in labour-saving machinery, in irrigation, drainage, or manuring.† Of their animate or inanimate possessions—of their sugar plantations, or of the human chattels by whose blood and sweat they were cultivated—they knew just what their delegates thought fit to tell them. They persisted in blind reliance on the subordinates to whom they entrusted the charge of their pecuniary means, and the lives of their miserable slaves; and though occasionally a man like Mr. Lewis visited Jamaica,‡ and exposed the horrible inconsistency existing between the plausible humanity and discretion of the attorney and overseer, as set forth in their carefully-prepared communications, and the cruelty and extravagance of their practical conduct; yet even revelations such as his appear to have had little effect in shaking the misplaced confidence of the planters.

EMANCIPATION.—The administration of the earl of Mulgrave forms a turning-point in the history of

strangers, says, that the two visits paid by Lewis to Jamaica, and the reforms instituted by him, such as ameliorating the condition of his slaves by abolishing the use of the cart-whip among them, and increasing their indulgences, saved his two estates, which were inherited by his relatives, instead of being added to the long list of those whose superintendence has devolved upon the court of chancery.—(Vol. ii., p. 31.)

Jamaica. He was selected by Lord Goderich, as a man fitted by the possession of principle, firmness, and discretion, for the difficult task of carrying out great and unpopular changes, and the result proved that the secretary of state for the colonies had exercised sound judgment in his nomination.

For some time after his arrival, in July, 1832, the new governor remained quietly watching the signs of the times, and they must certainly have both surprised and startled the refined mind of the author of *Matilda*. Unfortunately his position precluded him from giving to the public a picture of the then state of society. From the evidence adduced before Parliamentary Committees of that year, little alteration would appear to have taken place since Renny described it in 1807, excepting only in one important point—the conduct of the clergy of the Established Church, which had materially improved. The white population was, for the most part, characterized by the same shameless immorality, as may be judged from the reply of Mr. Baillie, a Jamaica planter, who had resided there for twenty-seven years, and occupied an influential position as the proprietor of 350 slaves, a magistrate, and the acting-agent and attorney for several estates. This witness was brought forward by the West India body as capable of bearing high testimony in their favour, but his bold statements, and subsequent contradictory admissions,* could have done their cause no real service. For instance, he denied that there was any greater extent of licentious intercourse observable in Jamaica than in England, yet when subsequently asked—“Can you name any overseer, driver, or other person in authority, who does not keep a mistress?” he was, after a long series of evasions, reluctantly compelled to reply—“I cannot.”—(P.P. Lords, 1832; part i., p. 109.)

Suicide was not unfrequent, and the kindred vice of duelling greatly needed to be discountenanced by the leading authorities, in the absence of a holier influence. Dr. Madden, writing two years later, says—“Many a duel has been fought in Jamaica by persons who sat the night before their meeting at the same table. There is a gentleman now living in Kingston who has fought his ten or twelve men. There are members of Assembly who have been on the ground half a dozen times; there are lawyers who have had two challenges out at a time; there have been doctors who have killed themselves about a medical theory,”† undeterred by the fate of Messrs. Williams and Bennet, who perished in 1750, in consequence of a dispute respecting the nature of yellow fever. Nor were the clergy wholly exempt from the reproach of seeking revenge by means which, even when resorted to by laymen, could not but disgrace a nominally Christian and civilized community. The following case was related to me by a gentleman resident in Jamaica at the time of its occurrence.

In 1833, a minister of the Establishment, in a fit of causeless jealousy, challenged a former friend to fight a duel, but was refused on the ground that it was contrary to “the code of honour” to meet a gentleman of the sacred profession for such a purpose. The clergyman persisted, and at the meeting which ensued, fired thrice at his antagonist, who in

* This unhappy man committed suicide while on his return voyage to Jamaica, owing, it is said, to *Legion's* exposure of the contradictory character of his evidence made on oath.

† *Twelve Months in the West Indies*, vol. i., p. 204.

‡ Speech of the Earl of Mulgrave at Freemasons' Hall, 1st of August, 1834. Published by Hatchard and Son.

§ A loan of three hundred thousand pounds was made

return discharged his pistol each time in the air, without taking aim. The seconds vainly attempted to interfere—the challenger persisted in declaring himself unsatisfied, and insisting on another shot; his antagonist considering that if he persisted in refusing to take aim, his own life would be sacrificed, fired for the first time at his opponent, and hit him in the knee. The wounded man still desired to continue the contest, but his friends carried him off the field; and, though only slightly wounded, fever seized him, and in about a week he died raving mad.

Perjury was notoriously prevalent, so much so that it was clearly understood, and almost undisguisedly stated by the members of the Colonial Union which had gradually extended its ramifications over most of the parishes, that juries would not scruple to forswear themselves sooner than pronounce verdicts which should necessitate the punishment of their associates. The impunity thus obtained, was largely availed of by the Unionists, whose proceedings towards the missionaries and their followers, had at length raised such strong feelings in the free black and coloured inhabitants, that they began to organize in turn. The distracted country was threatened with civil war, but was happily saved by the interference of Lord Mulgrave, who, before he had been six weeks in Jamaica, was, to use his own words, “compelled to hurry across the country to check an attempt, which the custos of the parish announced as imminent on the part of the militia, to force the jail on the day of their muster, and to rescue some Colonial Unionists, who, refusing to give bail, under the expectation of a rescue, were confined upon a charge of pulling down a house in which a Baptist minister was sheltered.”†

Still, although obliged to interfere in this matter, the earl continued to abstain, as far as possible, from exercising his authority until he should be better able to decide upon the extent and power of the opposition he was likely to encounter, and diligently employed himself in examining different parts of the island, inquiring into its institutions, and visiting the hut of the slave as well as the mansion of the planter, appearing everywhere the same worthy representative of a just and paternal sovereign.

The legislature was summoned to meet on the 30th of October. His excellency's address was long, minute, and conciliatory; but it nevertheless expressed the regret with which he had observed “a turbulent and lawless spirit occasionally betraying itself in open acts of violence, and consequent symptoms of alienation between different classes of the free population;” and his resolve to suppress such outbreaks “wherever they might occur, and by whomsoever they might be fomented.” He alluded with tact to the recent appointment of parliamentary committees, and informed the Assembly that a bill had passed the Imperial Parliament for the relief of the island from the consequences of the recent insurrection;‡ also that the Orders in Council of November, 1831, with regard to the amelioration of the condition of the slaves, would not be pressed, but that he strongly recommended to them the adoption of effective measures to that end.

by the home government to the planters, at a low rate of interest. The House of Assembly was appealed to by the British government to reimburse the Wesleyan and Baptist Societies by means of a special grant, for the mission property so wantonly destroyed by white people; but as some of the chapel destroyers were members of that House, this proposition was positively rejected. (See section on religion.

This speech was favourably received by the Council, but not by the Assembly, whose members, stung by the significant warning given to the Unionists, endeavoured to excuse if not to justify their outrages, by referring to the previous disasters. They denied the competency of the British legislature to make any effectual inquiry into their affairs, repudiated all participation in the appointment of the recent Committees, declared that they had never recognized the resolutions of 1823 (Mr. Canning's), and protested against the interference of the House of Commons. The proffered loan produced no grateful response, and welcome as it undoubtedly was, the only notice it excited was a remark that it should be taken into consideration.

Under many former administrations, all this would probably have passed without animadversion; under the present the Assembly received a startling rejoinder. The governor, setting aside the few formal sentences usually employed on similar occasions, openly expressed the dissatisfaction with which he marked the spirit which pervaded their long and desultory address. His speech, he observed, had "broached no theory, and required no sacrifice; it announced only a boon." He left it to themselves to settle how far it was fitting to disclaim connexion with the West India body at home, but reminded them that their own accredited agent (Mr. Burge) had united in the request for the Lords' Committee, and that their speaker had just vacated the chair, having embarked for England with another of their body, to be in time for the next meeting of the British parliament. Nothing, he declared, could have induced him to originate the irritating question of the right of Parliament to legislate for the whole empire, but he could not be thus formally assured of their opinions "without asserting, in the most unequivocal terms, the transcendent power of the Imperial Legislature, regulated only by its own discretion, and limited only by such restrictions as itself may have imposed." He advised them to refrain from indulging in the "groundless accusations which alienated the public mind in Europe from the cause of the colonists," adding, "if you continue thus to speak for yourselves, I much fear it will be vain for any one to speak for you."

Lord Mulgrave's view of the Colonial Union was at length unequivocally manifested by the dismissal of Colonel Wilton from the command of that rabble regiment, the St. Ann's western militia, in consequence of his having signed certain intolerant resolutions of the Unionists in his military capacity, and (together with other officers) exerted himself to procure the signatures of the men. Mr. Cox, the joint president with Colonel Hilton, was likewise compelled to resign his position as Custos of St. Ann's, and major-general of the same corps, for a similar reason.

In January, 1833, a proclamation from the sovereign denounced as illegal the confederacy formed by the Unionists, required it to be immediately broken up, and called upon all judges and magistrates "to give full effect to the laws for the toleration of religious worship, and to bring to justice all such persons as might be found violating them."

Copies of the proclamation were forwarded to the

custodes of the various parishes, accompanied by a circular in which the governor ordered, that any violation of the royal injunctions should be reported to him, declaring that in the event of the offenders holding either civil or military offices under the crown, they should be instantly deprived of them, "that all others concerned in similar proceedings may perceive, that neither actual violence, nor a repetition of illegal threats will be allowed to pass unpunished."

The publication of the above instructions gave great joy to the missionaries, and enraged their adversaries in an equal degree. In many of the parishes the Colonial Church Union was heard of no more, some of its members being little disposed to risk for its sake the loss of honours and offices, while others were really glad of a plea for seceding from an association into which they had been led by want of moral courage to hazard the vituperation they would assuredly have encountered from the dominant faction. The only opposition of any importance was made in the parish of St. Ann's, where the Unionists had the audacity to advertise a proposed meeting of their body "to take place on the 10th of February, to consider H. M. late proclamation."

Lieutenant-colonel Browne, who had succeeded Colonel Hilton, addressed the men newly placed under his command in very indiscreet language; openly vindicating the proceedings of the Unionists, and expressing his hope that their "most distinguished colonel" might soon be reinstated in the command. Such conduct could not be overlooked. Lord Mulgrave repaired to St. Ann's, ordered an immediate muster of the regiment, and undeterred by the formal assurances he received of the danger to which his person would be exposed, proceeded to the appointed place, attended only by his own small staff, and then and there announced to Colonel Browne, that his unmilitary conduct in addressing the troops, when under arms, on a political subject, rendered it necessary to cancel his commission. The disgraced officer was considerably excited, and attempted a sneering reply, but his lordship quietly remarked—"I must not be replied to on parade;" and, notwithstanding various expressions of disapprobation, proceeded with the review, which being concluded, he praised the discipline and order evinced by the soldiers, and then retired.

Several other dismissals of officers followed the memorable review at the Huntly pastures, in consequence of endeavours being made to induce the men to mutiny and insult their captain-general (the governor), besides which, three major-generals and two colonels of militia sent in their resignations, to avoid being publicly and disgracefully dismissed. Nor was it only as military officers that the Unionists experienced the consequences of their perseverance in evil, no less than eleven magistrates in the parish of St. Ann's being deprived of the authority they had so greatly abused. The true leader of the Union (Mr. Bridges) remained, however, unpunished by man; nor was it until several years after, that a terrible dispensation inflicted upon him a far heavier retribution than the arm of earthly power had dealt upon his fellows;* he continued for some time after his

* "Several years elapsed, and, while many persecutors of lesser note had fallen around him, he remained unscathed, retaining his place, and, probably, a large degree of his influence in the island. But at length, the blast of divine displeasure fell upon him, and was, perhaps, the

more severely felt, for having been longer delayed. One morning, having breakfasted on board a ship in the harbour with his four daughters, who were but too fondly loved and idolized; they, with several other ladies and gentlemen, went out in boats to sail about the bay. A squall

carefully-planned conspiracy had been destroyed, to endeavour to keep alive the dying embers of religious persecution. A disgraceful riot took place at the quarter sessions in July, 1833, on the occasion of Mr. Greenwood, a Wesleyan minister, appearing in the court-house of St. Ann's, for the purpose of obtaining a licence to preach in that parish. Many of the ex-magistrates and Unionists, including Messrs. Browne and Rose, attended, armed with clubs. The Custos (newly appointed by Lord Mulgrave, in the place of Mr. Cox), earnestly strove to maintain order and to protect the person of the missionary from violence, but was at length compelled to abandon the attempt, and opening the grand jury room door, he afforded Mr. Greenwood the opportunity of escaping by an open window. The rioters tried to follow in pursuit, but were prevented by the intervention of the Custos and some of the magistrates, who were themselves soon glad to quit the place, leaving the mob in possession, the railings and the bar having been broken down, and the fury of the assailants still increasing.

This ebullition of rage and malice being reported to the governor, a detachment of regular troops was forthwith stationed at the Bay, and measures were adopted to bring the ringleaders to justice. The attorney-general well knew what would be the result of placing a bill of indictment against them in the hands of the grand jury; he therefore resolved to prosecute by *ex officio* information. The evidence adduced on the part of the crown was clear and conclusive; the counsel for the defendants, unable to invalidate it, declaimed with much eloquence against *ex officio* informations as formidable engines of governmental oppression, and thus succeeded in obtaining a verdict of "Not guilty."

But the object of the prosecution was not entirely lost; for though the rioters left the bar untouched by legal punishment, the manifest perjury by which their immunity had been obtained excited the indignation of the populace of Spanish Town (where the trial took place), who hissed and hooted, and were with difficulty prevented from inflicting upon the acquitted culprits severe retribution. In truth, the times were fast changing; "the loyal and independent parish of St. Ann's" was beginning to be regarded as a disgrace to the island; and its respectability was certainly not increased by the trundling of a figure representing the governor about the town of St. Ann's Bay in a wheel-barrow, suspending it to the bell-post of the church, and then burning the effigy. His lordship, if made aware of this insult, doubtless bore it with the same dignified equanimity with which he met the scurrilous defamation poured forth by the *Courant*,* and the occasional storms of spoken vituperation with which he was assailed, even

arose while they were thus engaged, and the boat containing the four sisters, with two or three other persons, upset, and they all disappeared to be seen no more. The bereaved parent never rallied from this agonizing blow; the towering pride which had heretofore characterised him was utterly broken down, and he left the country, recognising in this mournful event the hand of God, and frankly acknowledging the sins of his past life."—(MS. of Mr. Bleby). In a most affecting memorial, recorded in the annals of the Assembly, this unhappy but highly-gifted man stated, "That petitioner, struck to the earth by an unexampled calamity, finds himself utterly unable to rise again, or conscientiously to discharge the duties of a station in which he better strove to serve his country than his God; he therefore resigns his living, and entreats the house will consider him as one who has died in its service. That petitioner, thus

while walking in the streets of Kingston, accompanied by the countess.—Duncan's *Wesleyan Mission*, p. 343.

In October the new Assembly was convened; the old one, to which Lord Mulgrave had addressed his stern and dignified rebuke, having been dissolved, in consequence of a difference which arose between that body and the Council, occasioned by the latter (prompted, it was supposed, by the governor) having set up a claim to originate bills, after the manner of the House of Lords, to which branch of the Imperial Legislature the Council was considered to bear some analogy.

The election of fresh representatives enabled the free coloured portion of the population to exercise, for the first time, the right of voting; and though the enlarged constituency did not immediately produce any great alteration in the composition of the House, yet it certainly did in the tone and temper of its members, who now ceased to be the representatives of a mere class of their own colour, not exceeding 2,000 in number, and became dependent on the suffrages of all the free citizens.

This change, together with Lord Mulgrave's other judicious and well-digested measures, accounts for the comparatively decorous manner in which the Act of the Imperial Legislature for the abolition of slavery throughout the British colonies, was received in the House of Assembly, where, two years before, the propositions made by Mr. Beaumont to abolish female flogging and establish the principle of compulsory manumission, had been angrily rejected. The large portion of the £20,000,000 compensation money which would be allotted to Jamaica proprietors, and a proviso on the part of H. M. ministers, that none would be awarded to any governments which should fail to carry out the provisions of the statute, had, doubtless, considerable weight in influencing the conduct of the Assembly, and the apprenticeship system would, they well knew, afford them large licence for coercing labour, little less cruelly than before. Buxton, Macaulay, Lushington, and the emancipist party at home, were not blind to the dangers of the apprenticeship system, as it was likely to be worked by the planters, but they dared not hazard what they were on the eve of obtaining, by standing out for immediate and complete emancipation.

The public assent of Lord Mulgrave to the Abolition Bill was given on the 12th of December. In proceeding to prorogue the House, his excellency remarked, that slavery, the greatest curse that could afflict the social system, had received its death-blow. It had, he said, long been evident that its continuation could only lead to the dissolution of that society, the powers of which were paralyzed by its baneful effects. The dangers of the transition by which alone a cure could be effected, would, the British govern-

ment bereft of all his children but one of seven years old, the wretched companion of his retreat and poverty, humbly implores that the house will place that lone child as a pensioner on the fund to which his father for twenty-three years contributed." The Assembly generously responded to this appeal by a grant of £50 per annum for ten years.

*The editor of this paper, about two years after the insurrection, was convicted of fraudulent bankruptcy. In order to deceive his principal creditor, and former partner in the newspaper, he had wantonly destroyed upwards of 5,000 advertisement vouchers, falsified his accounts, and received money without accounting for it; he was sent to gaol, the judge remarking, that he had never seen so flagrant a case. The bankrupt, when set at liberty, left the island, smitten with a loathsome disease, which covered his body with sores, and soon terminated his life.

ment considered, be lessened by an intermediate state of probation, the extreme duration of which (six years) was already fixed, and the lessening of which, by the voluntary act of the local legislature, would be received with the greatest satisfaction by the authorities and people of England. No one, his lordship declared, would rejoice more than himself at the last traces being utterly effaced of a state of things of which he had personally witnessed the inseparable evils. He emphatically warned his auditors of the extreme importance of judicious management during the momentous interval on which they were soon to enter, alluded briefly to the cases of flagrant abuse of power found to exist, and pointed out that it was not desirable either for the present tranquillity of the country or the future efficiency of its labour, "that the weapon of arbitrary punishment should be exercised with undiminished severity, on individual responsibility, up to the last moment when the law shall abruptly arrest the arm that wields it."

In the concluding part of his speech, lord Mulgrave expressed the satisfaction with which he should hereafter remember the proceedings of that day, in terms which were correctly supposed to convey an intimation of his intended departure. During the last few months, he had endured constant fatigue and anxiety, added to which his generous spirit must have been continually wounded by the knowledge of sufferings he had no power to relieve; and to such an extent had his bodily strength been impaired, that Dr. Madden, as a medical man, unhesitatingly stated that he could not survive for six months, the prolonged discharge of such onerous duties.

His lordship, before quitting Jamaica, had one pleasant task to fulfil: for three weeks he occupied himself in traversing the island, and daily announcing to large bodies of slaves, amounting in all to considerably above 50,000 of the adult population, the change to be made in their position, on the coming 1st of August. "There were three circumstances," says Lord Mulgrave, "in the statement I made to them which seemed to excite the greatest interest. The first was when I announced to them the utter and immediate extinction of the power of corporal punishment of women. This was always hailed with lively expressions of gratitude from all my auditors of both sexes. The next was, that though they themselves were still for a certain term to be subjected to limited restraint, their young children were at once absolutely free. * * * The

* "While slavery," said Lord Mulgrave, "lasted as the law of the land, no man, be he who he might, could effectually control its abuses. * * * I was frequently made to feel the helplessness of my position. During the whole of my residence in Jamaica, I never refused to hear any complaint myself that any negro wished to make direct to me, a privilege of which they largely availed themselves. I always heard their story to the end. I have listened to a tale of truth from their lips; I have seen the hope of redress beaming on their brow, and I have felt a painful conviction of what must be my answer, and the unexpected despondency it must cause. * * * However apparently cruel must have been the infliction, I was obliged to ask the fated question, could they say, that the legal number of thirty-nine lashes had been exceeded? In vain they answered, how in such a state of suffering could they count the number of stripes? The driver, probably, was the creature of the inflictor; evidence, if obtained, would probably be discredited, and I was often obliged, when I thought them wronged, to advise that they should not press my interference on a point which

third point to which I would allude, was the intelligent manner in which they comprehended, and the gratitude with which they received the promise, that though a certain number of hours were still given to the masters, in return for their houses and grounds, which was the footing I found it best to put it, still they might by working for wages at other times, themselves advance the period of their perfect freedom."—(Speech at Freemasons' Hall, August, 1834.)

On the 15th of March, 1834, Lord Mulgrave sailed for England, followed by the prayers and good-wishes of all the orderly and well-disposed portion of the community—white and coloured, bond and free. His brief administration of one year and eight months had accomplished wonders; most truly might he congratulate the country which he left, on its improved condition, even though very much remained to be done. Nor must the praise due to his true-hearted lady be omitted, for not inferior to his own was the moral courage she displayed in breaking down the barrier of caste, and receiving at the government-house people of colour, who, though well entitled by position and personal character to that privilege, would scarcely have been deemed worthy to sit at the table of a white overseer.

The Marquis of Sligo succeeded to the government, and arrived in April, 1834. His lordship was himself a Jamaica proprietor, but having been a member of the West Indian Committee in the House of Lords, he was there, to use his own expression, "converted to anti-slavery principles," upon which he faithfully acted during his administration. As he could not visit all parts of the island before the 1st of August, he issued an address to the slaves, in which, while announcing in simple and affectionate language the near approach of the great change of which his predecessor had informed them, he especially assured them that they would be "only required to work four days and a-half in each week," and that the remaining day and a-half would remain entirely at their own disposal.

The eventful epoch at length arrived, and instead of heralding the horrid scenes of drunkenness and immorality, and even of rapine and slaughter, which the planters had anticipated, or pretended to anticipate, it was hailed and celebrated by the redeemed slaves with a thrilling rapturous gratitude, the very depth of which precluded loud and noisy expression even in their excitable breasts.

On the evening of the 31st of July, many places of worship were thrown open, and the slaves crowded

would probably only entail on them, on another occasion, a repetition of a punishment within these limits uncontrollable, because irresponsible. * * * It was but too necessary that I should be cautious in my interference, that I should seem cold, really to be kind; for in some cases, on the part of low and violent overseers, I know it as a fact, that whilst the punishment has been inflicting, he has cried out to the driver, "do not spare him, that he may have something to show to the governor next time he complains." Such is the demoralising nature of the system, necessarily leading to cruelty, that some of the worst cases I knew were in the instances of domestic slaves, when the cause of the punishment was rather caprice and personal feeling, than incitement to industry. More than once I have heard of unspeakable cruelty inflicted by women on those of their own sex, from motives of jealousy—and some instances have been reported to me, though I trust these are rare, of punishment partaking of the character of torture, perpetrated by monsters in the shape of men, on the uncomplying objects of their disappointed passions."—(Speech at Freemasons' Hall, August, 1834.)

into and around them. As the hour of midnight approached, they fell upon their knees and awaited the solemn moment, hushed in silent prayer. When twelve sounded from the chapel bells, they sprang to their feet, and throughout the island rang the glad sound of thanksgiving to the Father of all, from the ransomed multitudes.

Great indeed must have been the delight of the nonconformist ministers, both Baptist, Wesleyan, and Moravian, at the progress of the good work in which they had laboured and suffered. Their own personal liberties had indeed been restored some time before, the toleration laws of England having been enacted in Jamaica during the previous sitting of the House of Assembly; but the planters had continued to the last to persecute the slaves for attending prayer meetings.

Another gracious measure which crowned the day was a proclamation issued by Lord Sligo, offering a free pardon to all runaway slaves who should surrender themselves to the special magistrates on the 1st of August. "Every difficulty," says Dr. Madden, "that was possible to be thrown in the way of that humane and most politic measure was given to it," but the governor persevered, nevertheless. Hundreds of fugitives flocked in to surrender themselves; slaves who had been five, ten, twenty, nay, five-and-twenty years away from their masters, delivered themselves up; but unhappily some of them, misunderstanding the terms of the proclamation, instead of going to the special magistrates, went direct to their owners, and arriving a few hours, or even a day or two before the stated period, were cruelly flogged by the tyrannical planters who, in despite of Lord Mulgrave's warning, had persisted in wielding the horrid cart-whip up to the very last moment the law would suffer them.

It had been judiciously decided that the 1st of August should be a holiday; and on that day, as well as on the following sabbath, thousands of the apprentices were seen thronging to the various places of worship,* on the ensuing morning, they all, without exception, cheerfully returned to their respective duties. Sunday markets were abolished; and the negroes doubted not that they should now have ample time in the week to support themselves and their families creditably by labour, without infringing on the period allotted by the Creator for needful rest and sacred exercises. Too many of their just and reasonable expectations were, however, unhappily dashed to the ground by the short-sighted policy of the planters, who, first by the alterations made by them in the spirit and letter of the British act of emancipation, and afterwards by local enactments, and partial adjudications, contrived to make the apprenticeship system little better than another form of slavery. To understand this, it is necessary to show what the intentions of the home authorities were, and how they came to be so grossly perverted.

APPRENTICESHIP.—On the 28th of August, 1833, the "Act for the abolition of slavery throughout the British colonies; for promoting the industry of the manumitted slaves, and for compensating the persons hitherto entitled to the services of such slaves," was finally passed by the British legislature. Under its provisions, all slaves in certain named British colonies (the West Indies, Mauritius, and Cape of

Good Hope) were declared to be, on the 1st of August, 1834, "to all intents and purposes free and discharged of and from all manner of slavery," and "absolutely and for ever manumitted." Children thereafter born, and the offspring of such children, were pronounced in like manner to be "free from their birth;" and from the above date, slavery was "utterly and for ever abolished and declared unlawful throughout the British colonies, plantations, and possessions abroad." All slaves in the colonies, duly registered, and of the age of six years, became, from the 1st of August, 1834, *apprenticed labourers*. These were divided into three classes: 1st, predial, attached; 2nd, predial, non-attached; 3rd, non-predial: from the latter class were excluded all persons of the age of twelve years, not habitually employed for twelve calendar months before the passing of the act, in agriculture or manufacture of colonial produce, or otherwise upon lands. The term of predial apprenticeship of classes 1st and 2nd, was to *cease* on the 1st of August, 1840, and their labour in the meanwhile was restricted to forty-five hours per week; that of the non-predials, or 3rd class, was to terminate on the 1st of August, 1838. Children under six years of age, at the before-named period, or born of any female apprentice after that time, if unprovided with an adequate maintenance, might be apprenticed for twenty-one years, reasonable time being allowed for the education and religious instruction of such children. The master might discharge any of his apprentices, unless they were of the age of fifty, or incapacitated by disease or mental or bodily infirmity, in which case he was to be obliged to maintain them during the term originally specified. Masters might sell or otherwise dispose of the services of their apprentices; but the latter could not be removed from the colony in which they were registered, nor separated from their families; nor, if attached predials, from their accustomed plantations, except (in the latter case) with the written consent of two special justices. The apprentice was entitled, according to age and sex, to such food, clothing, lodging, medicine, medical attendance, and other maintenance and allowances as by any law then in force they could claim, and where provision grounds in lieu of food were allotted, they were to be adequate in quantity and quality, situated within a reasonable distance of their place of residence, and sufficient time was to be allowed *out of the forty-five hours of weekly labour* for their cultivation.

The apprentice might purchase his discharge with or without the consent of the person entitled to his services, subject to appraisal under certain formalities and conditions. Sunday was declared a day of rest, and the ordinances of religious worship on that day were to be unfettered by any let, denial, or interruption whatsoever. There were various other regulating clauses, and 100 special justices were appointed under the act, at salaries, in no case exceeding £300 per annum, to superintend its practical working; and commissions of arbitration were nominated to appraise the value of the slaves in the several colonies, and the proportion in which the £20,000,000 sterling voted by parliament was to be distributed.

The above is an abstract of the chief clauses of the celebrated Abolition Act, a measure which, as has been before stated, was far from satisfying the minds of

* Dr. Madden says, that "all the sectarian places of worship were thrown open, and thronged to an unprecedented extent; but," he adds, "I regret to say that, for some reasons which to me are unknown, divine service was

not performed in the protestant churches in this town (Kingston.)" This omission on the part of the clergy of the Establishment is certainly much to be regretted, from whatever cause it may have arisen.

the abolitionists, especially of some of the most distinguished members of the Society of Friends, who had for years, it might almost be said for generations, borne an active and consistent part in the anti-slavery struggle.* Indeed, no one accustomed to examine the proceedings of the local authorities of Jamaica, and aware of their deep-rooted prejudices in favour of coerced labour, could doubt that the details of the measure to be passed by them, though nominally in accordance with that of the British parliament, would be in reality made to favour as far as possible their own supposed interests and privileges, and in all possible ways to hamper and discourage the apprentices. The result of this desire was the production of "an anomaly in the form of a legislative enactment, such," says Madden, "as the amended abolition measure, in which hardly a single clause is to be found which is not in contravention of some other." For instance, one clause of the Act provided that the negroes should labour forty-five hours a week; another forty and a-half: so that the amount and distribution of time for compulsory labour at once became a bone of contention between masters and apprentices. The former of course took advantage of the vaguely-worded colonial Act, and the governor was compelled to retrace his steps, and issue a second proclamation, in which the forty-one and a-half working hours were distributed over the whole five days, instead of being limited to four and a-half, an arrangement which a defect in the law was the occasion of, and which produced discontent only short of total insubordination. The extra four hours and a-half were to be required only in cases of sudden emergency, such as fire, earthquake, &c., or at such period of the year as the proprietors might "deem it necessary for the cultivation of the estate or plantation." Of course there were few seasons in which such a plea might not be successfully urged. It would occupy too much time to analyze minutely the British and Jamaica Acts, and show how widely different, even when apparently similar, were their provisions; but it must not be overlooked that the great defect of the initiatory measure was the want of any sufficient incitement of fair and honest remuneration for work performed; and that of the local one, the absence of "an executory principle," so far as the interests and protection of the weaker class were concerned.

One of the first acts of the planters, after the 1st of August, was to take away from the negroes all those allowances and customary gratuities which were not literally specified in the island law. Thus the weekly allowance of herrings, or other salt fish; and in the case of invalids, pregnant women, and mothers with young children, of a small quantity of flour or oatmeal, rice, sugar, &c., was stopped, and certain other arrangements necessary to the welfare, and even the subsistence, of the negroes, and long sanctioned by general custom in the colony, were, by many planters and overseers, suddenly set aside; no

* "It is well known," writes Joseph Sturge, "that the measure so undeservedly termed an Act for the Abolition of Slavery, was opposed to the views of those who objected on principle to slavery, whose exertions had excited general public sympathy for the oppressed, and at length urged the question of abolition on the attention of an unwilling government. They could not have done otherwise than protest, as they did, against a law which declared slavery to be for ever abolished, and the slaves set free, subject to such exceptions as created a new kind of slavery, under the name of apprenticeship; an anomalous condition, in which the negroes were continued, under a system of coerced and

watchmen were henceforth provided for the provision grounds, to prevent the crops from being destroyed by the trespass of cattle, or plundered by idle and improvident slaves; no women were any more employed as field-cooks and water-carriers, to prepare the breakfasts and dinners of the gangs in the field, in order that their meal times might be also intervals of rest, and to carry water for them, to quench the thirst excited by exhausting labour under a burning sun. These so-called indulgences scarcely deserved this name, since they were granted by the master for his own interest's sake, as necessary to the health of his slaves, who subsisted before as after the passing of the Abolition Act, chiefly on farinaceous roots, cultivated by their own hands. Yet these were, with bitter truth, called "the indulgences of slavery," and their partial continuance was made the pretext of extorting a far more than equivalent value in extra labour. The attorney-general (Dowell O'Reilly), who discharged the arduous duties of his office, honestly and firmly, at the expense of his private interests, gave his opinion, that the apprentices were entitled to their former allowances; upon which the planters appealed from him to the ex-attorney-general, himself a planter, who declared that no such allowances were obligatory on behalf of the masters. The government did not enforce the views of its own responsible legal adviser; and the counsel of an interested person, whose opinion in this case ought clearly not to have been taken, was suffered to decide the condition of the negroes with regard to this important part of the question of maintenance.

A large volume might be easily filled with a description of the various cruelties exercised by the overseers and planters on the apprentices in Jamaica and the other British West Indian islands, excepting in Antigua and Bermuda, where immediate abolition took place; yet so patiently did the negroes bear their heavy burdens, that for some time the horrors of the system were scarcely even imagined in England. Fowell Buxton writes to Bishop Wilson—"the apprenticeship system seems to go down with the negroes. This is wonderful to me; for I cannot reconcile it even now to my reason that this system should flourish." At length the representations of the Baptists and others again drew attention to the sufferings of the negroes, and in March, 1836, a select committee of the House of Commons was appointed to inquire into the "working of the apprenticeship system in the colonies, the condition of the apprentices, and the laws and regulations affecting them, which have been passed." The committee sat during the session of 1836, and held sixteen sittings during 1837, when the demise of the sovereign terminated its labours; but it was recommended that the inquiry should be pursued in the ensuing session of parliament.

In the report prefixed to the evidence of 1836, the committee pointed out various violations of the Imperial Act of 1834 by the authorities in Jamaica,

unrequited labour. Nor, although they might have concurred in the grant of a liberal relief to the proprietors whom slavery had ruined, in order to commence a better system under more favourable auspices, could they have avoided protesting against the acknowledgment of their claim to "compensation," by which, for the first time, the British statute book was disgraced by the formal recognition of the right and lawfulness of slavery. These were fatal objections to the new scheme, and the event proved that they were not merely of a theoretical character."—(*West Indies in 1837*, by Joseph Sturge and Thomas Harvey, p. 320.)

evasions of its leading provisions, and many illegal and unjust proceedings; yet, strange to say, the conclusion arrived at was, "that the system of apprenticeship in Jamaica was working in a manner not unfavourable to the momentous change from slavery to freedom, which is now going on there." To understand this statement, it should be borne in mind that Buxton, and other parliamentary abolitionists, had a strong motive for not choosing to dwell on the evils of the present arrangement, to which they allude by expressing "their conviction that nothing could be more unfortunate than any occurrence which had a tendency to unsettle the minds of either class with regard to the fixed determination of the imperial parliament to preserve inviolate both parts of the solemn engagement by which the services of the apprenticed labourer were secured to his employer for a definite period, and under specified restrictions; at the expiration of which he is to be raised to a state of unqualified freedom, and be governed by laws framed in all respects on the same principle as those to which his white fellow-subjects are amenable." In fact, the great dread entertained by Buxton was the attempted introduction by the planters of a vagrancy law at the expiration of the apprenticeship, which he feared would be "slavery in reality and for a permanence;"* and to avoid this danger he tacitly concurred in the maintenance of the apprenticeship system, being at that time probably but partially acquainted with its attendant evils. So unsatisfactory and contradictory was the evidence adduced before the committee of 1836, that it excited a strong desire for more conclusive information among the Society of Friends, and Joseph Sturge, John Scoble, and William Harvey, determined to proceed to the West Indies, and investigate for themselves the actual condition of the negro population. On their return to England, they were examined before the House of Commons committee, and presented a large but well-digested mass of evidence, abundantly proving the manifold cruelties and abuses of the existing system, derived from personal observation, from the testimony of white men, and from the most trustworthy of the apprentices themselves. Mr. Burge,† the agent for Jamaica, who was present during the examination, objected to the publication of the evidence, as calculated to bring discredit on the character of the planters, and suggested that he should be permitted to communicate to the parties implicated the communications made with regard to them. This extraordinary request was granted, and a copy of the evidence in question was despatched to what was termed the Committee of Correspondence; by which body it was kept, to be referred to the House of Assembly, and by them returned *unopened*, a clear indication of the unwillingness of the planters to expose themselves to the public condemnation likely to result from an attempt to rebut charges of whose general correctness they were doubtless well assured.

Respecting the information received in 1837, the committee made no remark, beyond calling attention to the jails, hospitals, &c.; the evils pointed out by them in 1836 were classed under seven heads, viz. :—

* Letter to Macaulay, see *Buxton's Memoirs*, p. 361.

† William Burge was a distinguished member of the English Bar, and for many years attorney-general of Jamaica. On his return to England he was provided with a seat in parliament by the Jamaica proprietors, and became the agent for the island with a salary of more than £1,500 a-year. As a defender of slavery, he was active and unscrupulous; and through his instrumentality the

"1st. The want of reciprocity in the amount and application of the penalties inflicted by the authority of the special magistrates, on managers and on apprentices." This great injustice had been early commented on by Lord Stanley, who, in a despatch dated 20th of February, 1834, pointed out that since the act provided that the apprentice should compensate by labour the loss which his employer might sustain from his ill-conduct, it was but right that a clause should be introduced empowering the special magistrate, in the event of the opposite case occurring, to compensate the apprentice out of the fine to be levied from his employer, instead of passing the whole sum into the island treasury. No such proviso, however, was introduced into the bill, and even the governor, from some inexplicable cause, appears to have acquiesced in the disregard shown by the Assembly to Lord Stanley's suggestions, and to the common principles of justice. Thus, while the law gave the master a direct interest in convicting his negroes of crime, by affixing a penalty which insured him their labour without payment, for a variety of offences, some of which did not in the smallest degree trench upon his interests, it did not recognise the right of the negro to compensation even for severe personal injury, and decreed in the most aggravated case no greater penalty than £3 sterling. While the punishment to be inflicted on the employers was thus kept within very narrow bounds, no similar care was manifested for the apprentices; they might be mulcted of their time to any extent the special magistrate might see fit; sometimes they were compelled to pay back the time lost to their masters during their confinement in the workhouse, and in others compelled to forfeit so many days as to be reduced to the verge of starvation, from inability to cultivate their provision grounds.

"2nd. The defective constitution of the tribunal for the valuation of apprentices applying to purchase their freedom." The unjust mode of appraisement enjoined by the Jamaica Act, rendered the compulsory manumission clause of the Imperial Act almost nugatory. For instance, the appraisers were, one special, and two local magistrates, the latter being of course directly interested in keeping up the value of apprenticed labour; and there being no specific rule or principle whatever laid down, but in this, as in other equally important cases, everything being left to the judgment, discretion, and integrity of the magistrates, the natural result was, that the appraisements afforded specimens of every degree of injustice, fair and honest ones being the rare exceptions. Dr. Madden states—"about eighty apprentices have obtained their freedom before me, either by valuation or mutual agreement; and the average valuation has been £25 (currency). In one instance, a tradesman was valued at £80, in the others it varied from £16 to £35." (Vol. ii., p. 217.) There were cases in which he allowed as much as £80; in some he would not agree to the inordinate amount fixed by his colleagues, consequently, the appraisement remained incomplete, and the negro could not buy his freedom. The conduct of Dr. Madden is by no means to be taken as a sample of the spirit which actuated the ministry were turned out in 1839 on the Jamaica Constitution Suspension Bill. His occupation ceased on the termination of that modification of slavery, the apprenticeship system, and he received a lucrative appointment as a commissioner of the bankruptcy court at Leeds; there he obtained money on false pretences, forfeited his situation, and died in prison a bankrupt and a criminal.

‡ The coopers, smiths, &c., on estates are so called.

majority of the special magistrates, as but very few long persisted in an impartial discharge of their arduous and ill-remunerated duties. Few cared to offend the planters and overseers, on whose hospitality in a country devoid of inns, or other accommodation for temporary residents, they were almost wholly dependent; and of those few some resigned, and others fell victims to the change of climate, coupled with the incessant fatigue and harassing anxiety to which they were subjected. Their places were supplied by the governor, as he best could, from persons then resident in the island; and the result was, the formation of a tribunal in which the sympathies and interests of the judges were alike enlisted on the stronger side. The marketable value of the apprenticeship was not taken into consideration; the chief evidence received by the magistrates, one of whom was appointed by the owner himself, and the third by the joint desire of the other two, generally related to the daily or yearly value of the negro's services, which being multiplied by the remaining term of apprenticeship, with one-third generally, but not always, deducted for the contingencies of life and health, formed the amount of the valuation. When the three magistrates differed in their estimates, it was customary to add the amounts together, and take an average of the total sum as the value of the apprentice; the contingent loss was likewise considered, which the master might sustain from the difficulty of replacing the labourer, as also the profit he might have gained by his services.* The whole proceeding was fraught with gross injustice to the negroes; their value was rated at higher prices than while they were slaves for life, and the colonists stood self-convicted of fraud; for, during crop time, extra labour, equivalent to two or three working days, if remunerated at all, would be generally paid by a sum scarcely equal to the sworn value of half a day's toil. Notwithstanding, therefore, the immense sacrifices which the negroes were willing to make for freedom, numbers who were anxious to purchase it, at a fair price, were compelled to remain in bondage; and those who succeeded in effecting their release were crippled in their resources, or involved in debt, from which years of assiduous toil might fail to relieve them.

"3rd. The want of adequate protection to the special magistrates against vexatious prosecutions." Actions of trespass were brought by the planters and overseers against several of the special magistrates who rendered themselves obnoxious by their justice and courage in defending the apprentices,† and the colonial juries inflicted heavy damages for acts performed in their magisterial capacity, and in

strict accordance with their duties. The government eventually indemnified the individuals subjected to such galling and mortifying treatment; but in some instances, in which it was peculiarly to be regretted, suffered some of the most meritorious, Drs. Palmer and Madden, for instance, to be removed at the instigation of the colonists. The case of Dr. Palmer was a very flagrant one. He was appointed by Lord Sligo to succeed a "planter's magistrate" named Jones, who had been living with the overseer of one of the large estates in the parish of St. Thomas in the Vale, and whose habitual intoxication, which eventually destroyed him, rendered him the subservient tool of every overseer in the district, until Rodney Hall, the local work-house, became, from the numerous and severe punishments inflicted there, "like a hell upon earth." The planters did their utmost to exclude Dr. Palmer, by preventing his obtaining a residence in the district; and upon his taking up his abode with his colleague, special justice Harris, who had been permitted to occupy a scarcely habitable building on one of the estates, the attorney belonging thereto issued a peremptory order for its evacuation, and directed the overseer to have the roof stripped off by a gang of negroes, as a means of completing this summary ejectment. The new special magistrate being undeterred by this violence, and the apprentices flocking to him by hundreds, the planters took the opportunity afforded by the arrival of a new governor, Sir Lionel Smith, in August, 1836, to request his removal on the ground that the apprentices of the parish were in an alarming state of insubordination. A commission of inquiry, composed of two special, and two local magistrates, planters in the neighbouring parish, were appointed to investigate Dr. Palmer's conduct. Their proceedings, as might be expected, were characterized by extreme unfairness, and at their conclusion, a report was drawn up and signed by the commissioners, upon the strength of which the obnoxious magistrate was immediately suspended by the governor from his office. "Every paragraph of that report," Joseph Sturge remarks, "might be quoted by Dr. Palmer in triumphant vindication of his impartial conduct as special magistrate."‡ The reporters declared openly their view of the necessity of a "mutual understanding existing between the special magistrate and those placed in authority over the labourers;" (i.e., between the magistrates and overseers;) and in the concluding paragraph they summed up the errors of Dr. Palmer as having consisted in administering "the abolition law in the spirit of the English Abolition Act," an accusation, the meaning of which they explained more fully by adding, that

* Sturge, writing in 1837, saw, on the 31st of January, "several negroes valued; one family of five persons for £210 (currency), a weakly woman for £50, and a tradesman on a plantation for £122:10s. The owner of this last was a local magistrate, who had been previously sitting at the table, assisting in the other valuations."—(P. 157.) Many of the apprentices purchased the residue of their freedom at the prices of from £150 to £200 (currency), and some even higher.

† As an illustration, the case of Captain Oldrey, R.N., may be cited. This gentleman interfered to protect the unfortunate slaves of a wealthy planter, named Mason, and ineffectually endeavoured to bring him to justice for having caused the destruction of one of his field-apprentices, named Tabitha Hewitt. The old woman being afflicted by a horrible disease, called the yaws, he had driven her off the property to the river side, despite the entreaties of her relatives, whom he had prevented even from carrying her food,

and compelled to leave her to perish. From an apparently intentional mistake in the wording of the indictment (the *one trick* of the Jamaica planters), it was thrown out by the grand jury, and Mason forthwith proceeded to threaten Captain Oldrey with fourteen actions, which were subsequently condensed into three, the chief plea being the alleged injury sustained by the complainant from his apprentices having been summoned to attend a court ordered by the governor himself. Captain Oldrey resigned his position in disgust, as did also a worthy magistrate named Hill. Special justices Colebrook, Connor, and Clinch, who were colleagues of Captain Oldrey, died. Among those who maintained their office, and conscientiously performed its onerous and important duties, "the names of Hill, Palmer, Madden, Daughtrey, Baynes, Grant, Bourne, and Kent," are especially mentioned by the Rev. J. M. Philippo.—(Vide *Jamaica, its Past and Present State*, p. 173.)

‡ *West Indies in 1837*, p. 457.

"in his administration of the law he has adapted it rather to the comprehension of freemen, than to the understanding of apprenticed labourers." While rendering, however, ample justice to the integrity of Dr. Palmer, it seems probable that excited by the gross abuse and even personal violence he received from the planters, and by their cruel treatment of the apprentices, he sometimes allowed his zeal to outrun his discretion, and thus furnished the weapon with which his opponents succeeded in obtaining from Lord Sligo, and afterwards from Sir Lionel Smith, his suspension and eventual dismissal. Nor could Lord Glenelg (the secretary for the colonies), be reasonably expected to persist in reversing a decree the necessity for which had been expressly insisted on by successive governors. The result was most injurious to the apprentices, for the special justices in general followed only too closely the conciliating policy to the planters, enjoined upon them by Sir Lionel Smith, and, after such an example as that of Dr. Palmer, were less than ever inclined to brave the enmity of the planters.

The 4th head under which abuses were noticed by the Parliamentary Committee, comprised the absence of any clause in the Jamaica law to regulate the distribution of the time the apprentice was bound to give his employer, and the withholding of the allowances and indulgences previously general. Both these subjects have before been noticed. The former, being left entirely at the discretion of the overseers, frequently proved a serious grievance to the negroes, for if, instead of adopting the nine hours system, which left them the half of Friday at their own disposal, the overseer insisted upon their working eight hours a-day for four days in the week, and eight and a-half on the fifth, it virtually deprived many of them of half a day's labour on their own ground.* There was a strong inducement to enforce the latter system on the part of the overseer, because the apprentice would sell his extra hour of labour each day for a mere trifle, as the distance from his provision-ground (not the small plot attached to his hut but it remembered) would render it comparatively valueless, whereas the half-day was a real boon to him, not to be lightly parted with. The provision-grounds were from one to fifteen and even twenty miles distant from the huts, but seldom if ever was allowance made for the time spent in going and returning. Yet during illness the apprentices supported themselves, and their young families and aged relatives were also dependant on them for maintenance. Mr. Sturge bears testimony to the fact that their poultry and live-stock were "frequently wantonly destroyed by the overseers," and that the small portion of time left them to procure the necessaries of life was diminished by the frauds practised upon them by their owners, and by the mulcts of the special magistrates. The shameful and openly illegal manner in which they were detained at work beyond the appointed time was notorious, and in 1837 the result of it began to affect not only the negroes themselves, but

* Lord Sligo pithily remarked, that if the overseer wanted to get work done, he chose the nine hours system; if to harass the apprentices, the eight and a-half.

† According to Madden, "the mill is about nine months out of twelve on many plantations."—(Vol. ii., p. 242.)

‡ See Appendix to *West Indies* in 1837.

§ This governor, like his immediate predecessor, expressed in strong terms the result of his personal experience. In a letter to Powell Buxton, he says that before he went to Jamaica, he thought the stories of the cruelties of the slave owners disseminated by the Anti-slavery Society,

also the supplies of the public markets, where scarcity and excessive price began to prevail, the negroes whose surplus produce had formerly supplied them, having been themselves too generally reduced to the extremity of want.

The labour during crop time, which extended on sugar-estates over a period of from three to six months,† necessarily involved an additional amount of exertion, and several properties are instanced by Sturge in which the mule-boys and sugar-boilers worked continuously for six days and nights, snatching a few minutes' rest during the short intervals of their toil, all this extra labour and night-work being sometimes obtained through the coercive power of the special magistrate, without any remuneration, and sometimes extorted for most inadequate payments, under the sanction of real or fictitious contracts.

Without, however, referring to extreme cases, the general practice was sufficiently severe, as the following evidence of an eye-witness will testify:—"On the property of a gentleman, who is one of the most humane owners in the island, I visited [says Dr. Madden] the works during crop time one morning, at a very early hour. The men who were scumming the sugar when I entered, I observed appeared worn out with fatigue and watching. They had then been at work twenty-four hours without intermission, day and night; it was then five o'clock in the morning: they had gone to work at the same hour on the preceding day, and were to continue at labour till seven o'clock in the evening of that day—in all making thirty-eight hours of constant labour. * * * I was told, some of the others who kept spell were for a shorter period: these were the coopers and carpenters; they had only kept up all night, but at sunrise were again expected to be at their ordinary employments."—(Madden, vol. ii., p. 242.)

Under the 5th head, the Committee adverted to the "corporal punishment inflicted on female apprentices," and the barbarous "practice of working females in chains" and penal gangs. Lord Sligo,§ in a speech to the Jamaica House of Assembly, in 1836, thus adverted to the cruelties practised in this respect:—"The whipping of females, you were informed by me officially, was in practice, and I called upon you to make enactments to put an end to conduct so repugnant to humanity, and so contrary to law. So far from passing an act to prevent the recurrence of such cruelty, you have in no way expressed your disapprobation of it. I communicated to you my opinion, and that of the secretary of state, of the injustice of cutting off the hair of females [a most cruel practice in such a climate] in the house of correction, previous to trial. You have paid no attention to the subject."

All this was disregarded, and Mr. Sturge, writing in 1837, declared that females were still flogged upon the treadmill, and that they "were publicly worked in the penal gang, chained to each other, with iron collars on their necks; besides being liable to the punishment of solitary confinement, with an insufficient diet, and to mulcts of time, by which they are "rather a caricature than a faithful representation of what actually did take place," adding, "before, however, I had been very long in Jamaica, I had reason to think that the real state of the case had been far understated, and that I am convinced was the fact. I was an ardent supporter of emancipation before I went out, but after being there for a short time, I was shocked at ever having held different opinions."—(*Memoirs of Sir T. F. Buxton*, by his Son, p. 317.) Lord Sligo confirmed his sentiments by liberating all his apprentices before the act of emancipation was carried.

deprived of the means of providing food for themselves and for their children. All these punishments," he adds, "women in a state of pregnancy, and others with infants at the breast, endure in their full proportion."

The truth was, that everything connected with the condition and management of prisons and hospitals in Jamaica was about as bad as it could be; and both Lord Sligo and Sir Lionel Smith exerted themselves in vain in endeavouring to rouse the House of Assembly to a sense of the necessity of legislating effectually on this matter. According to Mr. James Stephen (generally known as Master Stephen, and father of the present distinguished Sir James Stephen, many years Under Secretary of State for the Colonies), Jamaica holds a fearful pre-eminence, by having been "the first of the British colonies that adopted those terrible slave prisons called workhouses, and the public or parochial slave chains, which thirty years ago (i.e., in 1796) were unknown in the Leeward Islands, and, as I believe, in all the Windward Islands." Mr. Dallas, a pro-slavery writer, in his *Journey in the West Indies*, states that in the "King's Chain" twenty to a hundred persons, without regard to age or sex, would be linked together; the chain being fixed about the leader, was carried round the bodies of his followers, and secured to each by a padlock. At the commencement of the day a brisk walk was kept up by means of the never-ceasing activity of the cattle-whip, unsparingly used by the drivers, but at length the feeble began to add the weight of their exhausted limbs to the stronger, and the stronger to tread upon the heels of the weaker, until even the stimulus of the whip failing, the exhausted sufferers were driven back to their loathsome cells. To this galling and degrading torture masters might expose their slaves for the most trivial offences.* The tread-wheels used in the workhouses were very different to those employed in England, and from their construction, incapable of their legitimate object, the enforcement of a species of severe labour. The permanent injuries inflicted by them were frequent, as may be imagined from the following description of the one used at St. Ann's Bay in 1837. "The tread-mill at this workhouse is a cylinder, about eight feet in diameter, with broad steps. The hand-rail above it has eight pairs of straps fastened to it, with which the wrists of the prisoners are always secured. The board under the rail descends perpendicularly, and not in a sloping direction, towards the mill, and does not, therefore, afford them the slightest protection when they lose the steps and hang by the wrists. In that case, the sharp steps of the mill, which project twelve or fifteen inches from the cylinder, must revolve against the bodies and legs of the prisoners with torturing effect," especially against the breasts of the women, who were exposed to this torture even while in a state of pregnancy, or still nursing their infants. Every step was stained with blood, both recent and old; even the sand on the floor was thickly sprinkled with it. If the prisoners could not keep step, as was almost invariably the case when put upon it for the first time, they were suffered to hang, battered by the wheel, until the allotted time, generally about fifteen minutes,

* Before the passing of the Emancipation Act, the power given to masters of sending their slaves to be worked with the public convicts, was not only used for oppressive and vindictive purposes, "but it produced also," says Mr. Stephen, "fraudulent abuses upon sordid and avaricious principles, which a person unacquainted with the feelings generated by colonial slavery would hardly anticipate, or,

had expired. On the morning the workhouse was visited by Sturge, a small weakly old woman was put upon the wheel, and being unable to "dance," as the cruel exercise was tauntingly called, was so much injured that she could not be put upon the mill the next morning; but this did not prevent her from being sent to work in the penal gang, in the usual livery of chains and an iron collar. "Several other women," says Sturge, "also showed us the severe injuries which they had received on the tread-mill. Two of them had infants in arms, of two or three months old, and had been sent, as the driver expressed it, 'for not being able to please their overseer.' One old man was a pitiable object, both his body and limbs being swelled by dropsy to a great size. He had been apprehended as a runaway. When asked whether the prisoners on the wheel were flogged, the deputy supervisor replied that it was necessary "to touch them up, women as well as men," the whip employed being a cat composed of nine lashes of knotted small cord.† The driver of the penal gang, superintendent of the tread-mill, and other similar officers, in this, as well as in the other workhouses, were taken out of the gang of life-convicts, and to these petty tyrants was frequently entrusted the administration of the magistrates' careless sentences of "a few spells on the tread-mill." Besides the time of the punishment, its intensity might generally be increased at any moment beyond endurance by the caprice of the driver, who, even before *English witnesses, not planters*, would sometimes relax his hold for a few seconds, so as to make it revolve with such rapidity as to throw all the prisoners off.

That no repellant feature should be wanting in such scenes as this, it should be added, that mixed gangs of men and women were frequently placed upon the mill, and being provided with no proper dress, were liable to indecent exposure. Twice a-day this torture was repeated. After the first spell they were sent out in penal gangs, chained together in pairs, two men or two women, but, in some instances, even respectable married women, the mothers of many children, were chained to men, and all sent together to labour in the fields; and when night came, men and women were often locked up together indiscriminately, and in some of the workhouses, Rodney Hall, for instance, the insecure state of the building was considered to necessitate fastening the legs of the prisoners to an iron staple at night, on the inclined board on which they slept.

While nursing mothers and aged men, girls and boys, were subjected to the severest cruelties, it may be readily supposed, that the adult males did not escape more easily.

Of the general treatment of the "apprenticed labourers" in Jamaica, it may afford some idea to cite the following statement from the Government returns. Out of 260,000 apprentices, the number punished by the cat, the tread-wheel, &c., in twenty months was:—males, 35,536; females, 22,881 = 58,417; the number flogged was 10,770; and the total number of lashes inflicted was 242,325.

Thus, more than a fifth part of the entire number had, in less than two years of apprenticeship, been punished without good authority, believe. Planters whose slaves, from sickness or infirmity, had become expensive incumbrances, often sent them to the king's chain to be punished as delinquents, merely to deliver themselves from the charge of their support, and of their medical relief."—(*Slavery in the British West Indies Delineated*, vol. i., p. 354.)

† Sturge, p. 188.

ished by the special magistrates, the great majority for offences stated in the official reports under the two favourite heads of "neglect of duty," and "disobedience."* As to the reports themselves, there appears to be only too much reason for remembering, in this respect, the declaration made to the committee by Mr. Beaumont, once the most popular member of the House of Assembly, but discarded thence for daring to propose the abolition of the flogging of women; that he knew "enough of the mode of making up returns in the island of Jamaica to place very little reliance upon any such returns."† Two magistrates were actually dismissed by Sir Lionel Smith for having reported only the legal part of their sentences, omitting to mention the riveted iron collars, used by their authority. As has been before stated, great difficulty was found in filling up the vacancies that occurred among the magistracy, since very few would accept the stipend who were really adapted for the duties of the office; and consequently men were appointed who, from family connexion, personal character or previous habits of life, were quite unfit to be entrusted with the great and almost irresponsible power vested in the special magistrates. Indeed, the very fact that to several, remarkable for their cruelty and injustice towards the apprentices, and removed from their situation expressly on that account by the governor, the planters offered votes of thanks, accompanied, in some instances, by costly pieces of plate,‡ shows clearly enough the one-sided nature of the arrangement. Among the smaller objections noticeable in the appointments of special justices may be cited the fact, that many of them were half-pay officers in the army or navy, unhappily habituated to witness the brutal punishment of flogging; yet some of these were nevertheless among the efficient magistrates. In addition to the sentences recorded, and *not recorded*, against the apprentices, the overseers, on many estates, continued to inflict private punishments at their own will, as the dark holes and dungeons on many estates could testify; in fact, the so-called hospitals, in which the sick were locked up until dead or convalescent, notwithstanding the risk of contagion, were often used as prisons. It was in attempting to examine a horrible den of this kind on Reeces Plantation,§ by the express command of Lord Sligo, that Dr. Palmer, and other special magistrates, were violently assaulted by the proprietor (named Giles), his wife, and some of his friends. Bills of indictment were preferred in the Supreme Court against Giles for obstructing the magistrates in the execution of their duty; but, as may be supposed, the grand jury ignored the bills, whereupon Giles in his turn served the magistrates with notices of action for trespass. Mr. Harvey, more fortunate than the special magistrates, succeeded in exploring this

celebrated place of confinement, which the proprietor told him he had made many years ago to punish a woman after whose name he had called it; but the negroes had given it the more appropriate designation of "the coffin." It was divided from the hospital (a small room without a window, furnished only with an inclined plane of boards, on which the patients slept, and lit and ventilated by means of the holes worn in the locked door) by a small wooden partition, and was not above five feet high, so that no person could stand upright in it, or sit without being wedged, or lie in any other position than on the side; the heat there must have been excessive, and the absence of light total. Such was a sample of one of the worst places of punishment; the best were bad enough; and it is no slight evidence of the extent to which private and illegal punishments were carried, even during the apprenticeship system, that at Montpelier, the estate of one of the largest and most humane proprietors (Lord Seaford), whom anxiety respecting the condition of his slaves had led to pay more than one visit to Jamaica; a new and substantial stone dungeon, consisting, besides a narrow passage, of two arched cells, about twelve feet by nine, and eight or nine feet high, perfectly dark, was actually erected at a time when penal confinement on estates ought to have wholly ceased; nor was it untenanted, for, says Mr. Sturge, "one of the attorneys, without any magistrate's order, has twice directed to be locked up in it thirteen old women who refused to cut grass on their own days [i.e. to work for their master in their private time]. They were kept, during their confinement, on a short allowance of bread and water."—(*West Indies* in 1837, p. 211). I have no space to enter into the detail of the numerous cases in which unprincipled proprietors contrived to make special magistrates the mere tools of their cruel purposes; but it was certainly not without some truth, that an overseer sarcastically declared, "instead of a black driver we have got a white one, and he answers the purpose just as well."—(Parl. Papers, Commons' Committee, 1836, p. 354).

The 6th head laid down in the Report, referred to the defective state of the marriage laws, which confined to clergymen of the Church of England the power of solemnizing the marriage ceremony. This grievance was soon removed, and unions solemnized by ministers of various denominations were duly legalized.

The 7th and last head had regard to the existing "condition of that part of the negro population which was under the age of six years on the 1st of August, 1834," and were consequently free. "It appears," says the report, "that there exists a general disinclination on the part of the parents of those children to become apprentices (a circumstance

their time, up to the end of the apprenticeship.—(*Vide Operation of the Apprenticeship System in the British Colonies*, by the Rev. W. Bevan; p. 33.)

† Mr. Beaumont further specifically declared, when his opinion was asked by Sir George Grey respecting the number of lashes inflicted monthly during the apprenticeship system, that, looking at the character of the greater number of special magistrates, he did not place the slightest reliance upon any return made by them, adding, and "I am ready to name the magistrates, and give my reasons."—(Question, 4,030.) It seems strange that he was not pressed to do so, as the conduct of these functionaries was beyond doubt a feature of vast importance in the working of the apprenticeship system.

‡ Parl. Papers, Commons' Committee, 1836; p. 355.

§ In the parish of St. Thomas-in-the-Vale.

* Mr. Sturge remarked, with regard to the Local Abolition Act, that such were the number and severity of its penal enactments, for the offences of the apprentices, both circumstantially defined and of a vague and general character, that it was probably the most highly penal law that had ever disfigured the statute-book of the colony. Thus under its provisions (see p. 44), a gang convicted of the vague charge of indolence, or neglect, or improper performance of work, might each and all be sentenced to fifty lashes if males, and if females to three months' imprisonment and hard labour, or twenty days' solitary confinement; and then, in addition to this, to labour for any number of hours or days, in their own time, for the benefit of the employer, as the special justice might think proper, not exceeding fifteen hours in any one week. There was no preventive against taking from the whole gang the *entire* of

which your committee cannot but consider indicative of the just value which the negroes attach to freedom; that the means of education are provided for them in a most inadequate manner, and the consequence is, that they are growing up, for the most part, in ignorance and idleness." The committee consequently recommended that the legislature of Jamaica should take immediate means for the better encouragement of schools, which, they proceed to state, independently of the peculiar case of the children referred to, were "exceedingly wanted for the general use of the negro community." It will be remembered that by the Act of Abolition, all children under six years of age, though declared unconditionally free, were left liable (cxlii.) in case of destitution, to be apprenticed* by the special magistrate to the owner of their parents till twenty-one years of age. This was undoubtedly one of the most dangerous parts of the act, as such an apprenticeship of the rising generation involved the indefinite continuance of a system which was in fact only a modified form of slavery. Through the constancy and resolution of the parents, the most determined and insidious attempts to procure the apprenticeship of the children were defeated, but at an expense of infant life, and of an amount of suffering to the mothers, which may be faintly, and only faintly guessed at by recollecting that the free children were wholly dependent on their mothers for support; that the latter, inclusive of the frauds of overseers, and the mulcts of special magistrates, had only one day and a-half at the very best to cultivate ground for this purpose, and that every birth rendered their tasks heavier, and lessened their ability of providing for their increased offspring, and escaping punishment themselves.

At the commencement of the apprenticeship, efforts had been made both by the government and public of the United Kingdom for the instruction of the rising free black population. The funds of the Mico† charity were appropriated to educational purposes, and clergymen and missionaries were sent out by the Church of England, the Wesleyan, Baptist, and London Societies, to strengthen those already in the field. But while the galling yoke of apprenticeship remained, little could be done, beyond comforting the negroes, and urging upon them unweariedly to endure to the end; and this was the more easily done, because the apprentices, with the gladdening prospect of liberty, full, free, and unlimited before them, would sooner have died under the present system, than reverted to hereditary and perpetual slavery, even under the gentlest and most modified form.‡

Both Lord Sligo and Sir Lionel Smith had exerted themselves to induce the House of Assembly to enact efficient measures for the protection and instruction of the children of apprentices, but had been met by continued and vexatious opposition. In an address to the House of Assembly, in February, 1836, Lord Sligo, while enumerating the instances in which the suggestions of the home government and his own views had been utterly

disregarded, remarked—"I sent you down no less than four messages on the subject of an extended system of education; as no measure on the subject has emanated from the House, can I do otherwise than conclude that you are indifferent to it? I informed you that £25,000 sterling had been voted for the support of education in the colonies, with the promise of still further assistance being afforded; and you have taken no steps to make it available. I transmitted to you despatches of the Secretary of State, recommending the repeal of the 33rd canon, with a view to increase religious instruction in the colony. You have not attended to the recommendation."

It would appear from this and other evidence that the more unruly members of the House of Assembly were inclined to resume the tone and bearing so firmly though temperately checked by the Earl of Mulgrave.

Thus, in June, 1834, the House, in an address to the governor, openly declared the regret with which they had passed the Abolition Bill, and spoke of being "unaided by the mother-country;" this, Lord Sligo in reply, stated that he could not understand; he reminded them of the £20,000,000 granted by England to compensate the colonies on the change of system, and of "her never-failing replies to the applications made to her in all cases of real emergency, in which Jamaica had more largely participated than any other colony;" adding, that within the previous three years, £300,000 had been forwarded as a loan to individuals who had suffered in the late rebellion, in addition to which, within a few days the island had received another loan of £200,000, at a reduced rate of interest, and payable at a protracted period. These and other facts incontestably proved that Jamaica had largely benefited by the fostering attention of the home government.

This reproof did not suffice to quiet the turbulence of the Assembly, who it would appear felt aggrieved by a share in the £20,000,000 having been extended to their fellow-subjects, the slave-holders in the Cape of Good Hope, Mauritius, &c., and declared later in the same month in one of their "humble memorials"—"Had we anticipated that the miserable reward of our submission [to the emancipation act of the British parliament] would be in the chief part withheld from us to enrich the foreign settlements conquered from the enemy, we would have rejected the unworthy compromise, and incurred all the evils which the authority and anger of the mother-country might have inflicted, protesting against her tyranny before the world, and reserving our rights [the perpetuation of slavery] to be vindicated and resumed at some happier moment."

The above remarks of the Assembly were doubly ungracious, as great care had been taken in the distribution of the contribution money; and indeed the clauses relating thereto were by far the most accurately worded portion of the Imperial Abolition Act. They had been carried into full effect. The whole stipulated sum of £20,000,000 sterling had been

* It is scarcely necessary to remark, that this term bore no relation whatever to its application in England.

† A Lady Mico, who died in 1710, left a sum of money to her daughter, on condition of her not marrying a specified individual, in which case it was to be devoted to the redemption of white slaves in Barbary. The daughter married, and forfeited the money, which accumulated until, in 1827 (when no Christian slaves remained in Barbary), it amounted to £110,000. This sum, by the exertions of

Lushington, Buxton, Macaulay, and others, was applied to the education of the negroes in the West Indies.

‡ The apprentices on the Trelawney estate "said they heard that some of the people on other estates were worse off than before the apprenticeship." For themselves, in answer to an inquiry, they said, "How can we like the old system? We are well satisfied with the present when we think when the whole come."—(*West Indies in 1837*. Appendix, p. 462.)

paid, with accumulated interest, and free of all charges; no single slave-owner could complain of having been defrauded of his share by the British government, though some of the poorer and more ignorant coloured proprietors, duped by the reports circulated by their fellow colonists, were (as in the Cape of Good Hope, see African Division, p. 90,) induced to sell their claims for less than half their value.

The following table shows the apportionment of the compensation-money awarded to the Jamaicans:—

Divisions and Classes.	Number of Slaves.	Compensation per head.	Value per Class. ¹
<i>Predial attached—</i>			
Head People . .	14,043	£31 0 6	£435,727
Tradesmen . .	11,244	31 5 11	351,902
Inferior ditto . .	2,635	20 13 9	54,514
Field Labourers .	107,053	26 12 2	2,848,836
Inferior ditto . .	63,923	12 16 2	818,946
Total . .	198,898	—	4,509,927
<i>Predial unattached—</i>			
Head People . .	1,329	31 0 10	41,254
Tradesmen . .	1,133	31 11 2	35,759
Inferior ditto . .	322	20 17 11	6,728
Field Labourers .	11,670	26 11 6	310,130
Inferior ditto . .	5,104	13 4 6	67,452
Total . .	19,558	—	461,324
<i>Non-predial—</i>			
Head People . .	1,759	30 19 2	54,455
Inferior Tradesmen	780	20 11 5	16,045
Head People, employed on wharfs, shipping, &c. .	1,428	30 5 5	43,229
Inferior People do.	901	22 13 8	20,440
Head Domestic Servants . .	12,883	29 3 1	375,619
Inferior Domestic	19,083	19 10 10	372,933
Total . .	36,834	—	882,724
Children under six years of age . .	39,013	5 9 10	214,368
Aged, diseased, &c.	15,692	4 6 8	67,998
Runaways . . .	1,075	—	13,593
Grand total . .	311,070	—	6,149,934

Notes.—Number of claims having reference to each division: predial attached, 5,562; predial unattached, 1,798; non-predial, 9,075. The average compensation awarded was £19 15s 4d. for each slave.—(Parl. Papers, Lords, March, 1838.) ¹ Shillings and pence omitted.

Sir Lionel Smith, on succeeding Lord Sligo, in September, 1836, openly expressed and markedly evinced his desire to conciliate and soothe the planters as a means of obtaining better treatment for the apprentices, and in consequence his early intercourse with the Assembly went on smoothly enough as far as words were concerned, but the numerous much needed measures of reform seemed farther off than ever; on perceiving which the governor changed his tone, and lost his popularity.

This state of things did not long continue; great interest had been excited throughout the United Kingdom by the statements made before the committee of 1836, and few that examined them with common attention, could fail to agree with the exa-

miners, when they stated in one of the concluding paragraphs of their report, that abundant proofs had been adduced of the general good conduct of the apprentices, and of their willingness to work whenever they were fairly and considerably treated by their employers; they moreover held it to be fully proved, that the labour voluntarily performed by the negro was more effective than that obtained from him either formerly as a slave, or during the working hours of the apprenticeship system. The effect created by this report was heightened by the publication by Messrs. Sturge, Harvey, Lloyd, and Scoble, of the results of their investigations in the West Indies, and of several atrocious cases of cruelty, in particular that of James Williams, which forcibly demonstrated the inefficiency of the Jamaica laws to protect the apprentices, or to correct the abuses of the prison and hospital systems.

The testimony of this unfortunate negro,* did much to confirm the opinion that many of the overseers, and even proprietors, had entered upon the apprenticeship scheme, with a determination to make the most of the compulsory labour they still had power to exact, and to use up, so to speak, the strength of the negroes as much as possible. This, at first sight, would seem to imply an incredible degree of blindness to their own future interests; but, in the first place, it should be remembered that the tendency of all bad passions, and especially those fostered by the indulgence of tyranny and licentiousness, is to produce a species of infatuation which utterly excludes the light of reason or reflection; and, in the second, many of the overseers probably concluded that the negroes, disgusted with long years of toil and cruelty, would never be induced to labour voluntarily. Let the motives, however, have been what they might, it is certain that the House of Assembly, by its enactments, and the colonists (with

* The history of James Williams came to the knowledge of Joseph Sturge while visiting Jamaica; and the lad, who was only eighteen years of age, having obtained his manumission, by the payment of £46 for the seventeen months residue of his apprenticeship, through the kindness of the Rev. Mr. Clarke, who advanced the money, Mr. Sturge brought the youth to England, where his statements of what he and others had endured, through the injustice of various special magistrates, of drunken, tyrannical, or venal character, at the instigation of masters and overseers, were published in the form of a narrative taken down from the lips of the sufferer. Williams had been flogged seven times during the working of the apprenticeship system, his lacerated flesh being not even allowed to heal, before it was again torn by fresh lashes, and the torture inflicted was so great as to seem likely to carry out his master's diabolical threat, that he was ready to bet £1,000 he would make an end of him. "What make me so much afraid of is," said Williams, "that he did kill a man; he got him ordered a severe flogging, and because the constable did not flog him enough, he ordered the policeman to take the whip. The man coughed blood. He went afterwards to Brown's Town to complain to Captain Dillon, and died in the town; "and the master, (named Senior,) magistrates, and other accessories to his violent death, remained unpunished. The only reason assigned for the furious malice by which Senior was stimulated, was that when the new law came in, in the words of Williams, "the master take spite, and do all he can to hurt them before the free come. I have heard my master say, 'Those English devils say, we to be free, but if we is to be free, he will pretty well weaken we before the six years and the four years are done; we shall be no use to ourselves afterwards.'" A copy of the narrative was transmitted to the Colonial Office, and being there deemed of such

some bright exceptions, such as Alexandro Bravo,* for instance,) by their perverse conduct, contrived to render the whole scheme worse than abortive. The British public became roused to an almost unexampled state of excitement by the bad faith kept with them by the people of some of the West Indian colonies, but especially of those of Jamaica; public meetings were held, and within the space of about six months, deputations, varying in number from 140 to 600, assembled in London from different parts of the three kingdoms. Downing-Street and Westminster Hall were besieged, and petitions, signed by upwards of one million of British subjects (including 450,000 English, 135,000 Scotch, and above 77,000 Irish females), imperatively demanded the abolition of the system on the ground of a violation of the contract on the part of the planters. A large portion of the London press, the different religious journals, and the great majority of the provincial papers, zealously espoused the same cause.

Early in the year 1838, active discussions took place in both houses of parliament. On the 20th of February, Lord Brougham, who had from the first opposed the apprenticeship system, set forth in one of his most brilliant speeches its practical working, as tending to alienate yet more employers and employed, and argued for its immediate abolition, on the plea that the British public had already paid in advance £20,000,000 to compensate the planters for a loss which his lordship maintained was wholly imaginary, inasmuch as wherever the experiment of free negro labour was fairly tried, it proved more remunerative than slave labour.

On the 30th of March, 1838, Sir George Strickland moved the immediate abolition of negro apprenticeship in the West Indies, but was opposed by H. M. ministers on the ground that such a procedure would be a violation of the compact entered into with the slave proprietors, and the motion was defeated by a majority of 64 over a minority of 215.

The day following the division, Lord Sligo, in his capacity of a large Jamaica proprietor, communicated to the House of Assembly a plain statement of the strong feeling which predominated in the British Senate and throughout the country, declaring, that

importance as to demand special investigation, it was immediately sent out to the governor, who appointed a commission of inquiry, composed of a special magistrate and a local justice, who reported, in October, 1837, that it had become their duty to state, "that the allegations of James William's 'narrative' have received few and inconsiderable contradictions, whilst every material fact has been supported and corroborated by an almost unbroken chain of convincing testimony." They added, that "the House of Correction in St. Ann's parish had been, until recently, a place of licentiousness and cruelty," and that "the tread-mill has been, from the time of its erection, and still is an instrument of torture, rather than of just and salutary punishment." The evidence adduced before the commissioners was not published among the Parliamentary Papers, possibly from the revolting nature of its details, and no inquiry was instituted into the deaths alleged to have been directly caused by barbarous and unjust punishments. The whole matter was much canvassed in England, the anti-slavery party holding forth the narrative of James Williams as an example of the cruelties to which the whole of the apprentices were liable; the pro-slavery party declaring it to be a single instance, to be viewed only in an exceptional light. Of the two extremes, the latter was much the farther from the truth, because the investigations pursued with regard to Williams proved beyond dispute the complete contempt of justice

in the debate of the previous night not one voice had been lifted up in their favour, but that their condemnation had gone so far, that Sir Edward Sugden, though opposed to the abolition as a general measure, had said that a complete case had been made out against Jamaica, and that though none of the other colonies deserved it, Jamaica ought undoubtedly to lose the last two years of the apprenticeship. His lordship warned them not to trust to the fallacious statements or rely upon the injudicious advice which they had been so long in the habit of receiving, and by following had been brought to their present condition; instead therefore of vainly attempting to prolong the existing system, he advised them at once to abolish it by their own act and deed, and thus avoid the unpleasant position they would be placed in by the Bill to amend the abolition law proposed to parliament by Lord Glenelg, on the express ground of the existence of very serious grievances in the West Indies which the colonial legislatures, and especially that of Jamaica, contumaciously refused to correct by adequate measures.†

On the 11th of April, the Imperial Parliament passed an Act for the purpose of remedying the defects in the Jamaica Abolition Act, and preventing the recurrence of the abuses pointed out by the Committee of 1836. Many of its clauses were calculated to materially ameliorate the condition of the apprentices, and were so clearly and decisively worded as almost to defy misconstruction, even by a Jamaica assembly. One of them especially directed the classification of the apprentices by a complete and correct registration. This measure was most necessary, for great numbers of the apprentices, who properly came under the denomination of non-predials, had been made predials by their masters, for the sake of wrongfully retaining their services six years instead of four, and domestic servants had been turned into the field for the same end, as also to increase the proprietors' claims for compensation. In some parts of the island frauds of this kind had been carried to a great extent; thus, a local magistrate of Vere, declared, that in that important and populous parish, the class of *non-predials* had been abolished by the planters.‡

and humane feeling openly manifested in the important parish of St. Ann, and subsequent official inquiries showed that other parts of the island were scarcely inferior to this notorious locality, in the disgraceful condition of their houses of correction, and hot-houses (hospitals), or in the oppressive character of the white inhabitants. In fact, Mr. Senior was an illustration of a numerous class of men, who would, probably, have passed what is commonly designated a "respectable" life, had not their evil passions been fostered by the temptations offered by the unholy power over their fellows, which no Christian government can be justified in allowing its subjects to exercise.

* This gentleman being one of the most extensive and respected proprietors in the island, a *custos* and member of Assembly, his views on matters of internal policy could not but have great weight. He considered slave-labour, of all others, the most uneconomical and expensive, and was persuaded that twenty free men were equal to 100 slaves. Under a slave system agricultural operations could not be carried on but with immense masses of men, which he believed would not be required, even in West India cultivation, when placed on a proper footing. — (*West Indies in 1837*, p. 168).

† *Vide* a pamphlet on the Abolition of the Apprenticeship, p. 13. Published by Oliphant and Sons, Edinburgh, supposed to have been written by Sir George Stephen.

‡ *West Indies in 1837*, p. 322.

On the 22nd of May,* Sir Eardley Wilmot, M.P., carried a motion for immediate abolition, by a majority of three; but this vote was neutralised by the interposition of H.M. ministers, who still shrank from the forcible abbreviation of the apprenticeship; and Sir George Grey, a few days later, caused a resolution to be passed by the House of Commons, declaring it inexpedient to adopt any procedure for the purpose of giving effect to the resolution of the 22nd, whereupon Lord Glenelg's measure was again reverted to.

As might be expected, the British re-amendment of the Jamaica "Amended Abolition Act," excited great indignation; the Assembly protested against it in no measured terms, and stigmatised the proclamation which declared the said act in force in the island, as illegal, unconstitutional, and utterly subversive of all their privileges. Not content with this vent for their excited feelings, they proceeded to calumniate and vilify the mother country, not only for her conduct towards Jamaica and other colonies, but also in matters respecting the internal administration of the United Kingdom, with which the Assembly could have no possible concern. Nothing could well exceed the bitterness of their "Protest," which they crowded with sneers and reproaches in default of more convincing arguments. It chanced, that about this time a small gang of British ruffians had been detected in the commission of several horrible murders, seizing and silencing their victims, by means of pitch-plasters suddenly applied to the mouths of their unsuspecting victims. It was just one of those moral epidemics which occasionally startle metropolitan communities; it excited, as may be remembered by many readers, general and unqualified abhorrence, and, in some minds, excessive alarm; and, perhaps, had the good effect of showing sin in so hideous and hateful a form as to offer a public and terrible warning. Yet the representatives of an island, where men, women, and children had been again and again, within the last few years, and even months, destroyed with impunity; where juries, it was notorious, would almost, without exception, commit perjury sooner than pass a just

verdict on a white manslayer, did not hesitate to express their sentiments when quite uncalled for, and taunted the mother country with the crimes of a few wretched men, whose lives had paid the earthly penalty of their crimes, and whose memories were held by the British public in the deepest detestation. The sufferings almost inevitably connected with a surplus population, were likewise adduced in the same taunting style of recrimination, by the Assembly, who seemed to think that, because the imperial government could not by ceaseless efforts succeed in banishing sin and suffering from the United Kingdom, therefore it had no right to interfere for the protection of the oppressed coloured subjects of the sovereign, or even to compel the fulfilment of the conditions of a compact into which the people of Great Britain had entered, influenced, perhaps, by the very purest and most Christian motives which ever prompted a great national act. What English heart is there so cold as not to sympathize with the feeling that prompted the dying Wilberforce to exclaim—"Thank God that I have lived to witness the day in which England is ready to give twenty million sterling, for the abolition of slavery."

Yet the Jamaica Assembly hesitated not to issue a protest, filled with the bitterest invective, against a nation, of whose glory they might well be proud, and whose generosity they had repeatedly experienced. The following paragraph shows the petulant and wayward tone assumed by the Assembly, and is interesting as illustrating how closely the pro-slavery arguments used by British planters in 1838, resemble those urged by American slaveholders in 1853.

After alluding to Ireland, that unhappy land of absenteeism, which has long been a reproach to England and a thorn in the side of her statesmen, and boasting that their labourers and artisans never combined as those of Dublin and Glasgow had recently done to raise wages (quite forgetting that the insurrection of 1832 had, by their own accounts, been rather a remarkable instance of a "strike" for wages), they proceeded to declare that "the horrible trad^e of Burke† (and we fear of many more), which has

* The venerable Zachary Macaulay died just before this glorious consummation of his life-long labours.

† The annals of Jamaica contain quite as horrible a page as that occupied by the murders of Burke and Hare in the Newgate Calendar, and it would be equally unjust to cite it as an illustration of national instead of individual depravity. It is cruelty and oppression tolerated, if not sanctioned, by law and public opinion, that degrades a people,—not startling cases, which by the penalty inflicted, and the horror excited, are incontestably shown to be detested by the vast majority of the community. Therefore, the crimes of a wretch like Hutchinson, inflict no stain upon the character of the white population towards each other, though they, perhaps, afford indirect evidence of some of the many evil tendencies and opportunities of slavery, since such a career would have been next to impossible in any but a slave colony. Towards the close of the last century a man named Hutchinson lived in the parish of St. Ann, who built for himself a small and lonely dwelling with a turret, which he (being a Scotchman by birth) designated by the name of Edinburgh Castle. It stood in a close and wood-bound vale called Pedro, situated nearly in the centre of the island (see map), and occupied a pass leading from the southern to the northern coast, the defile being scarcely 100 yards across, and the mountains rising on either side almost to an Alpine height. It was not want that tempted the master of this lonely spot to make it the scene of many a horrible butchery, for he possessed a small stock of cattle, and some slaves, recently imported from Africa, who appear to have implicitly obeyed his

sanguinary commands. The solitary traveller was aimed at from a loop-hole, under which he was compelled to pass, or sometimes would be received into the murderous dwelling, nursed if sick, or fed if hungry, and then when about to depart recruited and refreshed, was suddenly assassinated. The mangled carcasses were thrown down one of the deep and hollow drains peculiar to mountainous countries of volcanic origin, whose mouths descending perpendicularly, form a channel for the torrents which periodically fall to the level of the ocean. In spite of the inquiries suggested by the disappearance of numerous individuals, Hutchinson remained for many years unsuspected. At length, the manager of a property in the same vale, named Callendar, came to complain about the trespasses of the cattle which strayed from the Castle; he was hospitably received, the visit was returned, and there the matter apparently ended; but a few days later a sick traveller, confined to bed in the turret above, saw Callendar, while riding past, shot dead by a bullet discharged from behind a thick-set hedge by the road-side. The witness of this foul murder deeming himself an intended victim, contrived to effect his escape, and gave the alarm. The assassin fled, and the premises being examined, no less than forty-seven watches were found. The unfathomable charnel-house resorted to by Hutchinson, being pointed out by one of the guilty slaves, the mangled body of the unfortunate Callendar was discovered by the help of a bundle of lighted straw, caught at the depth of many feet below on the point of a projecting rock; but the yawning abyss beneath had more effectually engulphed the previous victims. Hutchinson meanwhile escaped to

given a new word to the English language, was never heard of here; nor have we ever known an instance of parents putting their infant families to death, to save them from the protracted sufferings of starvation [substitute slavery for starvation, and a more fruitful cause would be found for this crime]. It is not in Jamaica that unfortunate mothers outrage nature by the destruction of their new-born offspring, to avoid the persecution of a hard-hearted and destroying morality;* nor is it under our laws that wretches commit suicide to escape the refuge which is provided for worn-out and aged industry. We have no corn laws to add to the wealth of the rich, nor poor laws to imprison, under pretence of maintaining the poor; we cannot, as the English parliament does, boast of a pauper law which has taken millions from the necessities of the destitute, to add to the luxuries of the wealthy.†

Notwithstanding the general violence of their language, the more temperate members of the Assembly were not blind to the probable consequences of the position in which they had placed themselves, and the considerations so forcibly urged upon them by Lord Sligo doubtless had their due weight. Besides this, the example of the neighbouring islands were, as additional weights, thrown into the wavering scale. The legislatures of Montserrat, Nevis, and the Virgin Islands, St. Vincent and Barbadoes, had successively passed acts for the termination of the apprenticeship system on the ensuing 1st of August. Jamaica held out chiefly in the hope of obtaining further compensation, i.e., an increased bribe to perform a clear duty. This expectation was effectually dispelled by Sir Lionel Smith, who, in addressing the local legislature, specially convened in June, 1838, declared that he had been commanded to state that H.M. ministers would not entertain any question of additional compensation. As governor, under existing circumstances, he pronounced it physically impossible to maintain the apprenticeship with any hope of successful agriculture, "since the exaction of coerced labour, always difficult, would in future be in peril of constant comparison with other islands set free, and with those estates in this island made free by individual proprietors." He therefore advised them "to abolish a law which had equally tormented the labourer and disappointed the planter; a law by which man still constrains man in unnatural servitude."

The reply of the Council was dignified and liberal. They expressed their cordial concurrence with the governor's views, adding, "we feel pleasure in recording our perfect conviction that the apprentices will be found worthy of freedom in every respect, and will so conduct themselves as to ensure the future interests of the planters."

The reply of the Assembly contained a tacit admission that the apprenticeship could not be maintained, and an expression of their anxious hope, that should they determine to remove what even they now termed

sea in an open boat, from the port of Old Harbour; but his flight being intercepted by the vigilance of Admiral Rodney, he threw himself into the waves, from whence he was rescued to meet a more ignominious end. He evinced to the last the most utter recklessness, and at the foot of the scaffold left a hundred pounds in gold to erect a monumental record to his infamous memory, and his death at the age of forty years.

* Certainly, no one had ever dreamed of accusing the Jamaicans of persecuting individuals guilty of any degree of licentiousness. It was there unnecessary to assume a virtue really wanting. At this very time four or five coloured

an "unnatural servitude," they would be left, in the exercise of their constitutional privileges, to legislate for the benefit of all classes, without any further parliamentary interference.

On Thursday, the 7th of June, a bill for the termination of the apprenticeship on the 1st of August, 1838, was brought in by Mr. Guy, of St. George's, and referred to a committee, and on the 8th it was passed without a single dissentient voice. Some honourable members even desired that it should take place on the following Sunday, others would have reserved it for the day of her majesty's coronation; and, by a strange but not unnatural revulsion of feeling, several evidences of a loyal and kindly spirit on the part of certain members of the Assembly, marked the extinction of an evil which had for half a century been constantly productive of bitterness and alienation between the colony and the mother country, and had from its very commencement proved baneful alike to the commercial and moral condition of the island, hindering the development of its rich and varied resources, by blighting and narrowing the naturally generous and expansive energies of its colonists. Thus, after having been 329 years a European colony, and 183 years an English one, receiving, until the last thirty years, unceasing and unlimited supplies of slave labour, not one-fourth of the 4,000,000 acres contained in the island had been brought under cultivation,‡ and the state even of the chief towns was a disgrace to a civilized community.

The glorious 1st of August at length arrived, and the negroes of the British West Indies became unconditionally free. This triumphant termination of the labours of their long-tried friends, and of their own patience and good conduct, was received by them with the rapturous delight natural to the impulsive African, blended in the breasts of a very considerable proportion with the deep sober thoughtfulness of reasoning and intelligent beings, who fully appreciated the extent of the responsibilities which accompanied the privileges newly conferred upon them. Many congregations being assembled by their ministers, as in 1834, awaited the auspicious dawn on bended knees, in silent prayer, and the temples of God were thronged throughout the day by multitudes who came to pour out praises and thanksgiving from their full hearts to Him who by earthly instruments had redeemed them from bondage, and to bless and pray for that great empire whose free citizens they now were, whose dutiful and patient subjects they had long been.

After the exemplary conduct evinced by them during the trying period of apprenticeship, there could be little doubt in any impartial mind that they would receive the consummation of their hopes, in an equally orderly and satisfactory manner. Nevertheless many of the planters persisted in predicting general insubordination, refusal to work for wages, riots, and even bloodshed, as the immediate results

children of a late governor (the Duke of Manchester) were pupils at a school maintained chiefly by the charity of a society of ladies in England, and one of the teachers was the daughter of the duke's celebrated secretary Bullock. This remark is, of course, not intended to affix any stigma upon the innocent offspring of erring parents, but only to show that, in the words of an eye-witness, "the dreadful state of social disorganization" in Jamaica, and the "bad eminence" to which it had attained was legibly written even on the surface of society.—*West Indies in 1837*, p. 167.

† *Parl. Papers*, 1839, Part I.; p. 51.

‡ *Parl. Papers*, July, 1842; p. 338.

of emancipation, and would actually have made formal preparations in that assumed belief, their true object being to procure labour at the lowest possible rates, but for the firmness of the governor in resolutely opposing their belligerent intentions. Sir Lionel Smith mentions as an instance of the spirit in which the planters met the change from slavery to freedom, that they had made his prohibition of the employment of the militia against the labouring population, the ground of a solemn charge against him, as rendering it impossible that the majesty of the laws could be upheld. Sir Lionel pledged himself that it should not be infringed, and he subsequently declared, "I have, not only without employing the militia, but without raising a policeman or appealing to the support of a single soldier, amply fulfilled my promise. It has been accomplished no doubt by means which they [the previous slave-owners] would utterly despise—the influence of the religious teachers of the people—the moral restraint under which that people consequently exist—and the loyalty to their sovereign and the confidence in the British government which these very teachers, calumniated as they have been, have sedulously inculcated upon their flocks."—(Parl. Papers, 1839; part i., p. 3.)

It was indeed well that the negroes were influenced by good principles at this important crisis, for difficulties surrounded them on every side.

The island itself had been long and gradually declining, public and private bankruptcy threatened to engulf it in irremediable destruction, and oppression, carried to its height, seemed about to end in a fierce and deadly servile war. Emancipation averted the latter catastrophe; and the princely sum given to the planters, together with the large advances recently made to the island, would, it was hoped, restore a more sound financial condition than had existed for upwards of a century. But this expectation was founded in ignorance of the extent of existing evils. Jamaica was fast becoming rotten to the core; and though emancipation sufficed to save her from destruction, yet, to restore her long-lost vigour and energy, there needed a succession of remedies suited to the deep-rooted and complicated character of the disease. At this important crisis, no time ought to have been lost either by government or by influential individuals interested, whether from philanthropic or pecuniary motives, in the welfare of the colony. While the warm hearts of the negro peasantry were thrilling with grateful delight, and the desire of showing themselves worthy of freedom, and of earning an honest livelihood for themselves and their little ones, actuated the whole body as one man, an excellent opportunity offered itself to the planters of entering into new and amicable relations, and thus counteracting the effects of the impolitic and too frequently unjust severity exercised during the apprenticeship.

The good that might have been effected at this time, had the majority of the absentee proprietors, aware of the urgency of the case, visited their properties, and taking advantage of the kindly feeling entertained by the negroes for them personally,*

* The works of writers on the West Indies, whatever their pro or anti-slavery bias might be, concurred in describing the respectful affection entertained by the negroes for their absent proprietors in England, which extended even to the different members of the family, and was, in many cases, encouraged by acts of personal favour, such as sending out presents at Christmas time.

† On this subject, see Gurney's *Winter in the West Indies*.

made terms with them, cannot now be estimated. Probably several families, since reduced to hopeless indigence by the direct consequence of perseverance in total absenteeism, might, by following a different course, have been living in comparative wealth, and holding the proud position of British landholders, connected by the two-fold tie of interest and affection, with an honest and laborious peasantry.

It is true, that the peculiar position of the Jamaica landholders rendered such a step difficult, inasmuch as when the payment of their large share of the compensation money came to be made, it necessarily caused a balance to be struck between them and their creditors, and revealed to them the full force of what they had long been declaring, namely, that their estates were mortgaged considerably beyond their value, and, consequently, that great part of them were irretrievably ruined.

As far, therefore, as many of the proprietors were individually concerned, the case was hopeless; they had long been consciously playing a desperate game, involving themselves deeper and deeper in debt and difficulty, until they found themselves in the position of a ruined gambler; for speculations carried on, under such circumstances, can scarcely be viewed in any other light.

Still there were the estates, and though they might have changed hands, it was self-evident that the proprietors, whether old or new, ought to give, in regard simply to their own interests, immediate and most careful attention to placing them under a more satisfactory system, and abolishing the cumbrous and expensive machinery necessary for the coercion of slave labour. Very few, however, took this pains, either from actual inability, indolence, and hopelessness of any good result, or else from being still deceived by the mis-statements of their local representatives, and the overseers and negroes were left to settle matters as best they could, under the nominal supervision of the planting attorneys, whose first thoughts were necessarily directed to the supervision of their own properties, and who literally could not have had time to do more than officially correspond with the actual managers, and assent, as a matter of course, to arrangements and documents which imperatively demanded the active investigation of persons deeply interested in the welfare of the estate. Under the most favourable circumstances, the want of capital would have been of necessity a serious bar to the employment of labour; but the conduct of many of the overseers, in withholding the promised wages, upon frivolous and even false pretences, greatly increased these difficulties. The provision grounds formerly allotted to the negroes soon became a bone of contention, for not only were the most exorbitant rents demanded and enforced by a Petty Debt Act, which afforded great facilities for the obtainment of fictitious or exaggerated claims, but the question of rent and wages was wilfully mixed up, so as to be a constant source of vexatious oppression to the negro;† whose natural desire to obtain a freehold of his own, and thus become independent of such influence, was stimulated to the highest degree.‡ Once master of that much coveted

‡ Many negroes had to earn money wherewith to repay the debt incurred in the purchase of their freedom. The total number of apprentices manumitted, and the amount paid by them, I have not been able to ascertain, but the Journals of the Assembly record that between 1st August, 1834, and 31st May, 1836, 581 purchased their release for £18,217; between 1st November, 1836, and 31st July, 1837, 1,029 paid £29,499, and 465 others agreed to pay £18,115, at

possession, the labourer could no longer be induced to relinquish its profitable cultivation, unless the wages offered him for toiling elsewhere were both remunerative and certain.

This, many overseers had it not in their power to offer; however willing, they could not furnish, on the Saturday evening, those weekly earnings which the labourer, all the world over, rightly values so much more when paid regularly, and in cash, than by any other system. The consequence was, a loud outcry for more labour, which there was no capital to employ. Ill-assorted cargoes of immigrants, composed only too largely of the very dregs of the population of Calcutta and other cities, were imported at different periods (as will be shown in the population chapter), but the experiment has proved little better than a failure. No proper provision or regulations were made respecting them by the authorities; many perished for lack of suitable food and lodging; others prolonged a miserable life by hanging about the towns, and procuring as best they might a wretched subsistence; while a considerable portion, having completed their stipulated period of service in the island, demanded vainly to be restored to their native country, in compliance with the agreement entered into by the colonial government, a stipulation which has been shamefully violated on the plea of want of funds.

CONCLUSION.—In subsequent sections, the present condition of Jamaica, and of the other West India islands, will be shown; as also, so far as space will permit, the effects produced by the yet recent change from slave to free labour. To what may with propriety be termed the history of the colony, a few events still remain to be added.

No sooner had the agitation caused by the discussion of the emancipation question passed away, than the disgraceful state of the hospitals and jails again compelled the renewal of the parliamentary interference so strongly deprecated by the Assembly. In consequence of the statements made by Joseph Sturge and other eye-witnesses, H.M. government sent an able officer (Captain Pringle) to inspect the prisons in the West Indies, and in Jamaica in particular. His report, laid before parliament on the 8th of July, 1838, by amply confirming the accounts before received, and revealing yet further evils, necessitated the immediate passing of an act (4th August, 1838) by the Imperial Legislature, "for the better government of prisons in the West Indies," whereby it was provided that H.M. in council, or the governor and council of any colony, should be authorised to make rules for the management of "prisons, gaols, houses of correction, hospitals, asylums, and workhouses," in the said colonies; inspectors of prisons were to be appointed by governors, and as Captain Pringle had been obstructed by local authorities in his endeavour to investigate the abuses prevailing in Jamaica, penalties were to be imposed in the event of any future wilful obstruction; and other stringent regulations were to be enforced.

The passing of this act gave great offence to the Jamaica Assembly, who declared that their rights were infringed, that they would vote no more supplies but such as were necessary for the maintenance of public credit, and that they would abstain from further legislation until the obnoxious measure was rescinded. Although repeatedly summoned by the

governor, the refractory members constituting the majority, persevered in their resolution, and stopped all business. Sir Lionel Smith then made the strongest representations to H.M. ministers respecting the conduct of the Assembly, and on the 9th of April, 1839, Mr. Labouchere introduced a bill to suspend the constitution for five years, and to empower the governor and council, aided by three commissioners to be sent from England, to administer the affairs of the island.

Long debates ensued; Sir R. Peel and the conservative party opposed the measure, and council was heard at the bar on behalf of the Assembly. The House divided, 294 were in favour of the bill, and 289 against it, leaving to ministers only a majority of 5, whereupon Lord Melbourne and his cabinet resigned. Sir R. Peel was sent for by the Queen, but failed to form a government in consequence of stipulating that H.M. should dismiss the ladies of the bed-chamber, and replace them by others belonging to the Tory party. This H.M. very properly refused to comply with, declaring to Sir R. Peel (*vide* the royal communication of 10th May, 1839) that the Queen "cannot consent to adopt a course which she conceives to be contrary to usage, and which is repugnant to her feelings." Lord Melbourne again succeeded to office, and on the 19th of July, 1839, an act was substituted* for that abolishing the constitution of Jamaica, which declared that as the Assembly had suffered certain legislative enactments to expire,† some of which ought without delay to be revived or re-enacted, it should be lawful for the governor in council to revive or re-enact all or any part of such expired laws, unless the House of Assembly should, within two months of the date of its assembling, have itself revived or re-enacted the said laws. It was deemed advisable to recall Sir L. Smith, as he was too deeply committed in the discussions with the Assembly to afford any ground for hoping that an amicable feeling could be restored during his tenure of office. He left Jamaica on the 1st of October, 1839, and was succeeded by Sir Charles (afterwards Baron) Metcalfe, under whose administration the measures required by the home authorities were eventually passed. The talents and integrity of Sir Charles were aided by the resources of a large private fortune, which enabled him, by the indulgence of his munificent and charitable disposition, joined to the charm of a naturally pleasing manner, to win golden opinions from all classes of the population, and to do much towards calming the excitement of party feeling. Happily for Jamaica, his successor, the Earl of Elgin, was also an able upright governor, whose public and private character was equally calculated to exercise a most beneficial influence on the colony, and he succeeded in inducing a few of the more rational colonists to cease depending on bounties, protection, and aid from England, and endeavour to work out their own improvement by the development of the numerous and valuable resources which Providence had placed within their reach.

But the influence of even master minds could not work miracles, or change the decree of Omnipotence, that communities who sow the wind must reap the whirlwind; after ceasing to do evil men must also learn to do well; and the education requisite for the fulfilment of this correlative command is difficult, and its

which their residue of bondage had been appraised. These three sums alone amount to £65,831, and the fact bears high testimony to the negro character in several respects.

* 1 & 2 Vict., c. xxvi.

† This alluded more especially to some important clauses contained in the British Amended Abolition Act of 1838.

results are only gradually manifested; the abolition of slavery was but a step, though a primary one, in the right direction, and unless succeeded by measures calculated to foster kindly relations between master and servant, so that both might appreciate their changed relative position, evils would inevitably ensue. It is doubtful whether this necessity is yet fully understood in Jamaica.

In 1846, considerable excitement was created by the admission of foreign sugar into the markets of Great Britain and Ireland at reduced duties, an important step in the change from the system of Protection, to that of Free-trade, the propriety of which it would be quite out of place to discuss here, more especially as the introduction of political questions is inconsistent with the design of this work. The people of Jamaica naturally regarded the measure with grief and displeasure; and still consider it as having materially checked their improving commerce. On the other hand, it is asserted by those who have had good opportunities for forming an unbiassed opinion on the subject, that coffee, sugar, cotton, or any other product, can, by good management, be cultivated more productively by free than by slave labour, and, consequently, that the former need never dread competition with the latter.

Good management, except in a few and rare cases, is, however, an experiment yet to be tried. Most of the proprietors may exclaim with the late Lord Seaford—"God has done everything for us in Jamaica, but we have done little hitherto for ourselves."

No political event of any moment has since occurred in the history of the colony; a liberal elective franchise has been adopted; fifteen free coloured citizens (including three of pure negro blood) have been elected representatives of the people in the House of Assembly, and a respected coloured gentleman (Mr. Jordon)* sits in the Upper House of Legislature as one of H.M. council.

In 1850-'51, cholera caused great destruction of life. At least thirty thousand persons perished; small-pox and other diseases have since raged with some violence: and their combined effects have operated injuriously in diminishing the effective available labour of the country.

Droughts, or excessive rains, at seasons when

least desirable, have impeded the growth and production of the island staples, to the increase of which no improved means of tillage or irrigation, or superior breeds of farming stock, have been applied or added with a view to cheapening the cost of production and raising the value of the articles produced.

A large and lucrative part of the trade with the Spanish main, of which Jamaica was formerly the entrepôt, is now carried on direct from England. Numerous failures of mercantile firms in London, Liverpool, Bristol, and Glasgow, as well as at Kingston, have contributed to diminish commerce, while the fraudulent conduct of persons in government employ, in public institutions, and in private life, who were entrusted with monies, which they appropriated to their own use, have weakened confidence in the trustworthiness of every class. The large and increasing burden on the local revenues, amounting to nearly £800,000, and the almost total absence of capital in the colony, has tended still further to diminish the value of property which it has unhappily been the interests of agents and managers to depreciate, in order that they themselves might ultimately become the purchasers of abandoned estates. These and other circumstances, in most cases the result of deep-rooted evils of long standing, have tended to reduce this noble colony to a state of great mercantile depression,† of which the temporary diminution in the cultivation of coffee and sugar, is perhaps the least important, especially as the condition of the vast mass of the export producers is rapidly improving. Eighteen years ago the coloured proprietors of land were few and scattered; now there are considerably upwards of *one hundred thousand coloured freeholders*, working hard, living thriftily, and endeavouring to accumulate real capital, which has not existed for many years in Jamaica, unless, indeed, slaves can be so termed. As yet, these small proprietors can do little more than raise a sufficiency of food for the support of their families; but they gladly labour for their former masters provided a remunerative rate of wages is offered. When, however, it is considered that meat is 6d. to 1s. per pound, corn-meal 50s. to 60s. per barrel, and other things in proportion, it must be evident that 9d. or even 1s. a day is insufficient to provide for the wants of a

* Mr. Jordon was for many years the editor of the *Watchman* newspaper, in which capacity he rendered good service to the cause of religious toleration, by advocating the rights of the missionaries; he was also instrumental in promoting the abolition of slavery. For these reasons he was persecuted by several members of the Assembly of that epoch. In the number of the *Watchman*, published on the 7th April, 1832, Mr. Jordon, in replying to some remarks by the editor of a rival paper, and congratulating him on having come over to the side of abolition, said, "we shall be happy with him and the other friends of humanity, to give a long pull, a strong pull, and a pull altogether, until we bring the system down by the run, knock off the fetters, and let the oppressed go free." For this expression, without any warning, a true bill for treason was found against him by the grand jury, and he heard it for the first time read publicly in court, while sitting there reporting for his journal. He was tried, 17th April, 1832, for his life, but acquitted, as his partner, Mr. Osborne, firmly refused to give any evidence in proof of who wrote the alleged treasonable article; but the coloured people had armed themselves, and determined that if found guilty he should not be put to death. Any such attempt would have caused a civil war, which would, in all human probability, have merged all other distinction in that of colour. Those days of oppression

are now happily past, and Mr. Jordon, Mr. Osborne, and others, are reaping the reward of a consistent and upright life.

† A recent visitor (Mr. Bigelow), after commenting severely, but with only too much justice, on the evils of absenteeism, the immense extent of the several estates, and the clumsy and expensive mode of cultivation persevered in by those who ought to set a better example, declares his conviction, that these causes "would have conducted Jamaica to inevitable ruin, had the tariff laws never been altered, nor the slaves been set at liberty."—(*Jamaica in 1850*, p. 14). He adduces some of the "thousand ways in which labour is squandered," as evidence "that there is no intellect invested in the cultivation of the island." With regard to the alleged high price of labour, he naturally asks, in what quarter of the civilized world it is lower in proportion to provisions? adding, that four-fifths of all the grain consumed in Jamaica is grown in the United States, on fields where labour costs more than four times this price, and where every kind of provision but fruit is less expensive.—(p. 125.) "The importation of salt fish is very large, and yet the waters around Jamaica abound with some of the finest fish in the world. The people will send to Maine for lumber, and pay twenty-five dollars per 1,000 feet for it, rather than be at the trouble of cutting down their own magnificent forests. There is not a single saw-mill upon the

labouring man with a young family. The negroes toil on their own properties with unceasing assiduity, and where they are employed at task-work, their efforts are extraordinary. Gradually, new proprietors are entering Jamaica with capital; and if an "Encumbered Estates' Act" could be passed for the island, as has been done for Ireland, good would ensue by facilitating the purchase of land in small allotments by men likely to reside on their property and to improve it. Under judicious management, Jamaica would not require to import from America nine-tenths of the provisions, including maize and fish required annually to supply the population; the whole might, with great advantage, be obtained in and around the island; and a large surplus be provided for exportation. Protective duties on sugar and coffee would not restore the insolvent planters; the renovation of the colony must spring from within, by the cultivation of the soil, in the first instance, so as to provide sufficiency of the necessaries of life for

its own population, whose attention would then be naturally turned to the production of those varied crops which a rich earth, fertilized by a glowing sun, and abundant moisture, is capable of yielding.

The following is a list of the Governors:—

Colonel D'Oyley	1660	W. H. Lyttelton, Esq.	1762
Lord Windsor	1662	Sir Wm. Trelawny, Bt.	1767
Sir T. Modyford, Knt.	1664	Sir Basil Keith, Knt.	1773
Lord Vaughan	1675	Major-gen. Dalling	1777
Earl of Carlisle	1678	Major-gen. Campbell	1782
Sir Thos. Lynch, Knt.	1682	Earl of Effingham	1790
Duke of Albemarle	1687	Earl of Balcarras	1795
Earl of Inchiquin	1690	Lieut.-gen. Nugent	1801
William Selwyn, Esq.	1702	Lieut.-gen. Sir E. Coots	1806
Lord Arch. Hamilton	1711	Duke of Manchester	1808
Peter Heywood, Esq.	1716	Earl of Belmore	1829
Sir Nich. Lawes, Knt.	1718	Earl of Mulgrave	1832
Duke of Portland	1722	Marquis of Sligo	1834
Major-gen. Hunter	1728	Lt.-gon. Sir Lionel Smith	1836
Hen. Cunningham, Esq.	1735	Sir C. T. Metcalfe, Bt.	1839
Edw. Trelawny, Esq.	1738	Earl of Elgin and Kin- cardine	1842
Charles Knowles, Esq.	1762	Sir C. E. Grey, Kt.	1847
George Haldane, Esq.	1768		

CHAPTER III.

PHYSICAL FEATURES—DIVISIONS, RIVERS, HARBOURS, MOUNTAINS, CHIEF TOWNS, FREE VILLAGES, AND GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE ISLAND—GEOLOGY, MINERALOGY, SOIL, CLIMATE, AND DISEASES.

JAMAICA, like the contiguous islands of Cuba, Hayti, and Porto-Rico, would seem to have derived its origin from submarine convulsions, during which the axis of perturbation extended from east to west, thus giving a longitudinal character to the land, and causing the highest elevation to be situated at the eastern extremities, from whence, in each island, there is a gradual decline to the westward.

On the other hand, the position of the West Indian archipelago, which stretches from the entrance of the Gulf of Mexico along the northern boundary of the Caribbean Sea, over 25° of longitude, and 27° of latitude, and forms an almost uninterrupted chain between the peninsula of Florida in North, and that of Paria in South America, would appear to confirm the tradition that a vast region called *Atlantis*, after successive fierce throes, had here sunk beneath the ocean, leaving the existing islands as the loftiest peaks of the submerged territory.

Jamaica is happily situated to the westward of Hayti, and southward of Cuba; by

these islands it is sheltered from the violence of eastern or northern tempests, yet cooled by the winds which descend from their elevated lands; while access to the Atlantic is facilitated by the adjacent *Windward Passage*, which separates Cuba from Hayti.

The magnificence of the mountain scenery, the beauty of the swelling hills and uplands—the stately forests, rich pastures and fruitful fields, the numerous harbours, and the varied climate found in different portions of this far-famed island, have been dwelt on by many travellers. In some of these respects it seems superior even to Ceylon in the eastern hemisphere, in others inferior; perhaps it may be better compared with Java, one of the finest islands of the Malayan archipelago, some of whose physical features correspond with those of the West Indian group. Jamaica, Ceylon, and Java have, however, their respective and peculiar excellencies; and speaking from a personal knowledge of each, it would seem difficult, irrespective of area or position, to decide to which the palm of superiority might justly be assigned.

The "Queen of the Antilles," as the colony now under consideration is sometimes called, is of an elongated form, more indented on the southern than on the northern coast, and with a range of moun-

island. There are no manufactories of any kind, except of sugar and rum. Even their brick they import. The hilly surface of the country supplies an abundance of water-power over forty constant rivers, and over 200 rivulets, and yet there is not such a thing as a water-wheel to be found in use, except on the plantations, and for agricultural purposes."—(p. 109).

tains and wooded heights, more or less broken, passing throughout the centre from east to west. It was divided by the local legislature, in 1758, into three counties, named *Surrey*, *Middlesex*, and *Cornwall* (see map); the first, or eastern, is about forty miles long by twenty broad; the second, or

central, averages fifty miles by forty-five; and the third, or western, is of more irregular form, the extreme length being nearly sixty miles, and the breadth varying from forty-five to seventeen miles. These counties are subdivided into the following parishes:—

Counties and Parishes.	Area in square miles.	Physical Features of each Parish.
Surrey—		
Kingston . . .	6	Flat shore, gradually sloping up from the coast; <i>Kingston City</i> .
St. Andrew . . .	124	Flat in the south, hilly and mountainous in the north; <i>Liguanea Plain</i> .
Port Royal . . .	40	Intersected by lofty mountains and deep ravines; coast-line broken.
St. David . . .	74	Generally hilly, mountainous rising to the northward; scenery grand.
St. Thomas in the East . . . }	215	Mountainous and hilly, picturesque valleys, flat towards the S.E. coast.
Portland . . .	139	Part of <i>Blue Mountain range</i> , hilly and sloping to north coast, woody.
St. George . . .	140	Ditto, and, like the preceding, well watered; wild scenery.
Metcalf ¹ . . .	—	In general hilly, declining towards the north coast; aspect rugged.
Middlesex—		
St. Catherine . . .	159	Generally level, <i>Healthshire</i> hills to the southward; <i>Spanish Town</i> .
Dorothy . . .	58	Almost an unbroken level, between hilly ranges; coast flat.
Vere . . .	300	Some hills, but generally flat; sterile appearance; <i>Portland Ridge</i> .
Clarendon . . .	317	Hilly to the northward, plains and savannahs to the southward.
Manchester . . .	210	Very hilly; Mandeville and Alligator Pond the only level spots.
St. Ann . . .	433	The Park of Jamaica; diversity of mountain, hill, plain, and valley.
St. Mary . . .	600	Intersected by hills; where level, marshy; numerous streams.
St. John . . .	128	Pretty level, slightly varied with hills and pleasing scenery.
St. Thomas in Vale . . .	125	Flat, surrounded by mountains on all sides; <i>Sixteen Mile Walk</i> .
Cornwall—		
St. Elizabeth . . .	213	Mountainous and large plains, with fine breeding farms.
Westmoreland . . .	308	Some mountains, but generally flat or undulating marshy coast.
Hanover . . .	212	Ditto, with intervening plains and swampy shore.
St. James . . .	227	Chiefly mountainous, hilly, well watered, and wooded.
Trelawny . . .	264	Mountains, hills, dales, and plains—flat towards the north coast.
Total . . .	4,292	

Note.—¹ Area of Metcalfe not known.

HARBOURS.*—Among the many bays, havens, coves, and creeks, on both coasts, some afford perfect shelter for large vessels, and many are available for *droghers*, or small craft employed in the coasting trade. On the south may be noticed Port Morant, Morant Bay, Cow Bay, Bull Bay, Port Royal, and Kingston Harbour, Hunt Bay, Old Harbour, West Harbour, Black River Bay, Blue Fields Bay, and Savanna la Mar Harbour; Port Royal or Kingston is the principal haven in the island. On the north there are Port Antonio, Annotta Bay, Port Maria, Ocho Rios, St. Ann's Bay, Rio Bueno, Falmouth or Martha Brea, Montego Bay, Lucea Harbour, Green Island, and Musquito Cove. The distribution of these havens in such different localities, indicates the advantages they afford for commerce, and their importance is increased by the mountainous and broken features of the country, which render the transit of heavy goods by carriage roads almost impracticable, and necessitate the carriage of merchandise by water, between several of the chief towns. Thirty bays, roadsteads, and shipping stations might be enumerated, but the places at which custom-houses have been established are—on the south coast, Kingston, Black River and Savanna la Mar, and Port Morant; and on the north, at Port Antonio, Port Maria, An-

notta Bay, Falmouth Harbour, Rio Bueno, St. Ann's Bay, Montego Bay, and Lucea.

RIVERS.—There are about 200 rivers and rivulets, 70 of which are perennial. The dividing ridge of high lands, which gives rise to these numerous and fertilizing streams, precludes the possibility of their attaining any length, or being navigable for ships. The chief of those which flow towards the south coast are the Cobre, Minho, and Black Rivers; towards the north, are the Great, Martha Brae, White, Agua Alta, and Grande Rivers. Numerous mountain streamlets, which are nearly dry for part of the year, become swollen into broad and rapid torrents during the rainy season, and frequently form picturesque cascades, which, being generally surrounded by wooded heights, constitute a marked feature in the scenery.

MOUNTAINS.—The main range begins near the eastern extremity of the island, and stretches for some distance in a nearly due west direction, about equi-distant from either coast. The highest points of this great barrier attain an elevation of nearly 7,000 feet above the sea, and their summits stand out in majestic grandeur against the blue sky, while rolling clouds surround their base. From the central chain several offshoots of considerable extent diverge, like gigantic buttresses, giving an alpine character to the central portions of the county of Surrey. This portion of what may be termed the *backbone* of the island, is known by the name of the

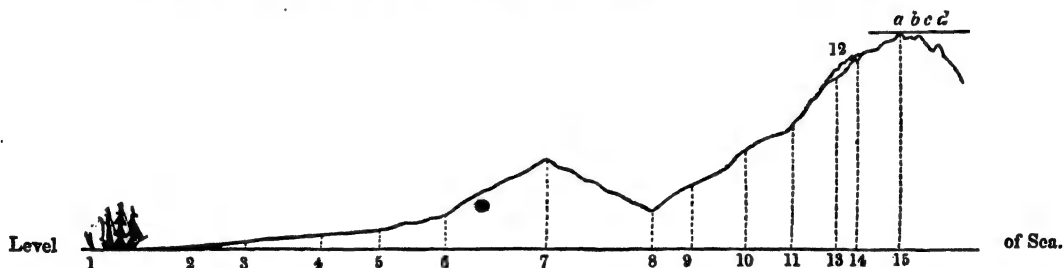
* A desire to comprise within the division allotted to the West Indies, as much information as possible induces me again to resort to small type.

Blue Mountain Range, and is situated in the parishes of Port Royal, St. David, St. Thomas in the East, Portland, and St. George. The three principal peaks were stated to be of the respective heights of 8,186, 7,656, and 7,576 feet, but this estimate has recently been corrected by actual barometrical measurement. The results of the observations of Mr. Arnaboldi, who ascended to the peak with Mr. J. R. Hollingsworth, Mr. Harrison, and other gentlemen, on the 3rd of May, 1851, at twenty minutes after eight, A.M., are thus stated in the *Colonial Standard*, Jamaica, 2nd of June, 1851:—

"The barometer then stood at 23.65 inches; the attached thermometer, 54°; detached thermometer, 64°; force of vapour by hydrometer, 42.539; dew-point, 53.8. When in Kingston, same day and hour, the barometer stood at 30.10 inches; attached thermometer, 82°; detached thermometer, 82°; force of vapour by hydrometer, 74.730°; dew point, 70.9. In order to ensure the correctness of the calculations, they were made according to the rules laid down by the following different authorities:—Troughton and Simms, height of peak, 6,830; Greenwich, (Sir George Shuckburgh) 6,824; Greenwich (table), 6,838; Professor London, 6,642; Professor Jones, 6,574; Dr. Robinson's method, 6,514; boiling of water, 6,955—Total, 7)47,177. Giving an average of 6,739.5 for the height of the peak. The variation

between this calculation and that reported in October, 1850 (6,592 feet), is attributable to the great difference of the dew-point and force of vapour at the two periods." On the 7th of October, 1850, in Kingston, the force of vapour by hydrometer was 91.017 grains to a cubic foot of air, and the dew-point was 77°. At the Blue Mountain Peak, on that day, the force of vapour was 44.380 grains to a cubic foot, and the dew-point was 61°. The accompanying barometrical section from Kingston to the Blue Mountain Peak was taken on the journey up. It was ascertained that there was but four feet difference between the height of No. 1 Peak and No. 2 Peak, and 28 feet between Peaks 1 and 3. By the barometrical section, there is shown to be a difference between No. 1 and the Easternmost Peak of about 250 feet. Mr. Tyrrell, who had visited the Peak on thirteen different occasions, had never before found the temperature so high as 62° of Fahrenheit. A self-registering night and day thermometer having, however, been buried on the occasion of a previous visit, gave 51° as the minimum of heat during the previous six months, and the maximum, 81½° Fahrenheit.

A trigonometrical survey of the island is much needed; the following sketch will convey an idea of the progressive rise from Kingston to the Blue Mountain Peaks:—



1, Kingston Harbour; 2, Parade, 38 feet; 3, Cross Roads, 214 feet; 4, Hope Tollgate; 5, Hope Tavern, 690 feet; 6, Botanic Gardens, 1,100 feet; 7, Guava Ridge, 2,866 feet; 8, Yallahs River, 1,425 feet; 9, Hagley Gap, 2,143 feet; 10, Radnor, 3,212 feet; 11, Abbey Green, 3,892 feet; 12, Portland Gap, 5,495 feet; 13, Jacob's Ladder; 14, Radnor Gap, Hog Pond, 6,339 feet; 15, Blue Mountain Peaks—a 6,739 feet, b, c, d Easternmost Peak.

Another neighbouring range, of inferior altitude, extends from north-west to south-east through the parishes of Port Royal, St. Andrew, and St. George; these may be called the Port Royal Mountains, and have their highest elevation in St. Catherine's Peak, which is about 5,000 feet above the sea.—(See map of Jamaica.)

Proceeding to the westward, through Middlesex County, the dividing range diminishes in height, and in boldness of outline, and is connected by several elevations which extend north and south, with various lesser parallel chains. Here and there (in Clarendon and St. Ann's parishes) abrupt hills or hummocks are clothed with trees of enormous bulk, while the adjacent dales, or "cock-pits," as they are called, are carpeted with perpetual verdure. In Cornwall County, the mountainous outline becomes still more indistinct, the surface presenting an irregular congeries of broken heights, rising from 1,000 to 3,500 feet. The forms of the eminences throughout the island are very varied, sometimes presenting, like a Titanic wall, steep, and, occasionally, inaccessible sides; thus the central portion of the "Blue Mountain" ridge (properly so called) is traversable at only one spot, termed the Portland Gap, which is itself 5,495 feet above the sea, and but a few yards wide. In

other places there are long extensions of mountain slopes, gradually forming narrow vales, through which a river generally flows, while, elsewhere, semi-circular sweeps of irregular height bound a shelving plain. Here and there gigantic spines of sharp ascent and difficult access, clothed with dense and sombre forests, approach the coast-line. Not unfrequently, a conical shape is assumed, like the Dolphin's Head, in Hanover Parish; or the hills appear piled upon one another, and marked by fearful rents, as in the Port Royal Mountains, which are grand in the extreme, the effect of light and shade upon the steep sides and chasms being such as even *Salvator Rosa* could not pourtray. The prevailing features must frequently have reminded many travellers, of the ocean during a gale of wind, in some such tempestuous localities as the Cape of Good Hope, or the Bay of Biscay, where the mighty billows seem separated by long "intervalles" and their crested summits are strangely contorted by the violence of the storm. The heights of the Blue Mountain Peaks have been already stated. Catherine's Peak, in St. George's Parish, about 7½° north of Kingston, is stated to be 5,075 feet in altitude; and Hardwar Hill, to the westward of it, in the parish of St. Andrew, attains nearly an equal elevation. The

summits in Middlesex and Cornwall rarely exceed half a mile; *Liman's Mountain*, six miles north of Spanish Town, is 2,282; the *Bull's Head*, in Clarendon Parish, is 3,140; and the *Dolphin's Head*, south of Luces, is 3,445 feet above the level of the sea. There are several private residences, situated at a considerable elevation. Among these may be named Clifton, 4,228; Pleasant Hill, 4,000; Flamstead, 3,800; Sheldon, 3,417. Many coffee plantations and dwellings occupy heights varying from 1,000 to 3,000 feet. The Blue Mountain range is markedly separated from the Port Royal Mountains by a narrow isthmus, termed *St. Helen's Gap*, from whence the view is indescribably magnificent. Coffee plantations stud the sides of the hills, and are scattered along the valleys. At *Belle Vue*, about 5,000 feet above the sea, Port Royal, Kingston, and the Liguanea Plain are visible. The garden attached to the plantation is well laid out, and stocked with apple and other fruit trees. I gathered excellent strawberries, and saw peas, potatoes, and artichokes in full perfection, in June, 1851; hedges of roses and fuschias divided the applotments, in which grew varieties of English flowers. At *Resource Plantation*, somewhat lower than *Belle Vue*, the avenue was lined with orange, lemon, and citron trees, intermingled with white and red roses, and adorned, as at Pleasant Hill, with the gaudy hybiscus. Here, also, the pink, blue African lily, heliotrope, and other English flowers delighted the eye. At Morse Gap, a pass in the dividing range, whence the northern coast is visible, the road, or rather mule-path, for a distance of several miles, becomes entirely overshadowed with the most luxuriant foliage; in the adjacent ravines the graceful bamboo rises to a height of thirty feet, and is rivalled by the artistically branching fern tree, interspersed with mahogany, lignum vitae, cedar, pine, and other timber: and at different parts, industrious negroes may be seen clearing land on the steep mountain slopes, for the cultivation of potatoes and other produce, afar from any township or property where rent could probably be demanded.

PLAINS.—The *Liguanea Plain* is the most extensive in the island; it begins a few miles east of Kingston, and stretches westward through the parishes of St. Andrew, St. Catherine, and St. Dorothy, to a point west of Old Harbour, a distance of about thirty miles, the average breadth being from four to seven miles. Its eastern extremity is about 700 feet above the sea, towards which it gradually declines, until joined by the sand-bank, termed the *Palisadoes*, by which it is defended from the incursions of the ocean. Inland, the Liguanea Plain is bounded throughout its whole extent by mountains, and to the seaward by the shore west of Port Henderson, where it widens. The *Healthshire Hills*, a low range, intervene, for a few miles, between the plain and the sea. *Vere Plain*, separated from that of Liguanea and Lower Clarendon, by a narrow range of hills, which approach the sea at Salt Bay, extends from south-east to north-west, about eighteen miles, with an average breadth of seven to eight miles. On the north-west, the Vere Plain is joined by the *Mill Gully*, a picturesque valley, several miles in extent. *Lime Savanna*, is a plain, extending east and west across the parish of Clarendon, from the border of St. Dorothy to that of Manchester, and north and south between the parish of Vere and the Mocho Mountains. *St. Thomas-in-the-Vale Plain*, embosomed in the hills, is nine miles long by two and a-half wide, and would form a perfect basin, were it

not that the Rio Cobre bursts through the barrier on its southern boundary. *Pedro Plains*, near Great Pedro Point, in Hanover Parish, and the *Savanna-la-Mar Plain*, in Westmoreland, though of no considerable size, are the largest on the western side of the island; and, together with some lesser ones, have much of their surface covered with swamp. On the northern coast, no plains of any extent occur. The country between Montego Bay, on the west, and St. Ann's Bay, on the east, consists of low, abrupt, and precipitous hills, with but little land between them and the sea. On the east, *Bath Plain*, in St. Thomas-in-the-East, extends from the town of that name to the mouth of the Plain Garden River, near Point Morant, the eastern extremity of the island, where there is a great morass. There are innumerable valleys, remarkable for their beauty and fertility, such as *Luidas Vale*, in St. John's, and the basin of *Whitney*, in the Mocho Mountains, in Clarendon parish.*

CHIEF TOWNS.—Nearly 200 years have elapsed since this large and fertile island was taken from the Spaniards, and yet it possesses only two places claiming the title of cities. After personal examination, with few exceptions, of every city and town of any note in the United Kingdom, and in the widespread maritime dominions of the crown, I have no hesitation in asserting that the political capital (Spanish Town) and the commercial emporium (Kingston) of this valuable and productive colony are, taken as a whole, the least creditable to the British name. This opinion is supported by the testimony of many impartial travellers, including the incidental evidence afforded in the valuable Report of Dr. Gavin Milroy, on the Sanitary State of Jamaica in 1851-'52.

Spanish Town, founded by the Spaniards in 1500, and named by them *St. Jago de la Vega* (St. James of the Plain), occupies nearly the centre of an extensive savanna or flat, which forms part of the Liguanea Plain, and extends, on the eastward, to Kingston (distant thirteen miles), and on the south-west to Old Harbour; it slopes gradually on the south-east to Passage Fort and to Hunt Bay, an inlet of Kingston Harbour (see Map), and on the north and north-west, is bounded by the hills of the parishes St. Catherine and St. John. The view terminates with a portion of the Liguanea Mountains, which have there an elevation of about 2,200 feet above the sea.

Among the few remains of Spanish architecture still standing, may be mentioned the Spanish admiral's house, at the head of Hunt Bay. From a "look-out" upon the roof, there is a fine view of Port Royal and Kingston harbours. Like most Spanish edifices, the house is substantially built, and is still in excellent preservation.

A small, lazy, and very tortuous stream (the *Cobre*) after meandering through the plain in an easterly direction, skirts the city and falls into Hunt Bay. A considerable portion of the savanna is occupied with grazing farms or "pens;" much of it is wooded or covered with scrubby bush; large tracts lie waste, termed the *Salt Pond Plains*; and as the soil is clayey, it is very retentive of moisture. Owing to these circumstances the air is by no means salubrious, the heat is excessive, being but slightly mitigated by the distant sea breeze. The city is quite indefensible against an attacking force provided with artillery. Even in its best days it must have looked sombre

* Report of the Central Board of Health, Jamaica. Printed in 1852, pp. 81-'2-'3.

and cheerless, but now its aspect is most deplorable.* Writing in 1797, Dr. Pinckard alludes to its "humble" appearance; to its narrow, confined, dark, and dirty streets; to the evident disregard of cleanliness and personal adornment remarkable among the people there (as also at Kingston); and declares that when arrived in the centre of Spanish Town, he thought himself still in the suburbs. There was only one tavern in the place, where even "a very indifferent and badly-served breakfast" was obtainable.—(*Notes on the West Indies*, vol. ii. p. 375.)

The King's House (as the residence of the governor is termed) forms one side of a large, handsome square, around which are constructed the House of Assembly, Council Chamber, Court House, Arsenal, Library, and public offices. It was finished in 1762, and has cost upwards of £50,000; the exterior is in the Castilian style, the interior is badly lit and ill ventilated. A fine statue of Admiral Rodney, executed by Bacon, stands in the square, in an open temple, and was erected by the Jamaicans, at a cost of three thousand guineas, in commemoration of the decisive victory obtained by him over the French fleet in 1782; and a similar tribute is being paid to the memory of Lord Metcalfe. There are tolerably good barracks, of two stories high, in the southern quarter of the town; St. Catherine's cathedral, completed in 1755, at its entrance, is a handsome building in the form of a cross: the main aisle measures 129 feet in length. The Baptist and Wesleyan chapels are neat and appropriate edifices. There are two Jewish synagogues. The gaol is a substantial structure. The city occupies about one square mile; but only a small part of this area is covered with buildings; some of the houses have large gardens and grounds attached; the streets run slanting from north to south, and are crossed by others from east to west; none of them are paved; a few are imperfectly macadamized; during the rainy season they are coated with a cohesive mud, which hardens into a thick crust, from whence the rays of the sun are powerfully reflected. Deep gullies are formed by the heavy rains in their progress to the river, and in some places the water collects in stagnant swamps. Dr. Milroy has drawn a melancholy picture of the existing condition of the city; the better class of houses falling to pieces, the gardens choked with weeds, and the surface littered over with rubbish of all sorts. The dwellings of the middle classes are very generally but single floored, they have "a mean appearance," are "most imperfectly ventilated," and are "anything but suitable for such a climate."†

The negro habitations, scattered in different directions, are usually of the most squalid and miserable description, both inside and out, and all of them are crowded to excess. From the neglect of regular scavenging (except on the part of the vultures, *John crow*, turkey buzzard, or carrion vulture, dirt and rubbish meet the eye in every quarter; and the traveller of the present day might, with equal truth, repeat the words of Dr. Lempriere, at the close of the last century, in alluding "to the stable sweepings left in the

streets to be saturated by the rain, and afterwards giving rise to unhealthy exhalations."

There is but one under-ground sewer in the whole town, which was constructed about a century ago; it leads from the barracks to the river, and is frequently obstructed. The communication recently made by the local authorities of the impurities in and around the dwellings of all classes; of the filthy state of the market; of the neglected burial-grounds and "cholera-pits," and of the "loathsome poisons" thence arising, is too repulsive and disgusting to be quoted, but far too important to be passed over without comment. There are no pumps, and only three wells for the richer citizens; a small quantity of water, often muddy and impure, is raised from the Cobre River; the poorer are still supplied by means of carts, whence it is doled out to them at a high cost. Under such circumstances it need excite no surprise, that when cholera appeared in 1850-1, it should spread rapidly. Its ravages, in many respects, were, indeed, most dreadful; whole families and households were swept off, and the utmost difficulty was experienced in providing for the speedy interment of the dead. Out of a population estimated at 10,000, about 1,500 are supposed to have perished.

The amount of pauperism is large, and is in a great measure ascribable to the apathetic neglect of the local authorities, the extent of which may be conjectured by the fact, that "no less than 1,200 acres of land round the town, held in trust by the parochial authorities, under the provisions of Geo. II., cap. 10, and which ought to be available for the diminution of parochial rates, and for the relief of the poor, are now lying, not only unproductive, but have, from neglect, become a public nuisance, most pernicious to the health of the community, and are thus serving to increase the very evil which they were intended to relieve."‡

Spanish Town is totally devoid of maritime commerce, and has no local trade. There are two shipping places whence produce can be conveyed from the plains around and beyond the city to Kingston. viz. Passage Port, and Port Henderson; but the railroad established between the governmental and commercial cities is a more convenient and cheaper mode of conveyance. The scenery along this line is very beautiful; rich meadows, noble mango and other trees, swelling uplands, backed by wooded heights, and lofty mountains, afford, in a very limited space, some of the finest road views to be met with in any part of the world.

Kingston was founded in 1693, after the destruction of Port Royal; it is built on the margin of the harbour, and slopes upwards to the fine plateau already frequently mentioned as the Liguanea Plain. The city forms an irregular quadrangle, and covers an area of nearly two square miles. The main streets run north and south, and are crossed by others at right angles; all are tolerably wide, and, in the upper part, generally open to the sea-breeze. A large square in the centre of the town, called the Parade, contains the large barracks, a handsome Wes-

* Spanish Town, says Bigelow, "is supposed to have been founded by Diego Columbus in 1523. No one visiting the place at this time (1850) will dispute its antiquity, nor experience much difficulty in believing that all the houses at present standing were built before Diego left the island, so old and ruinous is their general appearance."—(*Jamaica* in 1850, p. 31). The Rev. David King, LL.D., alludes to the "poor appearance," and "general unattractiveness" of the place.—(*State and Prospects of Jamaica*,

p. 3). And the Rev. P. Samuel speaks of the "grotesque contrast" formed by mansions of the first class being placed side by side with the most miserable sheds in which human beings may submit to take shelter.—*Missions in Jamaica*, p. 114.

† Report on the Cholera in Jamaica, and on the general Sanitary Condition and Wants of that Island, by Dr. Gavin Milroy, July, 1852.

‡ *Idem*, p. 92.

leyan chapel, a theatre, and some tolerable dwelling-houses. The chief public buildings are, a Court-House, and Church of England, Wesleyan, Presbyterian, Baptist, Independent, Roman Catholic, and Jewish places of worship. The penitentiary is large, and the separate cells are well arranged. The lunatic asylum, now in course of erection, will supply a great and long-standing want; it promises to be an extensive and commodious structure, with considerable pretensions to architectural beauty. The edifices generally, excepting the numerous temples dedicated to Christian worship, are of mean appearance. Some of the private houses are well constructed, and abundantly provided with verandahs, windows, and jalousies, for the free admission of the refreshing sea-breeze, by which the extreme heat of the city is materially mitigated; but the merchants' stores are mostly dark and ill-ventilated; and the shops in the main street resemble those of an inferior English town; not a decent inn or hotel exists; there is no paving or macadamizing, no drainage, no gas-lights (as in most of our colonial cities), and scarcely any side-way.*

During the heavy rains in May and October, the water finds its way, by broken and irregular channels, into the gullies on the east and west sides of the town, but much of it pours down the steep streets, forcing along a broad muddy stream a foot or more in depth. As none even of the leading thoroughfares are paved, nor provided with any artificial channels for the water, and the soil is generally loose and sandy, their surface has become ploughed up with deep ruts and broken hollows; while, from the quantity of gravel, stones, and bricks strewed about, they present more the appearance of river courses than of streets in an inhabited city. The amount of vegetable refuse and other rubbish brought down and lodged at the bottom of the harbour is usually considerable; and as there is no sewerage, the poorer classes avail themselves of the current caused by the periodic rains to cast the accumulated filth of their dwellings and yards into the streets: all this noxious matter accumulates and sinks into the porous ground of the lower part of the town, where there is no

declivity. The cross streets are, in some respects, still worse, being often flanked by dilapidated buildings, and littered over with rubbish, which renders driving by day perilous to carriage springs; while walking by night through these unlit pitfalls, is manifestly to hazard broken limbs. Nor is it only by inanimate objects that the senses of sight and smell are offended: lean, mangy hogs are to be seen at all times rolling about in the noisome puddles, while others are wandering here and there, grubbing up the rubbish for food, bestrewing the surface with their ordure.† Besides the swine and goats, constantly moving about, Kingston has always been noted for its number of half-starved dogs. It is no uncommon thing to see the carcase of one of these unfortunate brutes lying in the middle of a street, with a troop of the vulture crows, which are ever wheeling about the city, tearing it to pieces, while the air all around is tainted with the most baneful effluvia.

Altogether, the stranger, on first landing in Kingston, especially if he has visited other British colonies, will, with difficulty, bring himself to believe that he is in the metropolis of the chief of the British West Indies. One pleasing feature is the negro market, which furnishes a constant and plentiful supply of all sorts of vegetables and fruits peculiar to the climate. Fish, which abounds along the whole coast-line, is to be had in great variety, and of the finest description, and fresh meat of the best quality the island affords. But this very abundance is made a source of evil by the wasteful and untidy habits of the people, and the quantity of putrifying provisions everywhere strewed about is in perfect accordance with the description given by Dr. Lempriere,‡ and his statement regarding the practice of filling up the hollows in the streets with stable refuse, is also applicable at the present day. One dung-heap, at the west end of the city, has been accumulating, says Dr. Milroy, "for the last century at least;" and the miserable state of the habitations of the poorer classes; the offensive condition of the grave-yards; together with other disgraceful features, which could not but be set forth in a sanitary report, yet cannot,

* "Nowhere," says Dr. Milroy, "are the magisterial duties so negligently and inefficiently performed as in Kingston; the general impression, among the respectable part of the community, is, that the utmost jobbery and corruption prevail in the corporation of that city; and to judge of them by their acts there appears to be too much ground for the charge."—(Cholera Report, July, 1852; p. 41.) [Since the above extract was printed, I have ascertained that the income of the Kingston Corporation for 1851, was £13,956, of which only £1,050 is stated to have been expended on the streets, £4,317 is put down as on "loan," and £2,644 jumbled together under the head "miscellaneous."—(See *Blue Book* for 1851.)

† Report of Central Board of Health, Nov., 1851, p. 139.

‡ The statements of many other impartial witnesses have, for a long series of years, borne testimony to the deplorable want of order, and even decency, uniformly manifested in the principal towns of Jamaica. Municipal institutions have utterly failed to produce their ordinary result; in fact, the "social institution" of slavery, as by a monstrous perversion of language, its advocates sometimes term it, appears to have blighted and blasted even the development of patriotism in parochial matters, usually so conspicuous in the Anglo-Saxon race wherever located. A better day is now dawning; but it would be unreasonable, in the highest degree, to expect any out a gradual change; both the white and coloured population are finding their own level, after long subjection to the alienating system which injured both by placing one class far above, the other far below their just position. Nothing

could well have been worse than the material, as well as financial and social condition of the island, when the Abolition Act of 1834 came into operation. Want of space prevents the multiplication of evidence on this subject; but the following extract from Dr. Madden may serve as an illustration of the state of Kingston at the above named period. After remarking on the extreme beauty of the city, when viewed from the harbour, or from the neighbouring mountains, the writer adds, that on a near approach, the glory of the prospect, like that of Stamboul, is soon forgotten; "the distant beauty of the varied buildings vanishes before the sight of streets without a plan, houses without the semblance of architecture, lanes and alleys without cleanliness and convenience; and the principal thoroughfares ploughed up into water-courses, and the foundations of the houses literally undermined, or the level of the streets on which they are situated lowered from two to four feet below the foundation. * * * The effects of this lowering of the level of the streets, and undermining of the front foundations of the houses; and, consequently, of the shattered appearance of the greater number of them, gives Kingston the aspect of a ruined city that has been recently abandoned. It is impossible to form any idea of an inhabited town so desolate and so decayed. * * * Its decadence arises not from the actual inability of restoring or improving it, but from the indolent inanity of a corporation that is powerless for any good or useful purpose. The evil genius of municipal arrogance and imbecility presides over its slumbers.—(*Twelve Months in the West Indies*, vol. i., p. 98.)

with propriety be detailed elsewhere, are vividly portrayed by the same able pen. It is of the last importance that the corporation of the city, if not for the sake of decency, yet in regard to their own lives and those of their fellow-citizens, should exert their utmost energies to remove these glaring evils, more especially if the prevailing theory be correct, that cholera comes in the form of miasm or poison, floats in the atmosphere, and may be likened to an electric cloud, which is ready to discharge its fluid on the first object of attraction. While hovering around, or passing over such places as Kingston, it would be drawn thither as the needle to the magnet; there is, moreover, the further danger of the malady fixing its permanent abode in spots so fitted for the reception and reproduction of disease. When the cholera visited Port Royal, it was necessarily soon wafted to Kingston, and there its ravages were awful, especially in the lower portions of the city; in one of whose purlieus (Harbour Street), nineteen corpses were carried out of a single house of ill-fame in the space of thirty-six hours. About 5,000 persons perished in five or six weeks, out of a population of 40,000. Supposing London to suffer in the same ratio, the loss would be between 200,000 and 300,000. In the upper part of the town, adjoining an open, somewhat extensive, and slightly elevated plain, termed the Race-Course, there are some good detached dwellings, but even they are far inferior in comfort and style to the habitations of our merchants and civilians in the East Indies. In different parts of the Liguanea Plain, which slopes upwards to the mountains, distant only about five miles, there are several "Pens" as the country houses or grazing farms are indiscriminately termed; some of these are of ample size, and the grounds around are laid out with taste. They afford a quiet and cool retreat from the toil and heat of Kingston. Beyond the race-course stands *Up Park Camp*, an extensive series of barrack buildings, which cover an irregular square of more than 200 acres, situated about 200 feet above the sea, two miles north of Kingston, and one and a-half distant from the *Long Mountain*, which having a nearly perpendicular elevation of 800 feet, unfortunately prevents the free circulation of air over the camp. The barracks consist of two long parallel lines of buildings, two stories high, with a six-feet basement, extending from east to west; that to the south, or seaward, comprising the officers' quarters. There is an excellent hospital, and a spacious bath of forty feet wide and four deep, containing 70,000 gallons of running water, supplied from Papine estate, four miles and a-half distant; the pipe conveying it is six inches in diameter, and discharges 4,500 gallons per hour. This constant abundance enables the soldiers to irrigate their gardens, which are laid out in the camp, and furnish the garrison with vegetables. The whole cantonment, at sixty feet distance, is surrounded by a wall of six feet high, surmounted by an iron palisading. Two regiments of Europeans may be accommodated; but the mortality among the English soldiers formerly stationed there was very great, and Sir William Gomm, when commander of the forces in the island, evinced sound judgment and humanity by causing the removal of the Europeans to a position, termed *Newcastle*, within view of Kingston, but elevated about 4,000 feet above the sea.

A village, called *Halfway Tree*, not far from *Up Park Camp*, possesses one of the neatest churches that I have seen in any of the colonies. It was built in the reign of Queen Anne, has several good monu-

ments, and in its pewing and interior arrangements resembles somewhat (though on a smaller scale) the pretty church of Hammersmith, near London. The commodious, healthful, and tastefully ornamented dwelling of the present hospitable Bishop (Dr. Spencer) is not far distant from *Halfway Tree*; the route through this village leads to *Stony Hill*, a military post (not now garrisoned) which commands the main road that traverses the island from south to north; the ascent, though abrupt, is practicable for wheeled carriages; but the roads here, as well as elsewhere, are of the most wretched description, and often impassable during the rainy seasons.

Port Royal, (formerly called *Caguaya*) five miles south-west of Kingston, and nine miles south-east of Spanish Town, is situated near the extremity of a tongue of coral rock covered with sand, called the "Palisades," which stretches ten or twelve miles from the shore, and forms a natural breakwater for the protection of *Kingston Harbour*, although scarcely elevated above the level of the sea. This fine haven is, when entered, exceedingly spacious, commodious, and well sheltered from all winds, but its mouth at Port Royal is narrow and intricate. As previously stated (p. 24), an opulent city formerly stood near this place, which in 1692 was almost overwhelmed by an earthquake; and having been partially rebuilt, was in 1703 again desolated by a conflagration, that reduced all the buildings to ashes, except the forts. Notwithstanding these calamities, and several minor ones, attempts were once more made to restore it, with some success, but in 1722 the sea broke over the breast-work, flooded the streets, and nearly destroyed the church and houses at the eastern end; notwithstanding this series of visitations, the site gradually became re-covered with houses mostly constructed of wood. On 13th July, 1815, about mid-day, a fire broke out which, in a few hours, burnt down almost the whole of the buildings, including the naval hospital. No further effort was made to reconstruct the town; government purchased part of the adjoining land, enclosed it within a high and strong wall, and strengthened the fortifications, making it almost exclusively a naval and military station. The town, Port Royal, now consists of five or six moderately wide streets, traversed by lanes, in which are situated "square blocks of ill-ventilated filthy hovels, the majority of them not deserving the name of a house. Many of them contain only one apartment, in which five or six human beings are to be found huddled together, in a space of little more than about double as many square feet, without any domestic conveniences; the floors are generally earthen, dirty, and damp, more like cellars than human habitations." As usual, in Jamaica, there is no paving, macadamizing, cleansing, sewage, or lighting. The Earl of Dundonald, the commander-in-chief on the West India station, in 1849-'50, called the attention of the Admiralty to the bad condition of the town, as exercising an injurious influence on the health of the patients in the naval hospital; and in a letter to the Mayor of Kingston, his lordship remarked, "never have I seen, in the whole course of my life, a place so disgustingly filthy, or which could give so bad an opinion to foreigners as the town of Port Royal." The Admiral then pointed out the spot where cholera would probably break forth, and his prediction was verified in October, 1850, when the pestilence raged with fury, carrying off

* Report of Dr. Wingate Johnstone, Deputy Inspector of Naval Hospitals and Fleets.

many victims, boatmen, fishermen, bum-boat people, washerwomen, and artisans, in four or six hours; collapse almost immediately supervening on the attack. The population is about 1,000.

Fort Augusta, formerly called *Mosquito*, is a strong fortress, built at the extremity of a low neck of land, which juts out into the western portion of the extensive inlet, comprising the havens of Kingston, Port Royal, and Hunt Bay. The buildings occupy the whole area of the point of the peninsula, which is surrounded by the sea, except on the west—the south face of the fort being washed by the deep water of the ship channel, while the east and north sides are environed by the shallow waters of a lagoon. The fort is not considered unhealthy, owing to the prevalence of the wind from the south and south-east. The barracks are two stories high, and well ventilated. Fort Augusta has suffered the devastating power of both fire and hurricane. In 1763 the magazine was struck by lightning; in an instant 3,000 barrels of gunpowder exploded, the buildings, bastions, and guns, were blown to atoms, and 300 human beings perished. A small fortification, termed the *Apostles' Battery*, stands on a high rock on the shore opposite the town of Port Royal. By means of this battery, and of the strong and easily defensible positions at Fort Charles (Port Royal) and Fort Augusta, hostile fleets are effectually excluded from Kingston harbour; and landing, except in small boats, is not easy at any contiguous part of the coast.

A detailed statement of the features of each division of the colony is not practicable within the prescribed limits of this work; it remains therefore to notice a few of the principal places, proceeding in an easterly direction from Kingston round the island.

Port Morant, ten miles south-west of Morant Point, is a good harbour, but has reefs on each side of its entrance. The scenery in the vicinity is very picturesque. The village of *Bath*, with sulphureous hot, and cold mineral springs, effectual for the cure of rheumatism, is situated some miles inland. There is a botanic garden here, on which large sums of public money have been expended, but, it would appear, not under a judicious system. The spot, however, has been well selected; the mountains in the immediate neighbourhood are clothed with varied and magnificent foliage, and the orange, cocoa-nut, bread-fruit, mango, star-apple, palmetto-royal, mahogany, avocado pear, jack-fruit, lime, citron, guava, the arrowy bamboo, and the tree-fern with its slender trunk and crown of feathery leaves, appear in the greatest luxuriance, interspersed with shrubbery, guinea-grass, tropical esculents and flowers, kept in perpetual verdure by the rain, which falls abundantly throughout the year in this humid region.

Morant Town and Bay, a few miles to the westward, and thirty-one miles east of Kingston, is the principal shipping place. The anchorage is protected by a coral reef, and commanded by a battery. The town is neatly built, and supplied with excellent water. Most of the houses are of brick, stand on elevated ground, and are surrounded by a profusion of cocoa-nut, plaintain, and banana-trees. The inland view presented to the voyager while sailing along the coast, between Port Morant and Kingston, is truly magnificent; the "Blue Mountains" tower in the back ground, vast buttresses jut out in various directions, some nearly disjointed spurs approach the coast, all covered with forests; the hills also clothed with verdure, the soft green of the cane-fields, the deeper hue of the guinea-grass pastures, varied with

wild savannas, and dotted here and there with white-washed plantation works, dwelling-houses, sugar-mills, and negro villages peeping out in the distance, embowered in cocoa-nut groves—all these fair sights, illumined by the brilliance of a glowing sun and cloudless sky, form a series of landscapes, whose rare beauty those who have travelled most will best appreciate.

Yallahs, a small Wesleyan station, about twelve miles west of Morant Bay, and nineteen east of Kingston, though close to the sea, is remarkably dry and warm, which contributes to render it a favourite retreat for snakes, lizards, scorpions, centipedes, mosquitoes, and sand-flies. Water-melons, pumpkins, sweet and sour sops, papaw, and such productions as grow here, are of excellent quality. The *Yallahs River*, with its ever changing banks, is, in wet weather, fraught with danger; rising amid lofty mountain recesses, it receives tributary torrents from many a rugged glen, and rushes towards the sea, occasionally sweeping away in its brief and headlong course, stones of large size, timber, &c. In the awful hurricane, accompanied by shocks of earthquake, which took place in 1815, the works of several sugar and coffee plantations in this neighbourhood were destroyed, and a large iron bridge was carried away by the stream, not a particle of which was seen afterwards. Many lives were lost at this time, one case (that of a Mr. Smith and his family) was peculiarly distressing, these unfortunates were last seen clinging to a tree, and were then literally torn piecemeal by the fierce war of the elements, some of their severed limbs being alone recovered. "It is worthy of remark," says Mr. Barclay, "to how small a space these visitations are frequently confined. In the present instance the centre of the storm passed from north to south across the island from Annotta Bay, down the course of Yallahs River; on the other side, at Spanish Town, about forty miles west, it was scarcely felt, and one vessel off the Morant Keys at the time, about fifty miles to the east, experienced only a fresh gale."*

Plantain Garden River flows through a fertile level, and highly cultivated vale or savanna, about ten miles in length, terminates in a good harbour, and enters the sea, nearly in the centre of a bight which indents the eastern coast, to the north of Morant Point. It is bounded on the south by low hills, and on the north by an ascending series of heights, from whence the luxuriant beauty of its cane-fields, studded at intervals with extensive estates, buildings and works partially hidden in cocoa-nut groves, is seen to great advantage.

Manchiomeal Bay, situated to the north-west of *Plantain Garden River*, and towards the centre of the eastern coast, has a small harbour, difficult of access, from being crowded with rocks, and open to the trade wind and current of the sea, which sweeps westward, and passes down the Gulf of Florida. The village of *Manchiomeal* is of inconsiderable size, the houses and stores are not numerous, nor is the population large; the most interesting feature is the ruins of the massive stone walls of a fortification built by the Spaniards. Passing the promontory, called from its position, *North-East Point*, and following the coast, which here exhibits a succession of coves and creeks in a western direction for about six miles, we arrive at *Port Antonio*, under which name is comprised two harbours, divided into eastern and western by a pro-

* *Wesleyan Missions in Jamaica and Honduras*, by the Rev. Peter Samuel. London, 1850; p. 272.

jecting tongue of land; the eastern is well defended from north winds by *Navy Island*, which contains about eighty acres of land: both are easy of access, and have good anchorage. A fort with a half-moon battery commands the double entrance, being built at the northern point of the small but elevated peninsula above alluded to, as are also the barracks, the hospital and other buildings forming what is termed the Upper Town, the streets of which, though laid out at right angles, are overgrown with weeds and grass, and afford pasturage for goats, horses, and donkeys, while hogs, the privileged favourites of the Jamaica public, range about at pleasure. The officers' barracks run northward, and overlook the east harbour, with a verandah back and front; but the rooms are low, and not well adapted for the climate; the men's quarters are comparatively superior. The hospital is an excellent structure. The Lower Town consists of two principal thoroughfares, of which *Harbour-street* forms a segment of a circle on the shore of the eastern haven; and *West-street*, with its stores and warehouses, is convenient for vessels lying alongside the wharves, which they can do in the western port all the year round. The scenery here is very grand; rock, wood, and water combine to make it so; but the situation of the Lower Town is nevertheless considered very unhealthy, owing to the miasma generated in the surrounding morass, and to the want of efficient drainage. The soil is extremely prolific, consisting generally of vegetable mould, mixed with some clay, resting upon porous lime and chalkstone; the former intersected with fissures, the latter soft and more compact, fit for building purposes. Along the sea shore honeycomb-rock abounds, to the great annoyance of pedestrians, being pointed and sharp as broken glass.* In the vicinity of the Lower Town there is an extensive cavern in the limestone formation, on the steep side of the hill, about a hundred feet above the level of the sea, having the usual variety of chambers and passages adorned with stalactites and stalagmites, and carpeted by a soft elastic substance, which feels like moss, but is in reality a coating of bats' dung several feet in depth, and has been successfully used as manure. Numerous skulls of these creatures are everywhere scattered about, and while crowds of living ones flap their heavy restless wings, a pair or more of owls may be seen in the lofty vaults near the entrance, gloomily engaged in picking the bones of deceased bats.†

Seven miles inland from Port Antonio, in direct distance, but perhaps twice as many by the road, is *Moore Town*, the largest Maroon settlement in the island, which contained, when visited by Messrs. Lloyd and Harvey, a population of 600, dwelling in 100 cottages larger and more finished than the negro huts on estates, and dispersed over the slope of a hill, backed by rising mountains. Their own grounds were carefully cultivated, and they occasionally hired themselves out in parties to clear the pastures of the neighbouring proprietors, but insisted on working with their cutlasses, not choosing to employ the more appropriate implements, which they regarded as tokens of slavery.‡ Four miles from Moore Town a settlement named *Allamont* was commenced in 1837 by a few Scottish families, who, allured by the promises made by the local legislature, established them-

selves in an irregular valley about a mile and-a-half in length, through which the Rio Grande runs, sometimes a gently flowing, shallow stream, but during the frequent and heavy rains, an impetuous torrent. The adjacent land was considered extremely fertile, and well suited to the cultivation of coffee and ginger, and the only obvious defect was the difficulty of transporting produce to market.

The result of the experiment would seem to have been a failure, and the consequent loss to the country, and suffering to the poor families must have been great; as also in other instances where immigrants have been introduced at great cost from the East Indies, Africa, Portugal, and Germany.

The *Rio Grande* enters the sea about five miles to the westward of Port Antonio. *Hope Bay* about four, and *Buff Bay* fifteen miles further in the same direction, afford shipping places for the estates in their neighbourhood; at the latter there is a church, a court-house, and other public buildings. From Buff Bay to Kingston the distance by the road is about thirty miles, across the narrowest part of the island.

Annotta Bay has anchorage exposed to the north and north-west winds; on its western shore there is a village of the same name with a church, Baptist chapel and parochial schools, and about 300 or 400 inhabitants. A little to the westward of Annotta Bay, and between it and Port Maria is a small inlet distinguished in Arrowsmith's recent and excellent map, as *Don Christopher's Cove*, and supposed to have been the scene of Columbus' weary sojourn in 1502 (see p. 18.)

Port Maria gives its name to a town built upon the edge of a semicircular bay, which faces the north-east, and is bounded by two bold elevated promontories, one of which (that to the westward) has on it the remains of an old fort. The buildings stand at the opening of a long narrow valley, inclosed by hills on either side, and between the mouths of two streams, whose banks are clothed with the most luxuriant vegetation. On the opposite shore of the west stream are the suburbs called *Stennet's* and *Manning's Town*; in the rear of Port Maria there is lagoon or marsh, and beyond, and draining into it, a swamp, which stretches for a considerable extent up the valley. The whole appearance of the place is very picturesque, but it is decidedly insalubrious. During the recent visitation of cholera, the population and deaths were—

Locality.	Population.	Deaths.
Port Maria	420	239
Manning's Town . .	330	200
Stennet's Town . .	250	114

Fully two-thirds of those who remained on the spot perished. In one house in the middle of the town, fourteen out of seventeen inmates were swept off within fifty hours. Half the prisoners in the gaol died, and many of the houses of the lower classes, from being crowded to excess, became quite depopulated.—(*Cholera Report*, June, 1852.)

Separated from *Port Maria* by a small peninsula, the north-eastern extremity of which is termed *Galina Point*, is *Ora Cabessa*, a port and river visited and named by Columbus.

St. Ann's Bay, the shipping place of the rich district of St. Ann's parish, has a narrow entrance between two reefs. The town, built on a hill at the south-east side of the bay, is beautifully situated,

* *Vide Wesleyan Missions*, by Rev. P. Samuel, p. 143.

† *Vide Jamaica Monthly Magazine and Scientific Journal*, June, 1848; p. 57.

‡ *West Indies in 1837*, p. 297.

but so surrounded by sea swamp as to be very unhealthy. The neighbouring heights afford a pleasant and salubrious retreat to the more wealthy inhabitants. There are three villages included in the parish, named *Ocho Rios*, *Dry Harbour*, and *Brown's Town*, the first of which stands on an inlet of the same name, to the eastward of St. Ann's Bay; the second, where there are barracks, to the westward; while the third is charmingly situated inland, and is considered to possess a climate far more temperate and salubrious than that of the coast. In this vicinity, several "free villages" have been formed, which will be subsequently noticed. St. Ann's parish is remarkable for the beauty and variety of its scenery and the richness of its productions. Cane-fields extend for a distance of about ten miles from the sea, and then give place to coffee plantations, whose bright green foliage, crimson berries, and jasmine-like flowers, exhaling a delicious perfume, contrast agreeably with the more sombre hue and aromatic fragrance of the pimento (all-spice) groves. About the beginning of February, these latter offer very striking and pleasing scenes to the eye of a stranger. The trees, then covered with the green, unripe berries, just fit to be gathered and dried for exportation, are each surrounded by groups of children busily engaged in plucking the loaded twigs, and stripping off the fruit, while flocks of green parrots and paroquets shoot from tree to tree, screaming discordantly while on the wing, but with the characteristic intelligence of their race, becoming as quiet as mice, when, alighting to revel upon the luxurious food, they conceal themselves amid the foliage, which the colour of their soft plumage enables them to do very successfully. The pimento, which, when ripe, becomes black, pulpy, and sweet, retaining very little of its spicy flavour, even in its immature state, offers such irresistible attractions to some of these birds as to tempt the Glass Eye (*Merula Jamaicensis*), and even the Solitaire (*Ptilogonys armillatus*), from the deep mountain recesses, whence they rarely emerge.* In what is termed the *Moneague* savanna and its neighbourhood, there are numerous large farms for the rearing of horses, cattle, and mules, whose bodies are almost hidden by the gigantic tufts of the Guinea grass,† among which they delight to roam. Orange trees, and other varieties of the citron tribe, laden with golden fruit, are thickly scattered over the landscape, to which a park-like character is given, alike by the grazing cattle, the gentle elevations crowned by clumps of trees, and the absence of fences, the estates being only marked by the walls which divide them.

Sevilla Nueva, or *D'Oro*, the first Spanish settlement, stood on the shore of St. Ann's Bay; the site is now partially occupied by a sugar plantation, long remarkable for its productiveness; but relics of the former city still remain, and the ruins of the cathedral are in excellent preservation. On the coast, a little to the eastward of the bay, a remarkable waterfall, called *Roaring River Cascade*, is formed by the junction of eight small streams. The road across to Spanish Town, through the centre of the island, presents varied scenes of Alpine grandeur, cultivated beauty, and tropical luxuriance, but has much more attraction for the eye of a painter than for the ordinary traveller, who, doubtless, would often gladly forfeit some marvellous prospects for an easier road.

* *A Naturalist's Sojourn in Jamaica*, Gosse, p. 64.

† The seeds of this valuable grass were brought from Guinea, about 1740, as food for some birds, a present from

Near Mount Diavolo, the way is especially steep and difficult, and from its zigzag and winding ascent, would be tedious, but for the enchanting views presented at certain points. One spot in the romantic inland parish of St. Thomas-in-the-Vale, is very remarkable; the road there lies through a deep gorge, called the Bog Walk (i.e. *Bocágua*, a sluice), by the side of the Cobre River, here formed by the union of the Negro and D'Oro. The rocks often rise to a great height on either side, closely hemming in the channel of the rushing stream, with the narrow adjacent pathway. Here and there the channel is obstructed by rocky islets, and in one place a broad mass of limestone, called *Gibraltar*, attains an absolutely perpendicular altitude of 500 or 600 feet (twice the height of St. Paul's), while in its crevices grow many small and slender fan-palms (*thrinax*). Even in dry weather it is a singularly imposing object; but when, as sometimes occurs during seasons of excessive rain, a cataract pours down from its very summit, breaking into a cloud of mist and spray before it reaches the distant river beneath, the spectacle must certainly be one of extraordinary grandeur. Near Dry Harbour, there is a cavern of great width and depth, terminating in a subterranean lake, a few miles to the westward of which is the inlet forming the *Rio Bueno Harbour*, which though exposed, is yet available for shipping produce.

To the westward of *Rio Bueno*, a cocoa-nut grove extends for three or four miles, and stretches from eight to ten miles inland; yet, notwithstanding this abundant supply of the raw material, from the want it would appear of well-directed capital and enterprise, cocoa-nut oil is still imported from Ceylon. The nuts, however, have now become an increasing article of export.

Falmouth, the chief town of Trelawney parish, is the next place on the northern coast that demands attention. It is situated near the mouth of the *Martha Brae River*, which rising in the mountains of the interior, there almost unexplored, falls into the sea after a winding course of about thirty miles. The original town, named from the Brae, about two miles inland, has for many years resigned its pretensions to Falmouth, both as to convenience for the shipping, and general business, the latter excelling all the towns on the north side except that of Montego Bay, while its general aspect is more English than that of any other in the island. The streets are laid out at right angles, and most of the houses being kept well painted with stone or lead colour to preserve them, look remarkably neat and clean. In the centre of the town there is a large reservoir of water, which is supplied through underground pipes, reaching the river at Martha Brae, where there is an hydraulic engine to keep up the supply when the river is too low to work the water-wheel. The most prominent building is the Court-house, which is of stone, having a portico, supported by four massive pillars; a broad flight of steps branch off right and left, and lead to two large halls, into which the upper part of the edifice is divided. There are Episcopalian, Presbyterian, and Wesleyan places of worship, and a substantial Baptist chapel erected by Mr. Knibb. At the extremity of the low sandy projection on which the town stands, a fort, barracks, and hospital have been built; the guns of the fort command the entrance of the same coast. The birds died; the remaining seeds being thrown away over a fence, took root, and the anxiety of the cattle to obtain them, soon drew attention to their value.

the barred harbour, which affords safe shelter for ships, being defended on the north by a coral reef, running parallel with the shore, but the coral formation threatens to close up the mouth of the haven; already first-class ships have not room to enter, and are compelled to go to Montego Bay. The site of Falmouth has been but recently reclaimed; it is a dead level, without drainage, and scarcely elevated above high-water mark, while a marshy lagoon, of several miles in extent, hems it in on the east, south, and west, covered with mangrove, sea-grapes, and other semi-marine trees and vegetation, affording shelter and nourishment for myriads of crabs, mosquitoes, and sand-flies; and generating a most offensive miasm, which is felt strongly during the night, when the land-wind carries it over the town towards the sea.* In such a locality, fever and disease could hardly fail to make frequent and severe inroads, and so it has proved. During the recent cholera epidemic, out of a population estimated at 3,500, 485 perished. In a single house, a place of dissipation and vice, eighteen out of twenty-six inmates were rapidly seized with the malady, and fourteen died within forty-eight hours.

Montego Bay, in the parish of St. James, about fifteen miles to the westward of Falmouth, is the chief emporium of trade on the northern side of the island, and is distant from Kingston about 120 miles. The town is well laid out, on an elevation which slopes westwards towards the sea; the main street, which divides the town, runs nearly north and south. Many of the buildings and houses are of brick or stone, and the dwellings of the respectable inhabitants are both elegant and comfortable, having gardens or grass-plots attached, adorned with various characteristic trees, shrubs, and flowers; while verandahs, piazzas, and other features of tropical architecture, render the houses as pleasant and cool as possible in this extremely warm neighbourhood. The bay being sheltered on the east and south by a semi-circular hill, the sea breeze by day and the land wind by night, are alike cut off from the greater portion of the town, where the temperature is almost always very sultry. The anchorage for the shipping ranges from four to thirty-four fathoms water, with ample space for a large fleet; but the entrance is not good, and the haven open and exposed, and when the north-west wind blows, unsafe for ships. A large outlay has been incurred in attempting to form a breakwater to keep off the swell; but, from defective engineering, nothing has been achieved, besides burying an immense quantity of large stones in the sea, which have been swept away by the violence of the waves. The plantations here, not only skirt the shore but extend inland for several miles, and render the view from the bay very pleasing. The town forms, as it were, the centre of the picture; and its various places of worship—Church of England, Baptist, Wesleyan, and Presbyterian—together with numerous good houses, stores, and wharves, stand out, relieved by the foliage of the cocoa-nut, orange, star-apple, plaintain, banana, and other trees and shrubs; the sides and back-ground are formed by hills, which stretch along the coast as far as the eye can reach, and rise one above another, richly studded with cane-fields; interspersed with clumps of bamboo, trumpet, broad-leaf, prickly-yellow, cocoa-nut, and majestic wild cotton trees, from whose far-extending branches hang innumerable wreaths of wild flowers,

* Samuel's *Wesleyan Missions*, p. 176.

† Vide Dr. Roper's statement, Cholera Report, June, 1852.

parasitic plants, and creeping vines, which, sometimes bending downward, take root in the ground.

Here, however, as in all the towns of Jamaica, with few, if any, exceptions, the habitations of the lower classes are characterized by extreme wretchedness, and by that absence of cleanliness, ventilation, and sufficient space for the decent accommodation of families, which ever proves a fruitful source of disease and crime. Even the public, as well as private dwellings of the poor, too frequently manifest the same lamentable deficiency, alike in policy and humanity, and the results have been appalling. Thus, when Montego Bay was visited by cholera, in December, 1850, nearly 800 persons perished in that single month, out of a population of 6,000 or 7,000; and in the workhouse, only three out of fifty-five paupers survived.†

Great River divides St. James from the parishes of Hanover and Westmoreland; it is not navigable, but is crossed by two large stone and one wooden bridge, and enters the sea after a winding course of thirty-four miles.

Lucea, the town of Hanover parish, stands on the south-west shore of a beautiful horse-shoe-formed bay, the entrance to which is about half-a-mile across, and the depth of water from four to six fathoms throughout. Two streams, called East and West Lucea, flow into the head of the harbour. There are some respectable buildings in the town, such as the Church, Presbyterian, and Methodist chapels. Ridges of high land surround it so closely as to leave only a narrow strip of flat surface adjoining the beach; this is occupied by one large street, above which there are many houses on the sides of the steep adjacent hill, from whence the view is magnificent. The parish is well watered, and full of charming scenery, and the coast abounds in bays and creeks.

The character of Lucea, in a sanitary point of view, unhappily does not correspond with its pleasing appearance; the site of great part was originally a swamp, the soil is generally loose and sandy, riddled in many places with the burrowing of land-crabs; water is found at a depth of two or three feet, and at the east end there is a foul quagmire with large pools of stagnant water; altogether this spot has proved one of the most insalubrious in the island. Diarrhoea, dysentery, and remittent fever, are of frequent occurrence; and in 1837, a very fatal typhus prevailed. In 1850-1, a full third of its inhabitants died of cholera, most of them at the hospital, which was not to be wondered at, considering its situation at the side of stagnant ditches, its extreme overcrowding, and the want of proper nursing and medical attendance. *Fort Charlotte*, so named in honour of the sister of the Earl of Elgin, is built on the extremity of the peninsula which bounds the harbour of Lucea.

Elgin and Johnson Hamlets are situated on the opposite side of the harbour.

Proceeding a few miles to the westward we arrive at a beautiful little inlet called *Orange Cove*, immediately beyond which is *Pedro Point*, the north-west extremity of the island. The coast here takes a south-westerly direction, and is much indented; the chief inlets are *Green Island Harbour*, which receives its name from a little island at the offing, about half-a-league distant from the main land, and is defended by a fort; and *Orange Bay*, into which a river of the same name flows. A bight called *Long or Negril Bay* occupies chief part of what ought properly to be termed the western coast, and terminates in a

promontory known as *South Negri*, which forms the western extremity of Jamaica; the shore then trends to the south-eastward.

Savanna-la-Mar is situated in Westmoreland, the parish which occupies the south-western portion of the island. The harbour, or rather roadstead, is by no means a good one, the water is shoal, and the anchorage unsheltered. The town is built by the sea-side, on an alluvial flat, and is scarcely raised above high-water-mark; the chief buildings are the Church of England, Baptist, and Wesleyan chapels. Though not peculiarly attractive in other respects, the place is very characteristic of West Indian manners. On its eastern side a grove of cocoa-nut palms, nearly a mile in length, fringes the white beach, and on the other the eye rests on a wall of sombre mangrove trees, growing actually out of the sea for miles. The wharf being passed, the visitor enters the broad, long, straight street that constitutes the town. There is no pavement but the sandy earth, ploughed into ruts by the waggons, some of which may frequently be seen with their long teams of oxen, bringing in puncheons of rum and hogsheads of sugar from the country. Right across at irregular intervals run large water-courses, dry at times, but in the rainy seasons, liable every day to be flooded; each then becoming a foaming torrent of muddy water, rushes noisily into the great mangrove morass that environs the town. This swamp extends to the westward for several miles, and exhales a most pestilential miasm, but being below the level of the sea, cannot be drained.

The lower parts of most of the houses are used as shops, or *stores* as they are called in American fashion, each one, whatever the character of its merchandise,—drapery, "dry goods," "hardware," provisions, spirits, or tobacco, are all fitted up in the same manner, with an open piazza in front, three or four yards wide, where the various goods are exposed, and in which the proprietor, and a friend or customer, may commonly be seen, seated on chairs, the feet often on another chair (also in the American fashion), smoking a cigar, and sipping some cooling syrup, or imbibing the more enticing and dangerous beverage known as "sangaree." Behind the piazza is the shop, with unglazed windows, through which communication is freely held with the clerks and assistants inside; this is fitted up with counters and shelves in the English style. Above, the ceiling of the piazza being supported, on the street line, by one or two slender pillars, are the rooms of the dwelling-house, or else balconies; in either case furnished with jalousies, or strong Venetian blinds. Towards the upper end of the long street the shops cease, the houses become more elegant, each inclosed in a court or garden, often adorned with the beautiful or fragrant blossoming trees and plants of the island, or such as unite fruit with beauty and shade. Of the former the scarlet cordia, the noble agave, and the oleander, or South Sea rose, both beautiful and odorous, are great favourites; and of the latter, the wide spreading genip and tamarind, the tall papau, and the golden-fruited members of the *Citrus* genus, from the gigantic shaddock to the diminutive lime. Although the town itself is so superabundantly supplied with water, both from the heavens above and the earth beneath, yet the supply for the houses is miserably deficient, and contributes to the want of cleanliness, which is doubtless one cause of insalubrity. In 1851, out of a population estimated at 1,600, 329 died of cholera between 7th of June and

21st July. Some of the wealthier merchants have pleasant country seats a few miles inland; one of these (Phoenix Park) is graphically described in the book from whence the above description of the town has been chiefly derived, viz., the delightful volume that has resulted from the labours of P. H. Gosse, A.L.S., assisted by the scientific knowledge and long experience of the well-known naturalist, Richard Hill, which affords much interesting detail respecting the endless variety of trees and flowers, birds and insects, that forms one of the loveliest features of this richly-gifted country. As the best class of Jamaica houses are usually constructed on the same principle, the following portraiture will serve as an illustration of the whole:—

"The furnished part of the house is all on the same level, forming what we should call the first floor, the whole of the ground-floor being devoted to store-rooms and cellars. An arched passage, open at each end, leads through the house, beneath the dwelling apartments, from the road in front to the yard behind. A flight of stone steps, with iron balustrades, on which run beautiful twining and creeping plants, such as the lovely crimson *Quamoclit*, the wax-like *Hoya carnosa*, and others, leads the visitor up to the front door, and he is immediately ushered into a spacious hall, in the form of a cross, extending the whole length and breadth of the house. This large hall is characteristic of all Jamaica houses, it forms the principal sitting-room, and, from its shape, admits the cooling breeze to sweep through it, whenever there is a breath of air. The two square areas formed by one side of the cross are filled by bed-rooms; but with these exceptions, the whole of the sides and ends of the hall are either occupied by windows, or open and furnished with jalousies, a broad sort of transverse Venetian blinds, which freely admit the air while they exclude the glare of light, which in this country is scarcely less distressing than the heat. This large and cool apartment is furnished with sofas, ottomans, tables, chairs, &c., not differing from ours; but there is no fireplace, nor any carpet. [In the mountain residences, however, both these articles are requisite.] Instead of the latter, the floor is made of the most beautiful of the native woods, in the selection of which much taste is often displayed, as also in the arrangement, so that the various colours of the wood may harmonize or contrast well with each other. Mahogany, green-heart, bread-nut, and blood-heart, are among the trees whose timber is employed for floors. Great hardness is an indispensable requisite in the wood used, and capability of receiving a high polish, which is given and maintained with great labour. Scarcely anything surprises a European more than to tread on floors as beautifully polished as the finest tables of our drawing-rooms. The mode in which the gloss is daily renewed is curious; if the visitor should peep out of his bed-room about dawn of day, he would see some half-a-dozen sable handmaids on their knees in the middle of the floor, with a great tray full of sour oranges cut in halves. Each maid takes a half orange, and rubs the floor with it until its juice is exhausted; it is then thrown aside, and the process is continued with another. When the whole floor has been thus rubbed with orange juice, it is vigorously scrubbed with the half of a cocoa-nut husk, the rough fibres of which, acting as a stiff brush, soon impart such a reflective power to the hard wood, as would put Day and Martin into ecstasies. After the last touch is given, it is amusing to see the precautions taken by the waiting-maids to avoid dimming its beauty. The preparation for breakfast, and various other duties, performed by servants with bare feet, would seem to make it impossible that the floor should remain untarnished, but it does; and it is thus managed. The girl takes two pieces of linen, and sets one foot upon each, then with her great toe and its next neighbour, she grasps a pinch of the cloth (for the negroes' toes are almost as effective as fingers), and thus scuffs about the floor; practice enabling them to do this with facility, without

their feet ever coming in contact with the wood. A small garden partially surrounds the house, filled with ornamental trees and shrubs, some native and some exotic. The beautiful *Nerium*, called the South Sea rose, is prominent among the latter, as also the gorgeous *Hibiscus rosa-sinensis*, and the Spanish jasmine, as fragrant as it is elegant; and the scarlet *Belladonna* lily, and many others, add to the gaiety of the parterre. In the garden, and around it, are several curious trees. The noble Malay apple (*Eugenia Malaccensis*), or, as it is here called, the Otaheite Cashew, there erects its conical head, covered either with its beautiful flowers, like clusters of crimson tassels, or with its close, luxuriant, richly-green foliage. The Sago Palm, likewise transported from farthest India, has found here a climate and a soil congenial to its growth, and presents a singular object in its stiff, bristling leaves, radiating in all directions, and its heart covered with a brown, woolly, or mealy substance. Immediately before the door is a large arborescent *Euphorbia*, probably *E. Grandidens*, a native of South Africa, with rather inconspicuous flowers, but sure to attract the attention of a stranger by its long, angular, leafless branches, set with spines, like long *Cacti* growing from the trunk of an ordinary tree. A row of Shaddock trees, hung in the season with their golden fruits, as large as a child's head, combines beauty, fragrance, and utility; while cashew trees, mangoes, custard apples, sops, and guavas, all valuable fruits, but too common to need description, form groves around the mansion. * * * Scores of humming-birds hover from day to day around the blossoms of the trees, sucking from flower to flower upon the wing, just as the hawk-moths do in our English gardens in the summer twilight, on trees in the sunshine.—(*A Naturalist's Sojourn in Jamaica*. London: 1851, pp. 155—159.)

Bluefields Harbour is very spacious, and possesses excellent anchorage; a coral reef stretches off some distance from the shore.

The water is unusually transparent, so that at a depth of six fathoms, the bottom, with every rock, patch of sand, or bunch of weeds, is as distinctly visible as if seen through the medium of a broad plate of glass. There is a fort here, but no town. The view from seaward is extensive and imposing; the verdant Guinea-grass pastures of Bluefields, and the neighbouring pens, sloping upwards, backed by the lofty rampart of the Bluefields ridge, rising into one conical peak of half a mile in height, and others of less elevation, and jutting out into the bay in a bold promontory, covered from its rounded summit to its base upon the sea-beach, with dense primeval forests. To the westward the view is very fine; the town of Savanna-la-Mar, being, as before stated, scarcely above the sea-level, can be recognised only by the clustered masts of the shipping; but above the town and the adjacent flat country, rises blue and distant, yet bold and well-defined in outline, the noble mountain named the *Dolphin's Head*, which, however, in form resembles rather a crouching lion. To the south end of Bluefields a tract of country extends for some miles, to which the name of *Surinam Quarters* was given by the planters who came here from Surinam in 1675. The remnant of the ill-fated Scottish colony at Darien also found refuge here, and settled farther to the eastward, in the neighbourhood of *Scott Cove*.

Black River Bay is a wide open inlet, at the head of which stands a village of the same name built at the mouth of the *Black River*. This stream enters the sea after a meandering course of about thirty-four miles, during which it flows, for the most part, through a flat country, and receives several tributaries both on the eastward and westward; it is the deepest and least rapid river in the island, and is

navigable for canoes nearly thirty miles from the sea. The village is remarkable for little beyond the handsome parish church in its neighbourhood.

Iacovia, the chief town of the parish of St. Elizabeth, is situated a few miles inland in a kind of basin, and is liable to be inundated by the waters of a large morass which surround it.

The *Val de Vuca Morass* extends along the shore from Black River to the *Pedro Plains*, and these terminate near *Great Pedro Bay*; the south-eastern boundary of which is formed by the promontory called *Pedro Bluff*. A low ridge or spur, called the *Santa Cruz Mountains*, runs nearly parallel with, though some miles distant from, the flat land above mentioned.

Alligator Pond, situated at the junction of St. Elizabeth and Manchester Parishes, is merely a shipping place for the latter parish, which is chiefly occupied by pens and coffee plantations; upwards of 10,000 tierces of coffee have been shipped in one year from this port. The town named *Mandeville* is one of the most healthy, agreeable, and improving places in the colony. It stands on a plateau 2,500 feet above the level of the sea, in the midst of green woods and pastures, and is surrounded on all sides by chains of high land; to the north a ridge extends, near the extremity of which is an isolated eminence called *Martin Hill*, and to the south and westward the *May Day Hills*, which seem connected with the lofty *Don Figuerreros Mountain*, environ the town.

Mandeville contains a church and rectory, and a chapel established by the London Missionary Society, but now chiefly supported by its coloured congregation. It has a court-house, jail, house of correction, a magazine and arsenal, and other buildings. There was formerly a great deficiency of water, there being only one spring of fresh water in the whole parish, but tanks have been constructed, and in the town at least there is now an abundant supply.

The inland and mountainous parish of Clarendon bounds that of Manchester on the eastward, and contains an isolated eminence called *Bull Head*, 2,140 feet in altitude, which is considered to mark the centre of the island. In the southern portion of this parish tobacco was grown by the Spaniards. All the roads are exceedingly bad, and impassable in wet weather; in the mountain districts there are literally none, and the people cannot reach town or market, save at the hazard of life. The *Rio Minho*, or *Dry River*, rises near the north-western boundary, crosses Clarendon in a south-easterly direction, and after receiving several small, and one considerable tributary, called the *St. Thomas*, enters the parish of Vere, flows through it in a tortuous but southerly direction, and joins the sea near *Carlisle Bay*, after a course of about twenty-six miles in direct distance, but including its various meanders, above fifty. The lower part of Vere projects into the sea in the form of a peninsula, at the extremity of which a neck of land (through which runs a low limestone range of hills called *Portland Ridge*) juts out in a south-easterly direction, enclosing a small but secure haven called *West Harbour*. Near the termination of the ridge is *Portland Point*, a little to the westward of which is an inconsiderable promontory, in 17° 44' S. lat., 77° 10' W. long., which constitutes the southern extremity of the island. Near *Portland Point* there is a remarkable cave, with two entrances, 300 or 400 yards apart, comprising several spacious chambers, supported by massive natural pillars, and adorned with endless varieties of stalac-

tites. A hot salt spring, near the mouth of the *Milk River*, has been found beneficial for rheumatism. Vere has no town, and only a few scattered negro hamlets; there are, however, about twenty-six sugar estates in cultivation.* The early English settlers in this neighbourhood made large fortunes by the cultivation of indigo, in which the Spaniards had probably set them the example, as when visiting the southern coast, in 1851, I saw some large stone vats, constructed evidently and used for the preparation of this valuable dye.

At the head of the extensive bay, known as *Old Harbour*, is a town or village of the same name, the chief place of the small and level parish of Saint Dorothy, and famous as the spot selected by the Spaniards for their principal ship-yard. The entrance to the bay is rendered perilous by shoals; the eastern haven, sheltered by *Goat Island*, still bears the name of *Galleon Harbour* (see map), from its having been the custom of the Spaniards to moor their richly laden vessels here for security during hurricanes; but the channel leading to it is now so choked up with mud as to have become useless, and even the merchantmen visiting this port to take in cargoes, lie further out in the bay, where there is depth of water for vessels of almost any burden, and excellent anchorage. At the distance of about two miles from the town is a small hamlet called the *Market*, where the negroes assemble to dispose of the produce of their land, and supply their own wants. The next parish is that of St. Catherine's, from whence this brief description of the leading topographical features of the island commenced with an account of Spanish Town. The mountainous parish of St. John, whose chief stream is the *Rio Montano*, has no town, but at a place which retains the native name of *Guanaboa*, there is a small hamlet, with a church and parsonage, and further to the north-eastward are some strong stone barracks, which command a narrow pass communicating between the northern and southern portions of Jamaica.

The romantic scenery of the adjoining inland parish of St. Thomas-in-the-Vale, has been noticed in connection with the road between Spanish Town and St. Ann's Bay. A charming vale, called *Sixteen-mile-walk*, from its distance from the former place, is a favourite resort of the citizens, its only drawback being the singular fog which almost every morning obscures its beauties, until about nine o'clock, when it is dispersed by the rarefying power of the sun. The neighbourhood is, however, considered very healthy, and some of the earliest and best sugar-fields were established here.

NEGRO OR FREE VILLAGES.—The dwellings of the negroes, during slavery, were of the most wretched

and unwholesome description, being usually low mud huts, with long thatch almost reaching the ground, nearly devoid of light or ventilation, placed in some useless swamp, with a rank vegetation around, and a pestilential miasm diffusing at all times the seeds of disease. In one of these hovels, eight or nine feet square, seldom boarded, sometimes the moist floor strewn with half-dried grass or herbs, eight or ten human beings, in a state of semi-nudity, would enter at the close of their weary day's toil, and after labouring like the beasts of the field, incited by the same stimulus, the cart-whip, prepare, as best they might, a hasty and often insufficient meal, and then flinging themselves down, and huddling together, without regard to sex or age, would seek a brief respite from suffering, if, indeed, the too frequent pangs of bodily pain, caused by hard labour, exposure to every vicissitude of weather, or lacerated limbs, would let them; till the hated "shell blowing" summoned them at dawn to return, with steps quickened by fear, to the scene of their misery. Blessed be God, these times are past; but owing to various causes, since emancipation, the majority of the people have been unable to construct better habitations; nor, it would appear, have the proprietors and overseers of estates, as a body, deemed it necessary to provide accommodation suited to the altered position of the labourers in their employ. Dr. Milroy, in alluding to the results of his official investigation, after describing the general character and condition of the lowest class of dwellings, says, "still more wretched than the ordinary negro houses are the huts which are provided in some places for occasional or stray labourers, and far too generally for the use of the watchmen, consisting of a few bamboo rods stuck into the ground in this form, A with some thatch rudely thrown over them; often have the poor occupants been found lifeless in the morning, having died during the night without any one near them. Is it not an outrage on our common nature to require human beings to occupy such kennels?"—(Letter to the Governor of Jamaica, 31st March, 1851).

From this and other statements it would appear, that even the inhabitants of the towns, in the occupation of their own freehold, or hired dwellings, are better, rather than worse off, than when tenantry the miserable shelter provided for them on the estates. If this be so, it is one more mistake added to the long list which have alienated, and to a great extent, still alienate the employers and employed in Jamaica. Certainly the negro is not insensible to the comforts, conveniences, and even luxuries of life; and considering the long and grinding oppression to which he has been subjected, it is perfectly

* Vere and Clarendon are dry parishes, and here, as in other parts of the island, the difference in the production of sugar and coffee between a season of abundant moisture and one of drought, is very great; in sugar it is as *four to ten thousand tons*. The late Edward M'Geachy, Crown Surveyor of Jamaica, endeavoured in vain to induce the planters to undertake works of artificial irrigation, as is practised in the East Indies and other countries. In an able pamphlet, published at Kingston, in 1846, Mr. M'Geachy pointed out how much of the diminished production of Jamaica was owing to destructive droughts, by which the peasantry were compelled to attend to their own provision grounds, which they could not neglect, for any wages that it was in the power of the planter to give; and he demonstrated, by figures, that certain sugar estates in Vere, Clarendon, and a few other parishes in the great plains, produced in 1846 only 14,150 tons, whereas, even

with the labour then available in the island, they ought to have yielded 48,125 tons. Referring to the "rich and extensive plains (of Liguanea), exceeding 154,000 acres of mostly rich, and perfectly flat ground, intersected and bounded by several large rivers, and some bog land, capable of the most profitable system of drainage, and traversed for a distance of fifteen miles by a highly finished, substantial railway," and adjacent to the "city and seaport of Kingston, with its 40,000 inhabitants;" and also to the "rich and flat district around Spanish Town, with several small villages, numerous grazing farms, and fifty to sixty fine sugar estates, with room for five times as many more," he adds: "although sugar is the chief cultivation, there are not now, even in good seasons, more than 5,000 to 6,000 tons produced," whereas, by a proper use of the water power, available in the neighbourhood, that amount could easily be five times multiplied—(pp. 30, 31.)

marvellous to see the progress in these respects already made, not by a few individuals, but by hundreds, and even thousands.

"Free villages," as they are termed, have been extensively established; they had their origin in the constant disputes between a large and respectable portion of the emancipated negroes and their former masters, who in many cases offered an insufficient rate of wages, which the peasantry were unwilling to take; whereupon they were subjected to exaction and arrogance in regard to the rent of their mud cabins and provision grounds, the previously fixed amount was arbitrarily doubled, and even trebled, or each member of a family, from childhood to old age, was charged with payment for permission to remain on an estate; and in some instances they were forcibly ejected from their hovels, their live stock killed, and their growing crops destroyed.

The negroes naturally desired to escape the species of villinage to which they were being subjected. One of their first and most considerable attempts was the formation on the borders of Clarendon and Manchester parishes, of a village named Porus. About 1,500 settled there, having bought land in small lots; but, unfortunately, much of the soil has proved of bad quality. A Mr. Andrew Drummond about the same time bought 700 acres for £600 currency, and sold it in small lots (excepting about twenty reserved acres) for £2,000.* At the Baptist station of *Sligo Ville*, so called from the delightful country seat of Lord Sligo, some fifty acres of fertile mountain land were divided into 150 freehold lots, which were gradually purchased by the negroes, and a similar course was I believe adopted at the Wesleyan mission villages of *Brown's Town*, *Beechamville*, and *Watsonville*, in St. Ann's parish; *Guy's Hill*, in St. Thomas-in-the-Vale, and other places. Then again the negroes frequently formed distinct settlements in the following manner: out of their scanty earnings they clubbed together funds which they placed in the hands of their respective ministers, to be invested in the purchase of such suitable landed properties as might come into the market. A Baptist missionary (the Rev. John Clarke) has recorded in a letter (dated February, 1852), addressed to the excellent Joseph Sturge, of Birmingham, some evidences illustrative of the beneficial results of this plan. The first purchase he made consisted of a property containing 120 acres of good land, distant about eight miles from Brown's Town, where a Wesleyan mission was established in 1835; the cost, with the expenses of conveying and surveying, was £700; of this sum £400 was paid down by about eighty or ninety of the negroes, and the remainder was contributed by instalments, and by additional purchasers; one hundred building lots were laid out, with an acre of provision-ground to each; on these neat cottages were built; a house on the property was converted into a school, and a chapel and mission-house were subsequently erected. The settlement was called *Sturge Town*, and its condition was thus described by Messrs. Candler and Alexander during their visit to Jamaica, in 1850:—

"Population, 541; houses wattled and shingled, 103; wattled and thatched, 2; huts, 6; total number of houses, 111; floor of apartments boarded, 45; terraced, 163. Families, 113; parents, 228; children and unmarried per-

sons, 313. Children who attend the day-school, 112. Sabbath-school, 200. Copies of the Scriptures, 187. Each house has its separate acre of land, where, in addition to provisions, pimento is frequently cultivated, and in some instances sugar-cane. There are also in the village some small wooden mills for grinding the cane, and on almost all the little properties some simple contrivance for expressing its juice. Such villages, built on the summit or slope of some fine hill, interspersed with bananas and plantains, and shaded by mangoes and bread-fruit trees, have a very pleasing appearance, and greatly enliven the face of nature. The moral condition of Sturge Town is, we believe, superior to most that have not the advantage it possesses of a resident missionary. The minister of the station, Mr. Samuel Hodges, for the last seven or eight years, has laboured with much devotedness to promote the temporal and spiritual welfare of the people."

Clarkson-Ville was established on a property of 600 acres, the cost of which was nearly £1,500. One hundred families settled there, each possessing a building lot, and one to four acres of provision-grounds. A portion of the land is rocky and mountainous, and did not readily sell. A mission-station and school has been commenced, and is proving a blessing to the neighbourhood. Mr. Francis Johnson, formerly a slave, is the respected and useful minister of the congregation.

Wilberforce, near Brown's Town, has forty families comfortably located on a small piece of land.

Stepney contains 100 acres, which were bought for £300; it is a picturesque village, with a commodious school-house and place of worship. Numerous other hamlets have been built in different parts of the island on land which the negroes have bought at prices varying from £3 to £12 per acre, according to its situation and productiveness. Their designations show the feelings of the people; some, like those already named, indicate the grateful veneration with which they regard the leaders of the great national movement, that struck off their fetters; among others denoting glad and grateful sentiments, may be mentioned *Bethany*, *Salem*, *Philadelphia*, *Goshen*, *Providence*, *Harmony*, *Standfast*, *Happy*, and *Liberty Valleys*. Several have English names, such as *Stepney*, *Homerton*, *Highbury*, and *Claremont*. Others still retain their colonial designations, as *Greenhill*, *Thatchfield*, &c. "In almost every one of them there is a small place of worship called a classroom, in which many of the people assemble for devotional exercises every morning, before going forth to labour, and in the evening when the toils of the day are over."† The villagers have naturally become more industrious, thoughtful, and frugal, and are generally desirous of occupying respectable stations in society; a large number have acquired the franchise, and vote for the election of members of the House of Assembly, and for parochial officers. Their agricultural efforts are at present mainly directed to the cultivation of articles required for domestic use, and those for which there is a daily demand in the town markets. A considerable quantity of sugar is even now prepared, and if central manufactories were established, or the *Métayer system* adopted, much more would be produced.

The bare fact that, whereas twenty years ago, there was scarcely any coloured landowners in the island, and that their number is now estimated at upwards of one hundred thousand, places in its strongest light the immense improvement which has taken place in the physical and civil condition of the bulk of the population, and not less so in their moral state, when it is considered how much industry and self-denial

* See evidence of R. M. Martin, before Select Committee of Parliament, on East India produce; 21st July, 1840; p. 255.

† *Anti-Slavery Reporter* of 1st March, 1852, pp. 38, 39.

must have been exercised to enable a negro to lay by out of his small earnings sufficient for the purchase of a piece of land, which once obtained, he never tires in improving, and never parts with but for a larger or better homestead. The free villages are very beneficial to the sugar or coffee estates in their vicinity, provided the owners or managers manifest a kindly spirit towards the peasantry, who are glad to work four or five days a week for hire, in order that they may add to their money acquisitions for the purchase of clothes, or to invest in the improvement or extension of their own little properties. Gradually they are adding to their marketable and exportable products; coffee, pimento, ginger, arrow-root, cocoanuts,* wax, and honey, are now in this list, to which it is to be hoped cotton may soon be added.†

Nor is it only as cottier proprietors that the industry of the negro is manifested; when unable, from want of funds or other causes, to purchase a legal right to land, they often settle as "squatters" on the mountains, where I have seen them in secluded dells and on the steep slopes of hills, cutting down the forests, burning the brushwood, planting potatoes and maize, creating gardens in the wilderness, and toiling with an energy and continuousness that gave the fullest contradiction to the assertion, of the Jamaica negro creole being indolent, or at best fitful, in his work.

GEOLOGY.—The lowest formation of the island, according to the observations of a distinguished geologist (Sir Henry de la Bèche), consists of a slaty schist; above it blue limestone, next grauwacke, surmounted by red sandstone with seams of clay. More recent investigators assert that the base of Jamaica is porphyry, sienite, and greenstone, supporting deposition and transition rocks. White and blue limestone abound, as does also quartz of different varieties. The lower mountains, near Kingston, are principally composed of a whitish bastard marble, of a smooth even grain, which takes a good polish; it is frequently used as limestone. In some places a kind of *ribbon* rock is observable, formed of alternate porphyry, trap, hornstone, and petro-silex; in other localities basalts appear in strata, under cover of different incumbent rocks, and are also found in amorphous masses, but never in the columnar form, which they are supposed to assume only on being exposed to sudden refrigeration, by the action of the external air, and when freed from the pressure of incumbent rocks.

* It is really wonderful what a degree of economy and intelligence these people manifest in making the most of their limited means, and the results of this earnestness will probably in a few years become very striking. On a space of from two to five acres (the average of negro properties being about three) may be seen an extraordinary variety of the tropical trees, most prized for their fruit, as well as eminently conspicuous for their beauty. There is the tall and graceful cocoa-nut; different kinds of the citron tribe, with evergreen foliage, golden fruit, and delicately white and fragrant blossoms; the star-apple, with parti-coloured leaves of shining green on one side, and on the other of a bright bay; the papaw, whose large fruit has the singular property of rendering tender the toughest meat, by a few drops of its juice; the mango, which, though introduced at no very distant period, now towers around every homestead; and the bread-fruit, with its enormous leaves eighteen inches in length, and bunches of fruit of proportionate size. Rows of young plantain trees rise from amid the verdant carpet formed by the broad leaves of the coco (*cocolaria esculenta*), and in another part of the ground,

The diffusion of the white limestone is very extensive; it constitutes whole ranges of hills, as in the parishes of Manchester, St. Catherine, St. Thomas-in-the-Vale, and St. Ann's, also the Long Mountain near Kingston; pervading, in fact, nearly all the midland, and by far the greater portion of the whole island. It is characterized by being hollowed into innumerable holes and cavities, among which the falling rains immediately disappear; hence arises the general scarcity of springs, the occasional sinking of rivers in districts principally composed of these rocks, and the necessity the inhabitants experience for the construction of tanks. The Port Royal and St. Andrew mountains are composed of white limestone, porphyry, sienite, greenstone, red porphyritic, conglomerate and silicious sandstones, with red sandstones and conglomerates of an older date. Rounded pieces of all these rocks form the diluvial gravel of Liguanea Plain. The surface of St. Catherine Plain, or *Vega*, consists, for the most part, of an earthy clay; the immediate substratum is generally a silicious sand of varying depth. Beneath the sand is a blue clay-overlying strata, in which are water springs. The talus of the neighbouring hills is fragmentary limestone, mingled abundantly with a red friable earth, highly charged with oxide of iron. A black carbonate of iron, in the form of ferruginous sand, may be always observed in the water-courses of the streets of Spanish Town after rain-floods. On some parts of the banks of the river Cobre, a humid brick mould formed from disintegrated trap rocks, lies to a considerable depth; in this mould small particles of gold are found, and the river soil is slightly auriferous. The pebbles within the stream are composed of angular masses of black basalt, green serpentine with mottlings of white, a brown grit, and pebbles of porphyry, and compact limestone. The detrital washings of these rocks compose the river sand.

Crystalline spar, in small detached masses, is seen in various parts of the island; rock-spar, very clear, and in masses of great size, is obtainable in the mountains of St. Ann, where it constitutes entire strata. Mixed and purplish coloured schist is common in the mountains of St. John, and also the hard lamellated amianthus, in a form resembling petrified wood. Argillaceous slate forms a considerable feature in the Blue Mountains, but the greater part of the higher range appeared to me to be trappean. The united action of heat and pressure has formed several conglomerates. The convulsive submarine impulses which the island has received, have greatly the luxuriant yam twines its slender stems up tall poles, while melons and gourds trail along the surface. A little patch of sugar-cane occupies one corner; a few bunches of the castor oil plant, or of the cassava, another, with two or three cotton trees—not the lowland giant of that name, but the Malvaceous shrub that here throws out its snowy bunches of genuine cotton. A small tract, carefully cultivated and kept free from weeds, is usually exclusively devoted to the growth of those useful and closely-allied plants, arrow-root and ginger, each consisting of succulent green shoots, formed by the sheathing leaves, and the former displaying handsome heads of scaly flowers.

† A poor man in Jamaica has recently invented a "gin," for separating the wool from the seed, of such simple and cheap construction, as to induce the House of Assembly to give the inventor a small sum of money in acknowledgment of this useful exercise of his mechanical genius. I saw this simple but effective machine tried by the intelligent Speaker of the Assembly, Mr. M'Larty Morales, who stated that he was devoting a portion of his estate to the cultivation of cotton.

disrupted the several formations, and changed the horizontal continuity of various masses.

When Sir Henry de la Bèche wrote his able sketch of the geology of Jamaica, the science, to whose progress he has so largely contributed, was comparatively new, and the island was, as it is even now, but imperfectly examined. Mr. Richard Hill, of Spanish Town, who has done much to illustrate this as well as other portions of the natural history of his native land, thinks that Dr. Darwin's sections of the Andes, some four times repeated, would correctly delineate the geology of Jamaica.

Fossil corals are imbedded in the chalky white limestone, and the teeth of sharks have been found at Bath estate, in the parish of Westmoreland, and at or near Prospect estate, in the parish of Portland. Similar fossil teeth have been obtained at Malta, and in the United States of America, being, in some instances, six inches long, and five wide at the base. The white shark, and other large species of the genus *carcharias productus*, and *carcharodon*, which possess cutting triangular teeth, crenated (finely notched) on their margins, with a broad base, and respectively hollow or solid in the centre, are at the present time known to attain a size of forty feet; but this magnitude is far inferior to that attributable to the extinct species, which, judging from the teeth found in the tertiary deposits of this, and other countries above alluded to, must have been from 60 to 100 feet in length.—(*Jamaica Monthly Magazine*, June, 1838.)

MINERALOGY.—The geological formation of Jamaica indicates the presence of metals—among which may be named gold, silver, copper, lead, and iron—all of which have been found in the neighbouring islands of Cuba and Hayti. Long says (vol. ii., p. 240.) that "it is very certain" the Spaniards obtained both gold and silver here; and adds—"the bells which hung in the great church at St. Jago de la Vega, when the English took possession, were cast of copper produced in the island."

"Lead ore likewise abounds here, richly impregnated with silver." A silver mine is said to have been worked by the Spaniards in the Health-shire Hills, in St. Catherine's, and ruins of works are found in several places, some arched with brick, and having regular paved or flagged galleries. Copper has recently been discovered, widely scattered in small deposits, but not as yet in any continuous vein, yielding a steady supply. Owing to the great contortions caused by earthquakes, and other subterranean action, the lodes appear to have been disrupted, and the ore dispersed in masses of various size. In richness, it is equal to any found in Cuba or in Australia, and especially so as regards the grey carbonate, which has been ascertained to contain 60 to 70 per cent. of pure copper. The blue carbonate and the sulphates are also rich, and gold and silver have been traced, mingled with different varieties of the ore. Several companies are now searching for a continuous and available lode, of which the miners entertain confident hopes. Judging from the copper I saw myself in the Blue Mountain range, and its collateral buttresses, and that obtained from other localities, there is a fair field open for enterprise; if successful, the result must be advantageous to the island by drawing labour thither and furnishing a profitable article of export.

THE SOIL is of various descriptions, differing in depth and fertility. On the north side of the island it is generally of a chocolate colour, in other parts a

bright yellow, and remarkable for a shining surface when first turned up, and for staining the skin like paint when wetted; it appears to consist mainly of a chalky marl, containing a large proportion of calcareous matter; the earth, termed "brick mould," is deep and mellow, on a retentive under strata; this, next to the ash mould of St. Christopher's, is considered the best soil in the West Indies for the sugar-cane. A red earth abounds most in the hilly lands, and a purple loam, sometimes mixed with a sandy soil, in the savannas and low lands. The principal soils on the interior hills and mountains may be thus enumerated—a red clay on a white marl; a red clay on a grit; a reddish brown clay on marl; a yellowish clay, mixed with common mould; a red grit; a loose shelly mould; a black mould on a clay or other substrate; a loose black vegetable mould on rock; a fine sand; and varieties of all the foregoing. The mountain-land, even to the highest summits, when first cleared of wood, possesses more or less a deep surface of rich black mould mixed with shells; a soil which will grow anything. The brick mould (a compound of very fine particles of clay, sand, and black mould), is even more productive, but far less extensively distributed. It is often of great depth, easily laboured, and so inexhaustible as scarcely to require manure; during droughts it retains sufficient moisture to preserve the cane-root from perishing, and in very wet seasons it suffers the superfluous waters to percolate, so that the roots are never in danger of being rotted; next in fecundity is the black shell mould, previously mentioned, which owes its fertility to the mineral salts and exuvie intermingled with it. The soil about Kingston, on the Liguanea Plain, consists of a layer of deep mould, chiefly composed of decayed vegetable matter, with a proportion of marl and some carbonate of lime, entirely free from gravel, and highly absorbent of water: the substratum varies, being sometimes a compact aluminous earth alone, in other places mixed with gravel; in sinking a shaft, layers of aluminous earth and gravel are found, running horizontally, approaching to pure clay at the bottom, and at four feet from the surface a strata of finely pulverized silica. Around Stony Hill, the surface is similar to what is frequently met with in elevated situations in Jamaica, namely, a rich dark mould, varying in depth from two to twenty inches, with a substratum of argillaceous and red earth, evidently containing a mixture of carbonate of iron; and in many parts the surface of the ground studded with limestones of a very large size. Mica frequently occurs, especially among the hills between St. Catherine's Parish and Sixteen Mile-Walk, and when washed down with the floods may be easily mistaken for golden sand: near Spanish Town it is found incorporated with potter's clay.

CLIMATE.—Although situated within the tropics, extraordinary varieties of temperature characterize different parts of the island, occasioned by distinct degrees of elevation, position north or south of the dividing range, and exposure to the winds on the eastern or western coast. At Kingston, the medium temperature throughout the year is 80°. The heat is mitigated by sea and land breezes, and by the dense canopy which masses of cloud occasionally interpose between the almost vertical rays of the sun and the earth. The difference between the heat of the coast districts and that of the elevated regions in the interior may be illustrated in the range of the thermometer (F.) at *Up-Park Camp*, near Kingston,

and at the agreeable mansion termed *Pleasant Hill*, opposite St. Catherine's Hill, in the Port Royal Mountains, about 4,000 feet above the sea.

Months.	Pleasant Hill.	Up-Park Camp.	Mean of each.		Difference.
January . . .	61° to 64°	71° to 84°	63°	77°	14°
February . . .	61 " 66	72 " 84	63	78	15
March . . .	62 " 66	77 " 86	64	81	17
April . . .	63 " 71	79 " 87	67	83	16
May . . .	65 " 73	75 " 87	69	82	13
June . . .	66 " 75	78 " 86	70	82	12
July . . .	70 " 79	77 " 89	74	83	9
August . . .	69 " 81	77 " 87	75	82	7
September . . .	69 " 79	76 " 89	74	82	8
October . . .	66 " 72	74 " 86	69	80	11
November . . .	65 " 70	73 " 85	67	79	12
December . . .	62 " 68	73 " 84	65	78	13
Annual Mean	65 to 52	75 to 86	68	81	13

Note.—Fractions of degrees omitted.

In examining the above table, it must be borne in mind that although 80° of Fahrenheit's thermometer does not denote an oppressive degree of heat (for the mercury frequently attains that height in England during the summer months); yet every degree beyond that point is felt by the human frame in a greatly increased ratio. At *Pleasant Hill* the mercury reached 81° during only one month in the year; at Up Park Camp, it ranged to 84° every month, and for two months to 89°; the difference at the hottest period is very material, inasmuch as it makes the distinction between an enjoyable and a very trying temperature.

I have often experienced, in different parts of the globe, the rapid diminution of temperature consequent upon exchanging a lowland for a highland climate, but never more remarkably than in this part of Jamaica. In the middle of May I left the hospitable mansion of Mr. Atkinson at 6 A.M., after a restless and feverish night on the plain of Liguanea, not far from Up-Park Camp; and at noon, under the guidance of a kind friend, reached *Pleasant Hill*, part of the journey having been performed in a carriage, and the remainder on mules, over narrow mountain roads, down steep declivities, across the rapid Yallahs River, and amid grand, picturesque, and ever varying scenery. The change of climate was delicious, the air cool, fragrant with the white and red rose, and perfumed with the orange blossom; on the Liguanea Plain during the previous night the lightest covering had been scarcely bearable, yet at *Pleasant Hill* a couple of blankets were agreeable. At *Abbey Green*, about 5,000 feet above the sea, the highest habitation, and coffee plantation in the island, a fire during the evenings in June was acceptable. Mr. Coppard, the proprietor of this estate,* is a good specimen of rude health, and as active and energetic as if still dwelling in his native county of Sussex; never, in fact, feeling ill, though all day out of doors. On the 21st May, I rode thirty miles in the mountains, and was on horseback ten hours, without suffering much fatigue, a day's work not easily accomplishable in the lowlands.

At Stony Hill, nine miles from Kingston, and 2,000 feet above the sea, the thermometer is generally, during the hot months, 74° at 6 A.M., 82° at 2 P.M., and 80° at 6 P.M.; during the cold months

* Excellent potatoes, peas, and other English vegetables, including carrots of large size, are cultivated here in great perfection.

DIV. VIII.

at corresponding hours, 68°, 75°, and 73°; in November and December, when the north winds prevail, the mercury falls as low as 66° Fahrenheit.

At Maroon Town, formerly Trelawney, situated on a high mountain between the parishes of Westmoreland and St. James, the thermometer seldom or ever rises higher than 71° or 72° at noon, falling during the night and early part of the morning as low as 50° and 52°. The troops stationed here, have for several years, enjoyed excellent health; and, in 1795, when the yellow fever was at its height in Jamaica, a newly raised regiment, the 83rd, did not lose a man from this malady.

The four seasons may be described as that of vernal or moderate rains, in April and May, lasting six weeks; the summer hot and dry, including June, July, and August; the autumn, the dreaded period of hurricane and heavy rains, often lasting through September, October, and November; and the winter serene and cool, comprising December, January, February, and March.

Considerable allowance must, however, be made for the differences occasioned by aspect and local circumstances, between places on the northern or on the southern side of the island; the winter is always longer on the former coast:—westerly winds prevail at this season over the whole space between Jamaica and Cuba, and even as far as Hayti.

Hurricanes have several times ravaged different parts of the colony. On the 3rd of October, 1780, a terrific storm destroyed an immense quantity of property; in one parish alone the damage was estimated at £700,000. The town of Savanna-la-Mar was entirely swept away by the sea, and 300 persons perished. Several men-of-war foundered, were wrecked, or dismasted. The merchants of Kingston subscribed £10,000, and the British Parliament voted £40,000 for the relief of the sufferers.

Rain,—the quantity which falls during some seasons is enormous. The northern side of the island receives a larger amount than the southern, distributed in smaller but more frequent showers. I have vainly endeavoured to procure returns of the quantity which has of late years fallen at Kingston or Spanish Town. At Manchioneal the quantity which fell from 1831 to 1839, dividing the early or May from the latter, or September rains, is thus shown—

Year.	1st January to 31st August.		1st September to 31st Decem.		Total.	
	In.	Parts.	In.	Parts.	In.	Parts.
1831	55	55	45	57	101	12
1832	63	13	40	32	103	45
1833	73	83	54	13	127	96
1834	60	4	62	87	122	91
1835	86	98	35	14	122	12
1836	37	45	21	68	59	13
1837	75	1	21	43	96	44
1838	62	80	53	39	116	19
1839	30	64	51	78	82	37

Sir Hans Sloane states the amount at Spanish Town, in 1688, to have been upwards of 100 inches. Long, in 1774, makes it much less, and considers that 65 to 70 inches is about the annual mean for the whole island. At Newcastle barracks the annual fall is found to be 70 inches. Even this measurement, compared with that of climates in the temperate zone, is very large; for example, only 35 inches fell in England, in 1852, yet this was the largest quantity registered in any twelve months during the previous forty years.

That the climate is not inimical to the human constitution is evident from the long lives and good health enjoyed by Europeans and negroes of regular and moderate habits; and indeed a degree of intemperance, which in many countries would be speedily followed by death or disease, here often and long escapes with comparative impunity. Governor Modyford, in a letter to the secretary of state, Lord Arlington, dated 1665, observes, with regard to the healthiness of the island, "really, my lord, no man hath died but an account hath been given—y^t e gott his decease either by surfeits or travelling at high noone in a hott day—or being wett with rain, and not changing in season. The Spaniards, at their first coming, (I mean those who trade with the Royall Company) wondered much at the sickness of some of our people; but when they understood of the strength of their drinks, and the great quantity they charged themselves with, and the little observation of times and seasons, they told me they wondered more they were not all dead." There have been several instances of whites, mulattoes, and negroes attaining a great age in the island. Colonel Montague James, the first white person born in Jamaica after its conquest from the Spaniards, lived to the age of 104; it is stated that for the last thirty years of his life he took scarcely any other food than chocolate.* Long says he knew three white inhabitants of the island who were upwards of 100 years of age, and he speaks of others living when he wrote his work, who were beyond ninety. These persons, he says, were not decrepit; they were able to stir about, had good appetites, and moderately sound faculties. Among the numerous instances of longevity among the coloured people, the following are well attested. A negress who arrived in Jamaica four days after the destruction of Port Royal, died in 1834, aged at least, 148 years. Another lived to the age of 151, and in the early part of 1850, a black man died on the property of Mr. Justice MacDougal, who had attained 130 years. A creole negro, well known as "Old Hope," who was baptized shortly before his death, on 31st May, 1815, by the name of Roger Hope Elletson, lived upwards of 140 years. He was full six feet high, and must have possessed great vigour; twelve months before his demise he could walk from Hope estate to Kingston (between six and seven miles) and back in the same day. His head was well covered with hair, very slightly tinged with grey; he had lost one eye by an accident, but the sight of the other was perfect, and he retained some of his teeth to the last. All his other senses were good, and his mental faculties unimpaired. He had never been ailing, never drunk rum or any ardent spirit, was never treated with harshness or severity, but had always had good masters and overseers. In the early part of 1819, he began to decline by imperceptible gradations, and quietly expired without any bodily pain or mental anxiety, on Whit Monday, 31st May, 1819.† There are perhaps few other parts of the globe where an African, Creole, and European population can, within the same limited space, find climates adapted to sustain the peculiar energies, and preserve the healthy condition of each race.

* See Bryan Edwards' *History of the West Indies*, and also Dr. Binn's Essay on Cocoa and Chocolate, in Simmonds' *Colonial Magazine*, vol. ii. p. 210.

† Derived from an account printed in H.M. printing office, Kingston, 1819.

‡ See Valuable Report of Dr. Milroy to H.M. Secretary of State, in 1852.

DISEASES.—Yellow, or continued fever, has, on several occasions, afflicted Jamaica; other forms of the same malady, of a typhoid, remittent, and intermittent character, together with dysentery, diarrhoea, rheumatism, and influenza, are the most prevalent disorders extant. The negroes, owing to poor diet and unhealthy locations, suffer greatly from cutaneous eruptions, ulcers, and *yaws*, a species of leprosy. Recently the island has been severely visited by cholera, which chiefly attacked the coloured population; very few white persons died, although freely mingling with the sick. The progress of this formidable epidemic in the West Indies, and in the New World, is worthy of chronological record:—

1832.—Cholera appeared at Quebec, Montreal, Upper Canada, and the north-west states of the American Union; and thence it spread to New Orleans.

1833.—It reached Cuba, where the mortality was very great; at the city of Havanna above 10,000 people died; and in the country districts from a fourth to a half of the entire black population perished.

1834.—Different parts of the New World were affected, Halifax and Charleston for the first time.

1835.—It still lingered in the southern states of the Union and at Cuba.

1836.—At the end of this year all traces of it disappeared; and for twelve years it was not heard of in America or in the West Indies.

1848.—(December). It appeared nearly simultaneously at New Orleans and at New York, followed the track of the great rivers, spread over every part of the Union, and descended the St. Lawrence to Montreal and Quebec.

1849.—The Mexican Gulf was visited by the disease, which proceeded along the line of the Magdalena River up to the city of Bogota, which is 9,000 feet above the sea, and several hundred miles from the coast.

1850.—(March), Cuba was attacked; in June, Mexico and the Mexican coast; also the North American cities, especially the southern ones; the President died at Washington of the disease.‡

On 7th October of this year, the fearful pestilence appeared in Port Royal; on the 9th, at Kingston; and on the 18th, at Spanish Town. Thence it spread over different parts of the island, raging particularly at such places as invited the pestilence by their marshy or uncleanly state, as previously shown in the topography.

The great amount of sickness, and the rapid destruction of life which attended it, caused an almost complete prostration of the industrial pursuits of the colony, a very enhanced price for labour, and even the abandonment of many estates. At Bath and Plantain Garden River districts, in the parish of St. Thomas-in-the-East, which contains numerous sugar estates, the population was estimated at 8,000; of these 1,708 were swept off in a few weeks. According to returns laid before the House of Assembly, 1851-'52, the numbers who perished by this fearful scourge are thus stated—(from George, Metcalfe, Catherine, and Ann parishes, the returns are imperfect; and the mortality has been guessed at):—Kingston, 3,675; St. Andrew, 2,012; Port Royal, 474; St. David, 802; St. Thomas-in-the-East, 2,626; Portland, 305; St. George, 800; Metcalfe, 1,345; St. Catherine, 2,400; Dorothy, 358; Vere, 782; Clarendon, 892; Manchester, 20; St. Ann, 1,531; St. Mary, 2,319; St.

The amount of sickness and death has greatly varied at different stations; during six years ending with 1822, the ratio of mortality at several barracks, was—Up-Park-Camp, 1 in 5; Port Maria, 1 in 3½; Savanna-la-Mar, 1 in 7; Spanish Town, 1 in 6½; Port Antonio, 1 in 6½; Port Royal, 1 in 8½; Montego Bay, 1 in 10½; Stoney Hill, 1 in 11½; Fort Augusta, 1 in 16; Falmouth, 1 in 10½; Lucea, 1 in 14½; Maroon Town, 1 in 64.

By the removal of the troops to Newcastle, the mortality of the European soldiers has been diminished to *one-fourth* of its former amount; and it might be still further reduced, but for the pernicious evils of the "canteen system," by which an ever present temptation is offered to the soldier, the government making a large item of revenue by renting the privilege of selling spirits, &c., at a heavy annual sum. At Newcastle, for instance, the rent of the canteen-shop is £900 per annum, and the soldier, already fevered by the climate, drinks new rum per force; for cooling drinks, tea, coffee, &c., are not placed within his reach; beer is a shilling a bottle, and there are no light wines to be had.

The quarantine law, according to the recent report of the Central Board of Health, as at present conducted, is "an irksome incumbrance, interrupting commerce, obstructing national intercourse, perilling life, fostering and engendering disease, and squandering large sums of public revenue."—(Report, p. 71.)

The board, therefore, recommend a revision of the existing laws on the subject.

Return showing the Average Strength, Admissions into Hospital, and Deaths, &c., of the Troops stationed at Newcastle, 4,000 feet above the sea.

Year.	Average strength.	Admissions.	Deaths.	Ratio of admissions per 1,000 of mean strength.	Ratio of deaths per 1,000 of mean strength.
1842	632	647	15	1.023	23.0
1843	633	502	11	793	17.0
1844	614	1,038	13	1.690	21.0
1845	582	559	5	960	8.5
1846	590	662	9	1.122	15.0
1847	456	491	13	1.076	28.0
1848	471	434	12	921	25.0
1849	437	454	2	1.038	4.5
1850	414	431	7	1.041	16.9
1851	433	455	24	1.050	55.0
Total .	5,262	5,673	111	—	—
Average	526	567	11	1.077	20.9 or 21

Note.—¹ Year of cholera.

At Newcastle, 1,077 per 1,000 of strength admitted annually
 " 21 per 1,000 " died annually.

CHAPTER IV.

POPULATION, WHITE AND COLOURED—RELIGION—EDUCATION—PRESS—CRIME—GOVERNMENT—FINANCE—COMMERCE—AGRICULTURE, AND SUMMARY.

THE statistics of population are more imperfect in Jamaica than in any other British settlement. During slavery there was naturally a desire to withhold, as far as possible, all information calculated to illustrate the frightful decrease constantly taking place in the slave population. Since emancipation, only one census (1844) has been taken. It was deemed advisable that, in the year 1851, an enumeration of the subjects of the crown should be made throughout the empire, and the Governor in October, 1850, suggested to the Assembly that it was "desirable to make arrangements for having the population of Jamaica numbered at the same time." This recommendation met with no response.

The island annals are far from affording materials for a succinct account of the progress of the colony, with regard to its increase by slave importation, by free immigration, or by births. The Journals of the Assembly, however, record some valuable, though fragmentary, evidence on this head.

The earliest statistical document illustrates the condition of the island at Lord Windsor's departure, 28th October,

1662; there were then—men, 2,600; women, 645; children, 408; negroes, 552; acres planted, 2,917. In June, 1670, the roll of officers and men in six regiments of militia (one of cavalry and five of infantry) gives 2,720 men; and a "list of the ships under the command of Admiral Morgan," comprises, *English*, 28 vessels; tons, 1,120; guns, 180; men, 1,326. *French*, 8 vessels; tons, 465; guns, 95; men, 520.

The following census, taken in 1673, shows the parishes then formed:—

Parishes.	Men.	Women.	Children.	Negro Slaves.
St. George . .	60	17	21	20
St. James . .	89	20	16	22
St. Mary . .	78	15	13	79
St. Anne . .	86	24	25	28
St. John . .	246	82	100	745
St. Thomas . .	475	166	171	1,570
St. David . .	173	84	105	735
Clarendon . .	460	169	234	1,123
St. Elizabeth . .	270	57	61	783
St. Andrew . .	565	274	430	1,408
St. Catherine . .	834	569	110	2,679
Port Royal . .	714	529	426	312
Total . .	4,050	2,006	1,712	9,504

Note.—There were, besides, 800 seamen belonging to ships; and privateers, who offered themselves for the defence of the island, then threatened by the Spaniards.

PROPORTIONATE PROGRESS OF SLAVE AND FREE POPULATION. 93

* The manner in which England followed the example set by Spain, in the introduction of labour obtained by violence to cultivate the fair land, whose native owners had been exterminated for the gratification of the most shameless and cruel avarice, has been detailed in the preceding chapter (see p. 25), as

far as imperfect data would allow; the following table shows the distribution of the slaves in the various parishes, at intervals during the century preceding emancipation, and the total amount of the whole coloured inhabitants according to the census of 1844.

Counties and Parishes.	Slaves.							Free.
	1734. ¹	1768.	1787. ²	1808.	1812.	1824. ³	1834. ⁴	1844. ⁵
Surrey—								
Kingston	3,811	5,779	16,659	6,649	5,370	6,095	12,578	28,690
St. Andrew	7,631	9,813	9,613	17,262	16,570	15,316	13,785	18,036
Port Royal	1,548	1,432	2,229	8,149	7,980	6,407	6,264	6,647
St. David	1,540	2,316	2,881	7,479	7,203	7,704	7,608	6,446
St. Thomas-in-the-East .	6,176	14,624	20,492	27,455	26,291	24,789	22,799	24,836
Portland	640	2,813	4,537	7,932	7,440	8,018	6,875	8,276
St. George	1,085	2,765	5,050	13,136	13,400	12,655	11,760	8,560
Metcalf								
Middlesex—								
St. Catherine	5,502	7,308	5,304	8,272	8,479	7,357	8,525	11,941
Dorothy	2,298	3,665	3,129	5,017	5,130	4,759	5,383	5,083
Vere	3,582	5,940	7,487	10,700	14,359	7,159	8,377	8,262
Clarendon	10,769	15,517	14,747	21,235	20,228	17,608	15,905	16,875
Manchester	—	—	—	—	—	17,416	18,774	21,380
St. Ann	4,441	8,320	13,324	24,118	23,702	24,761	25,128	24,637
St. Mary	2,938	12,159	17,144	26,139	25,781	25,402	23,736	15,239
St. John	5,242	5,455	5,880	7,279	6,690	6,295	6,176	8,039
St. Thomas-in-the-Vale .	7,568	8,382	7,459	11,952	11,973	12,060	10,368	15,377
Cornwall—								
St. Elizabeth	7,046	10,110	13,280	23,600	22,280	18,350	19,858	24,634
Westmoreland	9,081	15,186	16,700	20,888	21,019	21,216	19,971	23,666
Hanover	3,339	13,571	17,612	23,004	23,167	22,256	20,552	20,994
St. James	2,297	21,579	18,546	24,872	24,970	24,130	21,904	24,572
Trelawney	—	11,739	19,318	28,629	27,950	26,795	25,042	25,836
Total	86,534	178,473	221,391	323,827	319,982	316,538	311,368	361,571

Note.—¹ The returns for 1734 are from the House of Assembly Journals, vol. i. ² Edwards says that one-seventh part of the whole was not returned in the rolls of 1787. ³ Bridges' average of 1823-4. ⁴ The population of 1834 is from the Valuator's return, on abolition of slavery; and that of 1844 is derived from the census of that year, by adding the black and coloured population together.—The parish of Manchester was formed, in 1814, out of St. Elizabeth, Vere, and Clarendon parishes; that of Metcalf, in 1841, out of St. George and St. Mary. ⁵ General census.

Respecting the increase of the population by births, and its decrease by deaths, there is no correct evidence whatever; all that can be stated with certainty is, that there was, on the whole, a heavy annual diminution, which was, however, more than counterbalanced by fresh importations. The decrease of a branch of so proverbially prolific a race, can be attributed to no other cause than the inherent evils of slavery, manifested more especially in the ill-treatment and insufficient food often allotted to adults, and the premature births resulting from the practice of flogging women during pregnancy; infanticide, or wilfully-procured abortion was, moreover, a frequent crime, committed by the wretched parents to save their offspring from a life of bondage. The mortality of slave infants was excessive. Dr. Maxwell, some years ago, estimated from the results of an extensive course of observation, for a series of years during slavery, that no less than a fourth part of the whole of the negro children perished from one disease alone; viz., *tetanus nascentium*, a species of lock-jaw developed soon after birth; in some districts the loss was considerably higher. It is to be feared that the present generation are comparatively enfeebled, by the injuries inflicted upon them, or upon their immediate progenitors; for, in the Report of a Committee of the Assembly in 1846, on the condition of the rural classes as affected by the want of proper medical assistance, it is stated that "one-

fourth of the black infant population die from the first to the eighth day after birth."

The relative proportions of the white, slave, and free coloured inhabitants, are thus shown at intervals ranging from 1658 to 1851; but the statements must only be regarded as approximate.

Year.	Whites.	Free Coloured.	Slaves.
1658	4,500	—	1,400
1670	7,500	—	8,000
1698	7,365	—	40,000
1734	7,644	—	86,534
1746	10,000	—	112,428
1768	17,947	3,408	176,914
1775	12,737	4,093	192,787
1788	23,000	—	256,000
1800 ¹	30,000	10,000	300,000
1807	—	—	360,000
1817	—	—	346,000
1829	—	—	324,420
1834	—	35,000	310,368
1844	15,776	361,657	—
1851	15,000	450,000	—

Note.—¹ According to Edwards (vol. v., p. 57) the slaves imported from 30th of September, 1800, to 30th September, 1806, were 86,821, and the number re-exported was 7,886. There are no returns where the dash (—) is inserted.

94 CENSUS OF JAMAICA TAKEN IN 1844.—DESCENT, AGE, ETC.

A general census of Jamaica was taken in 1844, and though by no means so full or so accurate as those made in some of the neighbouring islands, it still affords much valuable information :—

Counties and Parishes.	Inhabited Houses.	Sugar Estates.	Coffee Plantations.	Breeding Pens.	Pens, with Residences.	Farms, &c.	Population.			Colour.					
							Males.	Fe- males.	Total.	White.		Coloured.		Black.	
										Males.	Fe- males.	Males.	Fe- males.	Males.	Fe- males.
<i>Middlesex—</i>															
St. Catherine . . .	838	5	—	19	82	332	5,857	6,938	12,795	484	370	1,412	1,997	3,961	4,571
St. Dorothy . . .	89	10	1	17	—	428	2,628	2,637	5,265	122	60	454	436	2,062	2,141
St. John . . .	—	10	6	—	11	1,133	3,940	4,245	8,185	96	50	577	632	3,267	3,563
St. Thomas in the Vale . . .	80	24	5	4	—	1,781	7,719	7,981	15,700	218	105	1,137	1,200	6,364	6,676
Clarendon . . .	—	41	138	10	48	602	8,504	8,869	17,373	366	132	1,372	1,296	6,766	7,441
Vere . . .	2	29	—	6	—	821	4,070	4,384	8,454	143	49	477	507	3,450	3,828
Manchester . . .	113	—	161	—	—	2,522	10,886	11,203	22,089	397	306	1,483	1,542	9,006	9,355
St. Mary . . .	147	39	—	2	—	7,767	7,767	7,973	15,730	288	113	1,127	1,218	6,342	6,642
St. Ann . . .	311	32	44	81	174	1,465	12,656	13,167	25,823	663	523	1,856	2,038	10,137	10,806
<i>Surrey—</i>															
Kingston . . .	3,831	—	—	—	52	—	14,285	18,658	32,943	2,203	2,050	4,749	6,840	7,333	9,768
Port Royal . . .	232	3	63	—	7	197	3,335	3,621	6,956	124	85	530	701	2,681	2,735
St. Andrew . . .	282	18	101	—	221	847	9,335	9,625	18,960	500	424	1,355	1,510	7,480	7,691
St. Thomas in the East . . .	629	61	21	13	44	—	12,631	12,681	25,312	356	130	1,390	1,631	10,885	10,920
Portland . . .	195	24	1	10	16	631	4,067	4,474	8,541	139	126	535	638	3,393	3,710
St. George . . .	90	16	27	7	—	395	4,422	4,334	8,756	141	55	635	537	3,646	3,742
St. David . . .	—	10	43	9	—	402	3,158	3,466	6,624	117	61	365	386	2,676	3,019
Metcalfe . . .	102	24	18	11	—	320	6,843	7,002	13,845	212	88	860	942	5,771	5,972
<i>Cornwall—</i>															
St. Elizabeth . . .	104	20	37	91	85	1,965	12,504	12,942	25,446	465	347	2,878	2,833	9,161	9,762
Westmoreland . . .	270	48	—	57	29	1,709	11,778	12,822	24,600	589	345	2,234	2,552	8,955	9,925
Hanover . . .	297	70	—	8	7	717	10,323	11,252	21,575	396	185	1,805	2,042	8,122	9,025
St. James . . .	582	74	1	14	46	1,144	11,988	13,554	25,542	579	391	2,222	2,780	9,187	10,383
Trelawney . . .	1,212	86	4	20	—	193	12,947	14,072	27,019	691	492	2,193	2,625	10,063	10,955
General Total	9,406	644	671	378	822	22,703	181,633	195,800	377,433	9,289	6,487	31,646	36,883	140,698	152,430

The total population is stated by the census at 377,433, of whom 15,776 are white, and 361,657 coloured. Those born in the island numbered 322,992.

The descent of the inhabitants is thus distinguished :—African, 33,519; American, 480; Belgian, 1; British, 1,689; Danish, 3; Dutch, 18; English, 3,450; French, 1,342; German, 615; Haitian, 12; Irish, 1,298; Indian, 1; native, 332,922; Portuguese, 2; Scotch, 1,523; Spanish, 331; South American, 225; Swede, 2.

Profession, trade, or employment.—Artists, 108; architects, 29; agriculturists, 61; bankers, 13; boatmen, 564; clerks, 1,555; fishermen and women, 1,484; household servants, 20,571, (5,181 are males, 11,194 females; of 4,196, sex not distinguished in the returns); labourers, 50,653, (21,633 males, 16,970 females, sex of 12,050 not stated); agricultural labourers, 132,192, (males, 60,958; females, 49,777; of 31,457, sex not stated); lodging house-keepers, 157; ministers of religion, 267; military attached to, 104; military pensioners, 32; mariners, 97; miners, 41; merchants, 433; pilots, 26; policemen, 315; planters, 3,987; professional persons, 453; retail traders, 1,672; surveyors, 86; store-keepers, 544; teachers, 640; master tradesmen, 7,399; journeymen tradesmen, 10,097; tavern-keepers, 59; other various occupations, 948; no occupation, 142,831. (This latter head probably includes a large proportion of women and children, both white and coloured, and also many of the small freeholders, who occasionally work for hire).

Sex.—Is it gratifying to learn from the census of 1844, the rapid establishment of a fair relative

proportion between the sexes, which has taken place since the abolition of slavery. Among the creoles or criolles (a corruption of a Spanish word, signifying native, and consequently applicable to all born in the island, whether of white or coloured parents), the preponderance is in favour of females, an indication of an augmenting population.

Age.—Under 5 years, 51,707; from 5 to 10, 47,221; from 10 to 20, 62,733; from 20 to 40, 121,309; from 40 to 60, 68,499; over 60, 25,963. Nearly one-half the population are between the ages of 10 and 40. Nearly 100,000 (98,928), or more than one-fourth, were born between 1834 and 1844. The increase under the head of children under 6 years of age, between these two periods, by far the greater part of which has taken place since the termination of the apprenticeship system, appears to have been 20,512, which affords a marked contrast to the period of slavery, when a constantly decreasing population furnished the philanthropists with some of their most forcible arguments. Premiums held out by the legislature, and by humane or politic proprietors, had then utterly failed to check this decrease; now, without any factitious aid, the natural law of increase has resumed its operation; so much so, that a recent visitor remarks, concerning Kingston, that he had never seen "a place so abounding in old people and babies. Almost every woman you meet, and of whatever age, has an infant in her arms, or somewhere upon her person, while the streets are littered with children more advanced."

Houses.—In 1844, there were inhabited houses,

with "footland," 9,406; sugar estates, 644; coffee plantations, 671; breeding "pens," or farms, 378; pens with residences, woodland, and pasture land, 822; farms, and other settlements, 22,703.

CHARACTERISTICS OF POPULATION.—The heterogeneous ingredients of which the early population of Jamaica was composed, after the period of its conquest by England, has been partially shown in the previous chapter. Royalists and republicans, Jews and Quakers, have at different times sought shelter here from the violence of political tempests. The warlike attitude which even civilians were compelled to assume in a slave colony, soon banished the peace-loving members of the Society of Friends; but the Jews have multiplied greatly, and are now among the most enterprising and successful traders in the colony. Among the lower class they frequently strike the traveller, who has not before seen a black Jew, very forcibly, the colour and some of the other characteristics of the African race being strangely blended with the marked profile, and unmistakeable lineaments of the Israelite. The varieties of colour resulting from the intercourse of Europeans and Africans are distinguished with nicety by the Spaniards, and are shewn in the annexed diagram, taken, but slightly altered, from Long—*

White man = Negro woman.

Do. = Mulatto.

Do. = Terceron.

Do. = Quateron, or Quadroon.

Do. = Quinteron.

Mestee (nearly white.)

There are mediate or stationary grades, neither advancing nor receding, and retrograding steps by marriage between the mulatto and the negro, whose offspring are termed "Sambos," and are frequently very quick and intelligent people. In Jamaica the quateron was always considered free.

The white creoles—that is, persons born in Jamaica of white parents—are of slender form, very fair, or rather of a waxen hue, and possess pleasing features, with fine gazelle-like eyes. They are characterized by considerable talent, indolent habits, and affectionate, though often proud and irritable temperaments. The coloured race, i.e. those of mixed blood, are tall, of sinewy structure, and well-favoured, especially the women; both sexes partake more largely of the traits of their European, than of their negro progenitors. In early youth, their form and features are remarkable for grace, flexibility, and vivacity; in more advanced life they usually incline to corpulence, and frequently sink into the listless, apathetic, and luxurious habits induced by a seductive climate.

The mestees, and even the quinterons, are often so fair as not to be distinguishable from natives of European descent, but sometimes the dark blood will be manifested more strikingly in the child than in the parent, and at others a singular diversity will be remarkable between own brothers and sisters: thus one or two will be much fairer than the rest, and devoid of the more distinguishing African character-

istics, or woolly hair. The pure negroes differ much from one another, and although a large number of them do not bear the more marked peculiarities observable in the numerous and distinct nations of the western coast of Africa, from whence they were originally taken, yet the origin of many may be easily conjectured, and the descendant of the warlike Coromantine, or the peaceful Eboe, be readily recognised. They are all well made, though they vary much in height and proportions, and the practice of carrying heavy weights on the head, gives them, especially the women, an erect bearing.

The Maroons are a noble-looking race, tall and elegant in person, with an European, rather than an African cast of features, and the independent demeanour of a mountain race. Some of the women are decidedly handsome, and have the complexion of Spanish gipsies. The total number of Maroons was stated, in 1834, at about 1,500; since then their distinctiveness, as a free people, has been merged in general emancipation, and in the last census they are classed with the negro population: their number now may possibly be about 2,000.

There has been some immigration from various quarters since 1834, but the statistics of this as of other important matters, have been so sadly neglected, that it is not possible to present any distinct view of the subject. In 1844-'46, and '47, there were introduced, from the East Indies, 6,932 "Coolies," the name given in Calcutta and some other portions of British India to a large class of the labouring population. The result of this costly and ill-conducted experiment has been referred to (p. 70); the majority of the unfortunate strangers have proved utterly worthless as labourers, and many of them are to be seen in the principal towns, wandering about, and picking up such refuse as they may find in the streets, which they throw into a sort of chiffonier's sack, generally slung over their shoulders. Their lithe and graceful figures, set off by the eastern costume, to which they adhere as far as extreme poverty will permit; their chiselled features, and large, dark, lustrous eyes, render their appearance very striking; and their pertinacious, silent mendicancy, has rather the character of an appeal for justice than for charity. Their presence affords a painful warning of the impolicy as well as inhumanity of lavishing large sums upon the introduction of ill-selected labour. The money thus worse than wasted, in adding to the burdens of the colony by increasing its dead weight of pauperism, if devoted to the encouragement of the existing labouring population, by the irrigation of land, or mechanical improvements for the economy of labour, might have produced unqualified good. The total number of immigrants, from 1834 to 1849, was 15,309; and the cost to the island, for eleven years, ending 1848, was £180,252. Some of the Africans captured in slave ships, and liberated at Sierra Leone and St. Helena, have voluntarily proceeded to Jamaica, but the aggregate number is not stated in any of the ordinary official records. From an isolated document, it appears that the number of these liberated Africans who reached Jamaica, up to July, 1850, was 2,765. Probably the total number of immigrants, since 1834, has not exceeded 20,000. The entire population was thus estimated by the Governor, Sir C. Grey, in June, 1852: negroes,

* "The Dutch transcend the Spaniards very far in their refinement of these complexions. They add drops of pure water to a single drop of dusky liquor, until it becomes tolerably pellucid. But this needs the apposition

of such a multitude of drops, that to apply the experiment by analogy to the human race, twenty or thirty generations, perhaps, would hardly be sufficient to discharge the stain."—(Long's *History of Jamaica*, vol. ii. p. 261).

350,000; coloured, or mulattoes, 100,000; whites, 15,000 = 465,000. His excellency adds, "the white creoles and the natives of Europe, both together, are at most only fifteen or twenty thousand." As this estimate was given subsequent to the devastations of cholera, the population of all classes (including the Maroons, who are in number probably about 2,000), may be taken at half a million. Calculating the area of the island at 4,000,000 acres, or 6,250 square miles, this would give a density of 80 mouths to each square mile of territory.

The inhabitants are, however, unequally distributed. In Cornwall county, the density ranges from 79 in Westmoreland parish, to 119 in St. Elizabeth to the square mile: average of its five parishes, 102. In Middlesex the range varies from 28 in Vere parish, to 125 in St. Thomas-in-the-Vale; the average for Middlesex county, including St. Catherine's parish, which comprises Spanish Town, is about 73 to the square mile. Bearing in mind the immense portion of the area composed of mountains, ravines, and swamps, the density is not inconsiderable; and the industry of half a million of inhabitants rightly directed, and thrifflily employed, ought to yield satisfactory results alike to employer and employed.

Mr. Anderson, in a letter published in the *Colonial Standard* in 1850, declared his accordance in the opinion of the Chief Justice, Sir Joshua Rowe, in designating the reiterated cry of want of labour as absolutely suicidal, calculated to discourage the approach of capitalists, and put a seal on the permanency of depression. He stated that he could readily obtain hard labour (viz. trenching, ditching, draining of lagoon lands, and grass planting) "to any extent for a shilling a-day, and that many individuals in various districts confirmed his experience by their own;" adding with much truth, "we shall never, by mere importations of people from Africa, raise the country to true prosperity. That is not the true remedy—quantity we have already, but a good quality of people [labour?] we have yet to seek, and we must establish it by every means in our power."

Mr. Bigelow's remarks concerning the waste of labour have been before quoted. Another keen observer bears the following confirmatory testimony.

"There is an immense amount of producible labour in this island running to waste, so to speak: * * * a prodigious waste of time and labour, which might be more profitably expended, and which is sorely needed for the sugar estates all round: dozens are engaged where, under better management, two or three might suffice; and this remark applies to the people in the towns as well as in the rural districts. * * * In nothing is the wasteful expenditure of money and labour more conspicuous than in the common practice in Jamaica of yoking eight or ten oxen to a cart or a plough, when the same amount of work would, it is well known, be done with two or four, in the adjoining island of Cuba. * * * There is nothing in the character of the negro to forbid the hope of even rapid improvement and social amelioration, if he be not left to himself, or at the mercy of political or mercenary traffickers; he is quick, shrewd, and apt to learn when he chooses, and works hard if he has an object in view; he makes a good soldier, boatman, and even pilot; he is marvellously improved if he has had an opportunity of visiting England; he then aspires to have English habits. There are many points of resemblance to the Irish character about him." (Dr. Milroy's Cholera Report, 1852; p. 96.)

The Rev. Dr. King says, "I have inspected some of the mountain residences, and been struck with their great superiority to our highland cottages; I have seen the negroes extracting, by mills of their own making, the saccharine juice from sugar-canes

of their own growing, and applying an energy to the process such as I have never witnessed in any of the operations of our indolent highlanders."—(*State and Prospects of Jamaica*. Published in 1850; p. 212).

Whenever the African is placed in a situation favourable to the development of physical and intellectual power, he rapidly substantiates a claim to an equality at least with his Asiatic brethren, and in some respects to the higher orders of the European race. In Jamaica several gentlemen of mixed or of pure African blood, stand on a par, both as regards natural and acquired advantages, with any of their fellow-subjects of European descent. Mr. Moncrieff, now chairman of Quarter Sessions, is a lawyer of repute, and by his forensic attainments and eloquence would, probably, take a leading position at Westminster Hall. Messrs. Heslop and Russell are also barristers of ability; Mr. Richard Hill, to whom is confided the important trust of 'superintending the stipendiary magistrates' department, by his scientific researches has identified his own name with the natural history of the island. Drs. Scott and Clarke are eminent in the noble profession which aims at the relief of physical suffering; the Hon. Edward Jordon, who formerly represented the city of Kingston, has been recently elevated to the Council. Robert Osborne, though born a slave, is now a distinguished member of that Assembly by whom his testimony, a few years since, would have been contemptuously rejected.

Several coloured missionaries are labouring zealously and successfully to inculcate the blessed precepts of the gospel; and I have heard able and pious European missionaries bear witness to the respect and attachment with which their fellow-labourers in the Lord's vineyard are regarded.

I could have wished that space were afforded to illustrate at length the general character of the coloured and negro population. The official communications of such men as the Earls of Mulgrave and Elgin, the Marquis of Sligo, and Lord Metcalfe, of Sir Lionel Smith, who ruled over Jamaica during the trying period of transition from hereditary and unmitigated slavery to entire freedom, afford abundant evidence, that in orderly conduct, peaceableness, industry, obedience to the laws, and loyalty to their sovereign, they are unsurpassed by any section of British subjects. It is deeply gratifying to be able to state that the feelings expressed by H.M. representatives were cordially shared by the Bishop of the Established Church. Considering the leading part which non-conformist missionaries had been privileged to bear in the good work referred to, the testimony of Dr. Lipscomb is at once valuable, as proceeding from an unprejudiced source, and interesting as indicative of the writer's generous and Christian spirit. In describing to the Secretary of State the manner in which the memorable 1st of August, 1838, had passed, the Bishop writes—

"I have very sincere pleasure in bearing my testimony to the peaceable and orderly behaviour of all classes, and particularly of the negroes, on this auspicious occasion. I never beheld a more impressive and affecting scene than Spanish Town exhibited, where I assisted at the duty; and all the accounts received from the clergy concur in reporting the same correct behaviour generally throughout the island. I had long known the objects of this benevolent measure as the most patient, enduring, and 'long-suffering' people on earth, and 'not easily provoked;' but it was not till the actual promulgation of this great and glorious measure of justice and mercy, that I was enabled fully to appreciate their advancement in Christian prin-

ciples, evincing the good effects of religion on 'servants who have hitherto not known,' or very imperfectly, 'their Lord's will.' They have proved themselves worthy of the boon they have received by their conduct, and are much better prepared for it than I could have possibly conceived. The quiet manner in which the whole has passed off has added much to the general effect, and made a deep impression on men's minds. It has encouraged and animated the good, and confounded and disappointed the bad. I feel convinced that nothing less than this happy change in their condition could ever have held out to us the hope of effectually improving the people; and, so long as one link of the hateful chain of slavery remained, that great work must have been delayed. I have only to repeat to your lordship, that the conduct of all classes of the people on this joyful occasion has been beyond all praise; and I am not aware of any instance of intoxication or boisterous merriment, in either of the large towns in this neighbourhood, to mar the Christian character of the late festival."—(Letter to Lord Glenelg, 6th August, 1838.)

Ministers of all religious denominations have borne, and continue to bear, similar witness: Presbyterian, Wesleyan, Independents, Baptists, and Friends, have vied with each other in expressing admiration at the conduct of the people, at the period of and subsequent to emancipation.

John Candler, a much respected member of the Society of Friends, who recently visited the West Indies, gives the following statement as to the condition and bearing of the people in Jamaica; which entirely coincides with what I felt and witnessed myself in 1851:—

"The change effected in their civil condition, though very great, and at last somewhat sudden, has served to elevate their character in the estimation of all observers. I expected, on landing, to find a race who, having been always oppressed, treated with contumely, and trod upon, would continue to exhibit some traces of their former degraded condition, some marks of servility that belonged to the slave; but in passing through the country from one end to the other, I should scarcely believe, from what I see, that slavery had ever existed here. Freedom has wrought wonders for the people: there is an air of independence in their carriage and manner, when they meet and converse with you, that is quite astonishing, equal to that of the freest nations; not bold and obtrusive, but attended with a civility and courteousness that are very pleasing, and tell much in their favour." [In a separate communication, the same writer observes]—"Some of the planters still insist upon it that they are an idle people, because they do not on the whole perform as much work as in slavery; but who that has seen them at work in the cane-fields, or hoeing coffee on the steep hills, or has travelled among their provision grounds in the mountains, can call them an idle people? I have seen them again and again, hundreds and thousands of them, men, women, and children, loaded with provisions and fruit, which they carry on their heads, pouring down from the hills to Kingston market, carrying weights which no European would encounter, and sweating under the heavy toil; yet all labouring cheerfully, because they are free."

In fact, market-days are the festivals of the Jamaica negro population, and the fatigue they then undergo is literally a labour of love. Almost every coloured proprietor has a donkey of his own, it is the next thing to be acquired after his freehold, and upon it he packs, in small panniers, his surplus produce, sending it under the care of a woman, often of a child, to join the long, joyous, straggling procession of some miles in length, which may be seen entering Kingston in the cool of the morning. It is indeed a pleasant sight, full of promise for the future.

Governor Sir C. Grey, in his annual official report for 1851, speaking of the former slaves, states,

DIV. VIII.

that where they have freehold or permanent provision-grounds, their huts are tolerably clean, and their life is not by any means devoid of physical comfort. He adds—

"It is unjust to make a general imputation against them of laziness; for although, in common with the inhabitants of all warm climates, they feel, more than those of cold ones, a liking for repose, and a sense of enjoyment in it, there are few races of men who will work harder or more perseveringly, when they are sure of getting for themselves the whole produce of their labour."

And in another despatch he remarks—

"The hamlets, villages, and towns, as they are called, of the negroes, which have sprung up in the interior, and amongst the mountains, and in which they live in great physical comfort, are a remarkable and interesting feature in the state of the island."—(Report on *Blue Book*, published in 1849; p. 97.)

Lord Stanley, who visited Jamaica in 1849, speaks of the negroes, says, "the labourer, out of his earnings, buys land, builds a cottage, furnishes it handsomely;" his lordship adds, "I have seen one of these negro-houses, belonging to a common *field-hand*, provided with all the comforts of an English farm-house."—(Letter to Mr. Gladstone. London, 1850, p. 61).

RELIGION.—The morals and habits of the European portion of the population have, during the last fifteen or twenty years, undergone a great and very satisfactory change. The fashionable vices of former times, if still occasionally, are at least only covertly committed; intoxication has much decreased; and the practice of duelling, once so frequent, is now regarded as an exploded barbarism. The sabbath is becoming more and more respected, and the temples of Divine worship better attended. The spiritual condition of the coloured population is the object of much anxiety, and is considered by some zealous Christians as discouraging. But this feeling does not seem to be well grounded, but rather to be formed upon an imperfect view of the whole bearings of the case. The enthusiastic ardour with which the new-made freemen, on the memorable 1st of August, 1838, thronged the chapels, poured out glad hosannas to the Great Redeemer of their souls and bodies, and prayed for blessings on the heads of those who, in His name, and for His sake, had braved many hardships while representing their sufferings, and pleading their cause, was undoubtedly an extraordinary manifestation of religious feeling, swaying a multitude, of whom a very large portion must have been still in the darkness of heathenism. But was it reasonable to expect that from that moment the negroes would, as a body, show themselves consistent, practical Christians?—that in their poverty they would charge themselves with the entire support of ministers in a position far above their own, and would for ever utterly abjure the pagan superstitions instilled into their minds in infancy, and handed down from generation to generation? As individuals, hundreds, probably thousands, have done all and more than this, and some communities liberally support their own ministers, but very few are willing, if, indeed, able, to exert the great self-denial necessary for this end, in the present distressed condition of the island; nor does a readiness to communicate, always, or indeed often, increase proportionately with any man's worldly possessions, whether white or black; for successful thrift, however praiseworthy in itself, is apt to be attended with covetousness. Then, too, many of the

98 VARIOUS RELIGIOUS DENOMINATIONS—NUMBER OF MINISTERS.

oldest and most respected ministers have been withdrawn by death, or for other circumstances; nor is it to be wondered at that their successors, however good and pious, should possess less influence over their flocks, than the men who had endured persecution with and for them, who had been literally friends to the friendless, eyes to the blind, and feet to the lame, and who could consequently appeal to their past trials in attestation of their present disinterestedness.

Besides this, there is no question but that, about the period of emancipation, some missionaries of the Baptist denomination, such as Mr. Knibb and others, by their avowed abhorrence of slavery and unhesitating exposure of its iniquities, during their visit to England, had earned great and well-deserved popularity among the negroes, many of whom not unnaturally came to look upon them rather as the champions of their political and civil rights, than as spiritual guides, and consequently sought their aid more as a means of obtaining deliverance from bodily coercion, than from the deeper bondage of sin.

In such nominal converts as these, a grave reaction after the first thrill of grateful delight had passed away, was to be expected; but it is to be hoped that the supporters of Christian missions will not, for this reason, slacken their endeavours for the instruction of the people, lest they also should come under the imputation of acting upon impulse rather than upon principle. It is true that *Myal* and *Obeah* men, by dint of lies and cunning, contrive to make many dupes among the more ignorant of their race, and by adroitly practising on their excitable and superstitious temperaments, induce them to apply to them for their relief from sickness or any other infirmity, or to aid them in procuring the immediate object of their desires. These are dense dark clouds, which nothing but the pure strong light of Christian truth can ever dissipate. Even in Europe, centuries of civilization, where not attended with sound and practical religious views, have failed to banish such popular delusions as the evil-eye, philtres or love-charms, fortune telling, and the like; and though witchcraft and witch-finding are no longer heard of, quackery in many forms, and but thinly veiled, prevails, and sufficiently attests the credulous weakness of even educated communities.

Among the negroes, the true converts are very easily recognizable—they afford many eminent examples of devoted piety. Dr. King, a minister of the United Presbyterian Church at Glasgow, who visited Jamaica in 1850, speaking from actual observation, says that "in the missionary churches of all evangelical denominations," there were examples of "artisans and sempstresses who contributed in some instances a tenth or even larger proportion of their living," to religious purposes. "Where, in this country," he asks, "shall we find a handful of people of whom most are poor and none are rich, willing, as in Kingston and at Montego Bay, to raise [each] £300 sterling per annum for the support of their religious ordinances?"*

He instances one congregation (that of Mr. Blyth at Hampden) which "it is impossible to look on, with its large and diversified machinery of beneficence, and hesitate to acknowledge that great good has been accomplished. There are about 800 communicants in his church; the average attendance on his

ministrations is greater by several hundreds. Abla and sedulously assisted by members of his family, he superintends classes of young people, prayer-meetings, out-stations, &c., and all these institutions are numerically prosperous." * * * There are like fruits of pastoral efficiency to be found, he adds, in the Established Church, and also in the various dissenting bodies.†

The Governor (Sir Charles Grey), in his report on the state of the island, dated 12th February, 1849, thus refers to the condition of various denominations: "the ecclesiastical establishment is in good and useful working condition, and is respected and popular: the ministers of the Wesleyan Methodists in this colony are a highly intelligent body, whose influence is apparently increasing: the Baptists are much divided amongst themselves, and certainly have not the power over the negro population which they possessed a few years ago: the Presbyterians are a considerable sect, and of great respectability: the Moravians have several establishments, which they carry on in that peaceable and benevolent spirit which is their invariable characteristic."—(*Blue Book*, printed in 1849, p. 98).

The temperance movement has been attended with very beneficial results among the christianized section of the negro population. In a number of the churches more than half of the members are connected with total abstinence societies, and many more act on the principle, although they have not taken the pledge.

I have not been able to learn the number of individuals connected with different communions, but hope to be enabled to offer some information on this subject in the concluding section on the West Indies generally.

The ministers of various denominations are as follows: the Established Church of England and Ireland has a bishop with an annual stipend of £3,000; three archdeacons, of whom two have £600, and one £800 a-year; the whole of which is paid from the British treasury. There are twenty-two rectors with stipends varying from £500 to £780, and fifty-one island curates, who receive from £100 to £400 per annum, paid from the colonial revenue. In addition to these, there are fourteen stipendiary curates, whose aggregate incomes amounting, in 1851, to about £2,100, are paid from the British treasury; and twelve missionary clergymen, supported by the *Society for the Propagation of the Gospel*. Altogether the ministers of the Episcopal Church in the island number about 100. The Presbyterian Church has twenty-four stations, and sixteen ministers; the Wesleyans have 119 places of worship, and twenty-four ministers; the Independents, or London Mission, thirteen stations, and nine ministers; the Moravians, or United Brethren, twenty-nine stations, thirteen places of worship, and seventeen ministers; the Baptist Western Union possess thirty-nine chapels, and have twenty-two ministers: and the American Mission seven chapels, and six ministers. The Roman Catholic Church has a vicar-apostolic, and six priests; and the Jews have four readers, or rabbi. The total number of ministers of religion of all denominations, in 1851-2, was 208, or in the proportion of one to every 2,500 of the inhabitants.

EDUCATION.—The extent and nature of public

had several of their chapels destroyed by the white colonists in 1832. Compensation, to about half the amount of the damage, was made to the societies by a parliamentary grant.

* *State and Prospects of Jamaica*, p. 210.

† *Idem*, pp. 43, 45.

‡ It will be remembered that the Baptists and Wesleyans

and gratuitous instruction is very imperfectly shown in the official returns. Some returns were laid before the House of Assembly in November, 1851, respecting 196 schools of all denominations, containing 13,950 scholars of both sexes; it would appear that fifty-two of these schools, containing about 5,000 pupils, are maintained or aided by the Diocesan Church Society. A normal school established in the middle of the year 1847, is supported by the local government, and it is to be hoped will work well. There are ten free schools, supported mainly by funds bequeathed by various benevolent individuals, among whom may be named Peter Beckford, who made a large bequest in 1744; Francis Smith, who left £3,000 for a school in connexion with the Church of England; and Messrs. Munroe and Dickenson, who made a donation of about £20,000 for educational purposes. Woolmer's Free School has an endowment of £12,000; Manning's of £7,852; and Vere Free School of £9,000. The funds of these and other charities have been vested in the Island Treasury, and bear a high rate of interest, but the capital has been all spent.

Among the seminaries established by religious bodies of different denominations may be mentioned, twenty-four Wesleyan, forty-one Moravian, and thirty-five Baptist Western Union schools. The return to the Secretary of State respecting these latter thirty-five schools is very complete. It appears they contain 1,836 boys, and 986 girls. From eight other Baptist Western Union schools there are no returns for 1851; but they are officially stated to be "in vigorous operation." In connection with the Baptist Western Union there are fifty-two Sunday schools, having 718 teachers, and 9,067 scholars; in twenty-two of these schools 2,065 scholars can read the Scriptures.

The following table will convey an idea of the chief scholastic establishments of four denominations.

Denomination.	Day-schools.	Pupils.	Sabbath scholars.
Wesleyan . .	24	1,870	3,252
Moravian . .	41	2,614	2,090
Baptist . . .	43	2,822	9,067
American . .	—	310	732

The other religious associations have also effective Sunday schools; but the information forwarded to England respecting them appears to be very slight and defective. There is a *Calabar Baptist Institution*, for the education of young men devoted to the ministry in Jamaica, and in Western Africa. It is supported by voluntary contributions, and is said to have accomplished much good. The *Presbyterian Synod of Jamaica* has an academical institution at Montego Bay for the training of teachers for Jamaica and Africa. The *Mico Charity* normal and model schools in Kingston, were established in 1836, for the purpose of aiding missionary and educational societies in training teachers, who are provided with board and lodging during their studies.

A board of education is presided over by the governor, bishop, president of the council, and speaker of the assembly, and five other gentlemen named by the governor. The board has a paid secretary and inspector of schools.

It is to be feared that the landed proprietary of the colony are not yet aware how much of future peace and prosperity depends on the moral and indus-

trial training of the rising generation; the intelligent editor (Mr. Henderson) of the *Jamaica Almanack* for 1852, observes that "little public interest appears to be taken by civilians in the education of our peasantry. . . . There are other and serious evils connected with the education of the people of Jamaica, but an almanack is not the place to notice them." Of the episcopal schools it is remarked—"some, where under favourable auspices, are well attended, and comparatively prosperous; others doing little good." (pp. 156-7.) Examples of resident proprietors earnestly striving to educate and elevate the poorer classes within the more immediate sphere of their influence have come within my own knowledge, especially that of Mr. Charles McGregor, of Kingston, and his sister, whose efforts have been seconded by several excellent persons, and who have found a rich reward in witnessing the beneficial results attending on their Christian endeavours. Certainly there is no lack of talent on the part of the negro or mulatto children; indeed those who have examined the classes jointly composed of the white and coloured races, have frequently considered the advantage to be on the side of the latter. Education or rather *knowledge* of some sort they will acquire, and it is of the last importance to all interested in their welfare or that of the island, that it should rest upon a sound basis.

Nor is it with regard to the lower classes only that there is so great need of improved educational arrangements; the higher ranks, if unable to afford the expense, or unwilling to incur the hazard and manifold trials attendant on sending their children to Europe or America, under the charge of strangers, for some of the most critical years of their life, are in a still worse position. This, and the scarcity of labour cry, are among the obstacles which chiefly prevent the emigration of small farmers and capitalists to Jamaica, where they are especially needed to form that middle class, so necessary to the prosperity of all free countries, but which cannot exist in a slave-state, where the dignity of labour can never be duly admitted, or labour and capital be united in the same individual.

NEWSPAPERS.—There are about seven, three of which are published daily at Kingston, two at Montego Bay, and two at Falmouth, tri-weekly. The *Jamaica Almanack*, prepared annually by Mr. George Henderson, a bookseller at Kingston, is a creditable publication, and contains much useful information.

CRIME.—It is impossible to frame a comparative statement of the amount and nature of offences now committed, and those perpetrated during the period of slavery; because then the master flogged at his own discretion, or caused the delinquents to be punished by the local tribunals; and there were no trustworthy returns kept of committals or crimes. But from the general tenor of the various documents transmitted to the Secretary of State, it would appear that crime is not increasing, and that it is decidedly small in proportion to the population, especially with regard to the more aggravated descriptions of offences. The negroes are generally of a mild and peaceful disposition; and deeds of violence are of unfrequent occurrence among them. There are nineteen prisons in the island, and a large penitentiary* at Kingston, where criminals from each county

* The building is constructed on the radiating principle, in its simplest form, which has been found so advantageous for inspection and supervision. The wall encloses an area of about ten acres, twenty feet in height, and has a

undergo the sentences awarded them. During the year ending 30th September, 1851, the commitments to the penitentiary from nineteen prisons amounted to 336, out of a population of about 450,000. There was not one murderer. Among the crimes the greater number, namely, 184, were for petty larcenies; for riotously demolishing a house, 26; for assault, 18; cutting and wounding, 13; burglary, 7; felony, 2; and the remainder were comparatively minor offences.

GOVERNMENT.—As previously stated (pp. 23-4) Jamaica was at first ruled despotically, then a municipality was established, and soon afterwards a representative assembly.

Deputy-governor Littleton and council, in an ordinance, "dated at Point Cagua, 23rd October, 1663," declared that they "had seriously debated and considered the great good and content it will be to this island, and to all the good people thereof, as well the merchant and the planter, to have an assembly chosen and selected by the votes of the inhabitants;" whereupon all freeholders were empowered to return members to the first assembly, which met at St. Jago de la Vega, 20th January, 1663-4.

From this period the affairs of the colony have been administered by a governor, council, and assembly.* Various changes have been made in the franchise. In 1774 the qualification requisite for voting at elections was £10 per annum, arising from lands, tenements, or hereditaments; and for a representative, an income of £300 per annum, or £3,000 in gross over and above what was sufficient to pay his debts. In 1830 the franchise was extended, for the first time, to the free coloured people; and considerable modifications have since been made in the qualifications of the electors of the members for the Assembly; at the last election the privilege of voting was conferred by the possession of a freehold of the annual value of £8, or by the receipt of any rent-charge payable out of freehold lands in the island, of not less than £30 per annum;—the occupation of a house of the annual rent of £20;—or the payment of direct taxes to the amount of £3 per annum. The money qualification of a member of Assembly at the same time was the payment of direct taxes in his own right (and not as the representative of an absentee) to an extent of not less than £10 per annum. With regard both to the electors and representatives, all distinctions of creed or colour have been abolished. In the present House (1853) among forty-seven members there are nine Jews, and three Roman Catholics; and fifteen men of colour, of whom three are of pure negro descent.

Kingston, Port Royal, and St. Catherine's parish (which includes Spanish Town) return respectively three members; the other parishes send two each. The Council consists of a president, or senior member, the commander of the forces, the chief-justice, bishop, attorney-general, and six other members guard tower at each angle. The plan was devised by the humane and active prison inspector, Mr. John Daughtrey, after a careful examination of the best plans of confinement in the United States. The foundation-stone was laid by the Earl of Elgin, in 1846.

* The Council and Assembly, with the consent of the governor, who represents the crown, may enact laws, statutes, and ordinances, for the government of the colony, so that they be not repugnant, but as near as may be agreeable to the laws and statutes of Great Britain. By an order in council, dated January, 1800, it was declared, that in all cases where the royal confirmation was neces-

ominated by the governor. As in the Assembly, so here, creed or colour is no disqualification; at present one member is coloured, and two are Roman Catholics. This body exercises the functions of an executive or privy council, and that of a legislative council.

The House of Assembly, however, claims and exercises the extraordinary power (to which even the Commons of England do not pretend) of initiating all legislative enactments, leaving to the governor and council only the authority of a veto. The governor receives no official communication respecting the contents of any bill until it is brought before him for his decision—there is no member of the Assembly to act as the exponent of the views of the executive, and no other official means by which suggestions can be offered, or information conveyed from the representative of the Crown. The undivided authority of the Assembly, and the exclusion of the governor and council from all participation or responsibility in the allocation and disbursement of the public revenue, has certainly not worked well, but has, with other circumstances, contributed to the present financial embarrassment of the colony. Sir Charles Grey, in a despatch dated 31st December, 1851, says—

"The whole course of fixing, raising, and managing the public revenue in Jamaica is exceedingly faulty and perverted. The government is in no way represented in the House of Assembly, nor has any organ there by which any tax can be proposed, or any estimates of expenditure, or of ways and means, can be laid before the legislature. All advice, by way of message, from the governor as to particular measures, is regarded as dictation, and resented as breach of privilege. No member has more right or authority than any other to recommend the sort of taxes that are to be imposed, or the rate or duration of them; and so jealously careful is the Assembly of its privileges, that the revenues for the most part are voted only from year to year, though in 1850 I prevailed on the legislature to make the interest of the island certificates a permanent charge on the import duties, and to that extent provision is made against the contingency of no Import Duty Act being passed in any particular year. Every member has the right also to propose a grant or appropriation of public money; and in the course of each session a number of miscellaneous grants, though of much less amount now than formerly, are successively authorized, without much reference to estimates or to the ability of the revenue to bear them, and towards the end of the session are included in one enactment, each individual member who has a grant to propose being naturally inclined to reconcile other members to his own measure by consenting to support theirs. Much of the expenditure, loosely, and without much responsibility, is managed by boards, and there is one principal board of commissioners of public accounts, the remarkable constitution and functions of which were, perhaps, sufficiently explained in my general report connected with the *Blue Book* of Jamaica for 1847. In the last session, a step, but I fear a very imperfect one, has been taken towards a better system of audit, by the appointment, under the Island Act of the 14 Vict. c. 53, of an officer with the title of auditor-general. Upon the whole, it may be truly said that there is no system or consistency sary to give validity and effect to an act passed by any colonial legislature, such act, unless confirmed by H.M. within three years of its being passed, should be considered disallowed. By the English statute 6 Geo. III. c. 12, all the British colonies are declared to be dependent upon the crown and parliament of Great Britain, who have full power to make laws to bind such colonies in all cases whatsoever. But by the 18 Geo. III., c. 12, the king and parliament declared, that thenceforth they would not impose any duty payable in the colonies, except for the regulation of commerce, and that the produce thereof should always be applied to the use of the colony in which it was levied.

whatever in the conduct of the financial affairs of the colony, nor any recognised organ of government or legislation which has the power to bring about effectual and comprehensive improvements."

The remarks referred to with respect to the Commissioners of Accounts are as follows :—

"For the public taxes the collecting constables are accountable to the receiver-general and the commissioners of public accounts, whose powers in this respect may be said to be almost unlimited. I do not believe there is a person in the island whose real opinion does not condemn this system of superintendence and control, which is provided for the collection and the remission of the taxes and the keeping of the public accounts, as vesting the power and the responsibility in far too many persons, as being in practice lax and inefficient, full of uncertainty and confusion, and abounding in facilities either for partial favour or unequal pressure. The board of commissioners of accounts consists, as I have mentioned, of all the members of assembly for the time being; and in these, all powers of auditing the public accounts are vested: but although the receiver-general is placed more at their mercy than he ought to be, and is liable to be infinitely harassed, yet, as there are forty-seven members of the board, and what is everybody's business is nobody's, there is practically, and in reality, no efficient audit at all: what is done in that way is chiefly done by the secretary. The function of the board, however, which is the most liable to abuse, and that which in turbulent times, and in the hands of designing men, might be subversive of all government, is the control which it holds over the collection of the revenue, with a large power of relieving both taxpayers and collectors from their debts and liabilities. Of the forty-seven members of the assembly, with all their divisions and subdivisions of political sentiment and party feeling and connection, three are a quorum for many important purposes, and nine for any purpose whatsoever which is within the compass of the extraordinary and various powers of the board."—(Government Report, p. 85.)

A searching inquiry and thorough reformation is certainly much needed.

There is a supreme court of judicature, assize courts in Surrey and Cornwall, courts of quarter-sessions in each parish or precinct; several inferior courts of common pleas, with limited powers; a court of error, held by the governor in council for hearing appeals from supreme and assize courts, together with vice-admiralty, and ordinary or ecclesiastical tribunals. An insolvent debtors' act is in force. Each parish has a *custos rotulorum*, holding an office somewhat analogous to that of the lord-lieutenancy of an English county, who, together with a bench of justices, holds sessions of the peace every month, and common pleas courts for trying actions to the extent of £20. There are about twenty stipendiary magistrates paid by the British treasury (see Finance section). The *custos* also presides over the vestries in each parish, who assess and appropriate local taxes, and fulfil other parochial duties.

MILITARY DEFENCE.—Up to the period of emancipation, a large and increasing European military force was deemed necessary to prevent the slaves from forcibly attempting to acquire their freedom; since 1838, this large item of expenditure to the British treasury has been materially diminished, and now one European and one black regiment, with a small force of whites and coloured artillery, suffices for the island. Formerly the militia included nearly every able-bodied freeman in Jamaica; in 1834 it consisted of 25 troops of horse, with 683 effective men, and 21 regiments of infantry, containing 9,256

men; altogether about 10,000 well-armed white and coloured citizens. Now the regiments, with few exceptions, are disembodied in respect to their quota of non-commissioned officers and men; and the whole system, notwithstanding its imposing muster-roll of major-generals, colonels, subalterns, &c., is rapidly falling to decay.

FINANCE.—Among the features which characterize the present condition of Jamaica, none is more conspicuous, or, when inquired into, more discreditable, than the state of the public treasury, and the means by which it has been gradually completely emptied, even of the charitable and other funds deposited therein. The actual state of affairs has for years been purposely shrouded in obscurity, as little as possible being stated on the subject; but partly because concealment is no longer practicable, and partly from the decidedly improved principles manifested in the Assembly, the veil has at length been raised, and consequently there is now some prospect of reformation, since the necessity for it can hardly be longer denied. A finance committee of the Assembly, with Mr. William Smith as their chairman, published documentary evidence at the latter end of 1850, which clearly exhibited the ruinous system that had been so long continued, and which, unless stopped by stringent measures, must inevitably end in public bankruptcy, even though for a time it might be propped up by assistance from England; which, however, would, as on previous occasions, tend rather to enrich, or at least to keep up for a time the falling credit of individuals, than to effect any permanent improvement in the island. No satisfactory comparison can be drawn between the amount of revenue levied during slavery, with that raised at the present time; the necessary records having been very badly kept, and the nature of some of the leading items differing; for instance, a poll-tax of 6s. 10d. per head on slaves, furnished a considerable sum of money in the former list. The general taxation was formerly equivalent to about £300,000 sterling per annum.

The income and expenditure for a series of years is shown in the following table, collated from the Assembly returns :—

Year.	Revenue.	Expenditure.
1845	£276,045	£273,199
1846	281,885	276,787
1847	240,310	306,658
1848	190,787	235,695
1849	179,230	192,552
1850	187,425	218,648
1851	209,379	260,196
1852	—	—

The sources from which the revenue is derived are numerous, and can only be briefly alluded to. Fees are demanded on all imaginable pretexts; a list of those authorized would occupy some pages, and there are many besides which are exacted without legal right. The quit-rent and tax on land is at the rate of 1d. per acre per annum. The tax on stock consists of 2s. 6d. per head on all "horse-kind," excepting breeding stock, for which and for unbroken colts and mules used for agricultural purposes, the tax is 6d. per head per annum. On each coach, chariot, &c., there is levied 6s. per annum; on the net profits of any business or profession or agency,

5s. per £100, and the same on all salaries, public or parochial, or on sums received as fees of office. There is a duty of 2s. per gallon on all spirits made in the island; stamp duties are exacted on commissions, licences, appointments, deeds, &c.; import duties are very various, and in some instances heavy. Beer pays £4 7s. per tun; corn, 3d. per bushel; wheat, 6d.; spirits, 6s. to 8s. per gallon; tobacco, £32 per cent. on the value; various wares and merchandise for plantation supplies, £4 per cent. There

are tonnage, light, and other dues. A cholera tax was imposed on houses of 6d. in the pound, to meet the heavy expenses incurred during that terrible visitation, which cost the island about £50,000, independent of the large contributions sent from England, Barbadoes, and elsewhere. Of the revenue for the year ending 5th January, 1852, amounting to £193,228, the import duties yielded £136,757; poll, land, and stock tax, £21,763; rum, £30,684; gunpowder tonnage, £2,620; stamp duties, £7,183.

Parochial and Public Taxation on Hereditaments, according to Parishes, irrespective of Custom Duties and other sources of general revenue, for the year 1851.

Counties and Parishes.	Actual value.	Assessed annual value at 6 per cent.	Rate per £.	Amount of taxes as per rating.	Other parochial taxes. ¹	Total taxation for parish purposes.	Total public taxes in aid of general revenue. ²	Grand total of public and parochial taxes.
<i>Middlesex—</i>								
St. Catherine . . .	£312,755	£18,765	1s. 8d.	£1,563	£1,800	£3,363	£2,499	£5,862
St. John ³	156,330	9,379	1 8	500	450	950	369	1,319
St. Dorothy	156,386	9,383	1 2	563	463	1,026	737	1,763
St. Thomas-in-the-Vale	297,650	17,859	1 2	1,041	970	2,011	1,154	3,195
Clarendon	258,000	15,480	1 8	1,290	1,084	2,374	1,840	4,214
Vere	274,900	16,494	2 5	1,993	692	2,685	1,201	3,886
Manchester	333,333	20,000	2 4	2,333	932	3,265	1,510	4,775
St. Mary	496,368	29,782	2 4	3,474	1,674	5,148	2,265	7,413
St. Ann	991,363	59,480	1 3	3,717	2,361	6,078	4,645	10,723
<i>Surrey—</i>								
Kingston	700,000	42,000	3 8	7,700	6,436	14,136	5,277	19,413
Port Royal	184,620	11,041	1 3	690	472	1,172	987	2,159
St. Andrew	366,666	22,000	1 8	1,833	2,080	3,913	1,984	5,897
St. Thomas-in-the-East	666,666	40,000	1 0	2,000	1,405	3,405	2,265	6,070
St. David	216,466	12,988	1 2	757	515	1,272	816	2,088
Portland	266,666	16,000	1 0	800	313	1,113	1,140	2,253
St. George	302,500	18,150	0 5	378	558	936	1,262	2,199
Metcalfe	471,083	28,264	1 5	2,060	1,142	3,202	1,797	4,999
<i>Cornwall—</i>								
St. Elizabeth	731,263	43,875	0 11	2,010	1,555	3,565	2,857	6,422
Westmoreland	833,333	50,000	2 5	6,041	4,080	10,121	3,629	13,750
Hanover	730,400	43,824	1 4	2,921	1,622	4,543	2,784	7,327
St. James	909,966	54,598	1 6	4,094	1,769	5,863	3,762	9,625
Trelawney ⁴	1,246,798	74,807	1 0½	3,896	5,092	8,988	894	9,883
Total	10,903,512	654,169	—	51,654	37,465	89,129	45,674	135,235

Note.—¹ Including taxes on horses, mules, asses, and dogs; also on wheels, licences for rum, for taverns, and for billiards; on waggons, drays, and carts; on hawkers, on trade, business, and profession; on sale of gunpowder, pounds, markets, pew rents, fines, parish lands, &c. ² On hereditaments, houses, horses, mules, asses, and dogs; wheels, trade, business or profession, and land-tax. ³ Partly for 1850 and partly for, on an average, 1847, which is considerably greater than for 1851. ⁴ For 1849, the latest year for which I can obtain returns on this head.

The expenditure in 1851 was,—for civil government, £179,170; military disbursements, £972; governor and council, £6,000; grants, £9,830; cholera expenses, £36,509. Among the items in the civil expenditure were,—interest on loans, charities, &c., £23,499; police, £10,001; constabulary, £8,201; public hospital, £6,380; prisons, £14,050; penitentiaries, £8,831; printing, £4,877; immigration, £1,902; highways, roads, and bridges, £3,377; rectors' stipends, £11,858; curates', £19,749; judges' salaries, £16,037; clerks of the peace, £5,225; magistrates' clerks, £2,847; Assembly, £3,619, and £900 for speaker. Among the grants there were, £3,425 for board of education; and £1,148 towards the lunatic asylum now building. The civil list comprises about 460 persons, who are paid out of the general revenue.

This statement, which is derived from the *Blue Book*, transmitted to H.M. Secretary of State, varies somewhat from the returns laid before the House of

Assembly for the year ending 10th October, 1851, in which the following disbursements are set forth:— for the collection of the revenue, £26,278 (or about 15 per cent. of the whole); civil departments, £41,408; which includes, amongst other items, police, £13,620; constabulary, £3,629; public hospital, £7,670; printing, £5,161; roads and bridges, £4,733; ecclesiastical, £34,036; judicature, £45,362; governor's salary, £4,320; secretary and clerks, £1,800; House of Assembly, £4,240; governor and council, £6,000; parochial transferred to public, including clerks of peace, and vestries, coroners, &c., £13,770; interest on loans, charities, and deposits, £25,852; boards and committees of health, £45,918; grants to public institutions, &c., £10,338.

I cannot trace when the island debt commenced; it appears to have existed in some shape or other long anterior to the abolition of the slave trade, and to have originated in the power entrusted to the

Assembly of issuing paper-money in the form of island certificates bearing interest. Permission to create a paper currency was given by the Crown to the Earl of Carlisle on his appointment as governor in 1678: his lordship was authorised on any sudden emergency to pass laws (with consent of the Assembly only) to raise money without transmitting such money bills to His Majesty.* Emergencies and pretexts were of course not long wanting to justify or excuse the exercise of this dangerous power.

In 1722, the government was so deeply in debt that its bills were at a discount of 50 per cent., and even the expenses incident on the trial of some pirates could not be defrayed.† The revenue was then inadequate to meet the ordinary annual expenditure.

In 1758, "the island was obliged to borrow £6,000 from the golden chests of chancery, hitherto untouched. * * * It was the reproach of Governor Knowles that, with an increase of taxes, and in a time of profound peace, he left behind him a considerable debt." About 1760, owing to an alleged deficiency of circulating medium, "the Assembly was obliged to stamp and issue \$100,000 at an advance of two-pence each upon their former rate." In 1763, "the exigencies of the public service required an unexpected vote of credit, and in the sportive flow of wealth, a public lottery was proposed and adopted under the authority of the Assembly, and the management of the receiver-general."‡

In 1787 that official exposed his empty chest, and declared himself unable to pay the troops, which was certainly an alarming state of affairs, when it is considered there were then 240,000 slaves in the island, and but 30,000 whites. Bridges records that in 1796 the public debt pressed hard upon the revenue, and again in 1801, that a very heavy debt existed, for which a high rate of interest was paid. But it was not only by issuing an unlimited quantity of paper money, and by gambling lotteries, that the finances of the colony were deranged; in 1811 the current coin (dollars) was clipped, by cutting a piece out of the centre equal to 12½ per cent. This was done on the plea of an insufficient circulating medium, caused by the Americans refusing to take bills at a fair rate of discount in payment for their bread-stuffs, fish, &c., for which they required specie, and thereby drained the island of its metallic currency.

In 1832 the "certificates" in circulation amounted to £399,255; and the loan certificates, including £64,415 loan deposits, to £250,035, showing a debt exclusive of loans from Great Britain of £649,240 currency=£389,544 sterling. The distribution of the "certificates" in circulation from 1822 to 1832, was £645, £6,585, £41,203, £79,928, £61,741, £39,965, £96,499, £10,825, £12,000, £49,864=£399,255.

Under irregular and often interested management, unchecked by any efficient control from England, it may readily be supposed that there would be, as indeed there have been, many fluctuations in the currency; in fact the system of finance has been bad throughout, and has given a licence to jobbery and extravagance, under the plea of expediency, of which the present generation are reaping the results, in embarrassment and excessive taxation.

Parliamentary grants, several of which have been referred to in previous pages, were from time to time voted out of the taxes of the United Kingdom, to

meet pressing exigencies; and in February, 1834, a loan of £200,000 was paid over from the same source to commissioners nominated by an act of the Assembly, dated the 10th of October, 1833. An agreement, contract, and declaration, was executed by these commissioners, providing for the payment of interest at 4 per cent. per annum; viz., £24,000 sterling, being three years' interest to February, 1837; and £8,000 annually during the years 1838, '39, '40, '41, '42, '43, and 1844, in which latter year, the principal was also to be liquidated. The whole interest yet paid has however amounted to only £22,000; viz., £8,000 paid in 1845; £7,688 in 1846; and £7,640 in 1847. The Assembly asked for a longer period of time to discharge the principal, which being granted, they, in 1844, passed an Act agreeing to pay off the whole loan by annual instalments of £10,000: but only two sums of £20,000 each have yet been repaid, leaving £140,000 of the original loan, and about £25,000 interest, still due.

The increase of the island debt is thus stated in the Journals of the House of Assembly:—

Year.	Debt.	Cash in Chest.
1841	£546,267	£25,621
1842	613,297	108,497
1843	591,584	143,953
1844	499,786	45,258
1845	512,053	56,026
1846	555,445	97,032
1847	551,439	21,583
1848	578,135	11,352
1849	584,295	4,486
1850	627,369	4,878
1851	690,651	—
1852	—	—

Note.—The amount paid for immigration purposes from 1st of October, 1834, to 11th of October, 1847, was £217,034, exclusive of £2,069 paid by the British Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners. In 1851 there does not appear to have been any cash left in the chest.

During four recent and successive years there has been a heavy deficiency of income to meet expenditure; viz., in 1847, £64,348; in 1848, £44,958; in 1849, £16,147; and in 1850, £38,078: total, £163,531; to which must be added £69,193 due for deposits and other credits, and £7,150, the estimated loss by the defalcation of the late receiver-general, making a total of £239,874. "The consequences of this enormous deficiency have been postponed, and its amount in a great measure overlooked by the creation, in 1848 and 1849, of red notes, amounting, on the 10th of October, 1850, to £36,988; and in 1850, of exchequer bills, amounting, on the 10th of October, 1850, to £28,350; and by the appropriation of the funds applicable to the payment of chancery, charitable, and savings' banks deposits, to the extent of £174,536." * * * The actual excess of expenditure and unliquidated liabilities over the revenues collected during the five years, ending the 10th of October, 1850, amounted to the sum of £298,805."§

It is evident from the above statements, that nothing could have been more injurious to the financial condition of the island than "the facility which was presented to the receiver-general for meeting demands by the creation of 'red' notes and exchequer

* *Laws of Jamaica*, vol. i., p. 38.

† *Bridges' Annals of Jamaica*, vol. i., pp. 350, 352.

‡ *Idem*, vol. ii., pp. 90, 100, 105.

§ Report of Finance Committee of the House of Assembly, 14th January, 1851, printed in journals of the House for 1851-'2, pp. 78 and 79.

bills, and the appropriation of the funds belonging to depositors."—(Report of Finance Committee.)

The "liabilities of the island in 1851," were—"Charities and other depositors, £192,502; notes in circulation, old issue, £37,337; exchequer bills ditto, £36,000; loan certificates due in England and Jamaica, £212,313; notes issued for cholera purposes, £15,000; exchequer bills ditto, £37,500; interest on loan to H.M. government, £29,867; interest, salaries, &c., £58,716; loan (P due) to H.M. government, £160,000. Total, £779,235.† The total debt may now be estimated at a million sterling.

The following statement, shows the items composing the debt in 1851, irrespective of interest on loan from Great Britain, or arrears of salaries, grants, &c.:

Curates' fund, £8,428; rectors' ditto, £22,605; customs (unappropriated salaries), £598. *Charities*—Munroe and Dickenson's, £22,178; Gregory's, £2,400; Jamaica Free School, £4,051; Manning's ditto, £7,852; Merrick's Charity, £1,200; Presbyterian Institution, £2,262; Russes's Free School, £2,700; St. Jago de la Vega ditto, £600; Smith's Charity, £1,800; Vere Free School, £9,000; Woolmer's, £12,000; Jamaica Life Assurance, £19,850; apprentice valuations, £2,168; island notes of 1841, £344; ditto, 1848 and 1849, £36,993; ditto, 1850, cholera purposes, £15,000; court of chancery deposits, £28,222; insolvent act deposit account, £8,179; loan due to H.M. government, £160,000; island loan certificates, £212,312; savings' bank deposits, £34,722; trustees of the Ferry and River Road and Liguanea Water-works, £36; trustees of marriage settlement of Duke and Duchess of Buckingham, £821; John Auvray, £100; heirs-at-law of S. Denton and J. E. Wilmot, £273; exchequer bills, £36,000; ditto ditto, £37,500; Jamaica Orphan Asylum, £450. Total of debts due by the public of Jamaica, £690,651.—[See Journal of House of Assembly for 1851-'2, p. 202.]

The above deposits in the public treasury were made under the authority of divers acts of the colonial legislature. The curates' and rectors' funds are composed of fixed drawbacks on their stipends, and dedicated to the purpose of providing for the widows and children of the clergy of the Established Church. The interest on all these deposits and liabilities now amounts to about £35,000 a-year. The receiver-general recently, by a clause in the Annual Import Duties Bill, is directed to pay from the proceeds of those duties, before any other claims, the interest on all loans, charities, and deposits. The interest on the island loan certificates issued prior to July, 1850, is secured upon a permanent fund by the Island Act, 14 Vic. c. i. & ii. The interest of the so-called exchequer bills is charged upon the stamp duties.‡

The "loan certificates" outstanding on 10th October, 1850, amounted to £213,312. The whole was issued on a pledge of being redeemed at intervals; the latest instalment being payable on the 1st January, 1855: £43,668 at six, and £107,844 at five per cent., are payable in Jamaica; and £17,650 at six, and £44,150 at five per cent., in London.

The money expended by England in Jamaica must have been enormous.§ The expenses defrayed by Great Britain in 1851 consisted of allowances, provisions, &c., to the troops, £79,500; navy, £17,669; ordnance department, barracks, &c., £21,211; special services—stipendiary magistrates,

* On the death of the late receiver-general of the revenue, as the colonial treasurer is termed, it was ascertained that there was a deficiency in his chest of more than £12,000, of which not one-half has been recovered from his securities.

† Journals of Assembly, 1851-'2, p. 402.

‡ Despatch from Governor Grey, 31st December, 1851.

£10,541; cholera relief, £2,325. Total, £131,246. This is irrespective of the ecclesiastical charges borne by the mother country, and of course of the large sums expended in the colony by the different missionary societies.

BANKS AND MONETARY SYSTEM.—The circulating medium, and the banking arrangements of the colony, are as defective as the other portions of the financial system.

The power assumed by the Assembly of issuing irredeemable paper-money was equally unjustifiable and impolitic; and the unavoidable evils of the system were aggravated by the very slight control exercised over the parties entrusted with the responsible office of carefully guarding against fraud; consequently, in these issues it is difficult to say to what extent malversations have been practised.

The following fact, which I ascertained by direct communication with several members of the Assembly, affords a curious illustration of this subject. In 1843-'4, the whole of the old currency notes issued in 1832, and amounting to £240,000, were called in. It is well known that a considerable loss invariably occurs in paper-money; some notes are accidentally burned, and otherwise destroyed, or they are hoarded in some secret place, and rarely found again; but in Jamaica the notes were found to have increased, and there proved to be an outstanding excess, amounting in value to between £7,000 and £8,000, beyond the sum originally issued.

The island treasury notes not bearing interest in circulation on 31st December, 1851, amounted to £52,337; these are received at the government offices in payment of taxes, custom duties, &c.; but should the holder desire to convert them into cash, he is obliged to submit to a discount. There is also a large amount of paper which the Assembly designates as *exchequer bills*; on the 10th October, 1851, their nominal value stood thus—old issue, £36,000; ditto, for cholera purposes, £37,500—making a total of £73,500. There are two banks in the island; one, the *Jamaica Bank*, has a paper circulation of £42,366; the other a branch of the *London Colonial Bank*, £41,100; both these establishments redeem their notes with specie; but the total circulating medium of the island is so restricted, as to exercise a decidedly injurious effect upon commerce and internal industry; the redeemable paper scarcely exceeds four shillings per head for the whole population.

The diminished issues since 1842, are thus shown:

Year.	Issues.	Year.	Issues.
1842	£288,439	1847	£208,372
1843	334,833	1848	172,784
1844	245,707	1849	130,288
1845	222,798	1850	145,276
1846	220,498	1851	135,803

An institution termed the *Planter's Bank*, whose notes had a circulation of from £50,000 to £80,000, was, in 1846, owing to mismanagement, not to use a harsher expression, obliged to suspend operations in 1849-'50. There are no proper returns, as in other

§ The sums expended in the ordnance and barrack department between 1829 and 1847-'8, amounted to £147,874, of which Great Britain defrayed £72,527. Since the commencement of the present century, there have been spent from the imperial revenues at least ten million sterling, irrespective of the slave compensation-money or charges connected with emancipation.

colonies, to show the deposits, coinage, discounts and liabilities of each bank. The coin in the island was roughly estimated to amount, in 1851, to £200,000; but this is being continually lessened, as the Americans, who bring food and lumber in large quantities to Jamaica, take nothing in return but cash or bills.

Monies—English; doubloons are also current;—Old Mexican, at 66s.; Columbian, at 64s. Accounts are kept in English denominations. There are four savings banks in the island, whose original establishment is chiefly attributable to an excellent man, the Rev. T. B. Turner, one of the island curates. The *Kingston* savings bank was formed 17th November, 1838. In May, 1852, the number of depositors was 385, and their deposits £9,989. *St. James'* savings bank, established 1838; deposits in May, 1852, £21,722. *Trelawney* savings bank; deposits in May, 1852, £4,122. *St. Ann's* savings bank, established 14th of June, 1845; deposits in May, 1852, £2,002; total deposits, £37,835. The Assembly has absorbed these as well as all other funds committed to its trust; and this circumstance cannot fail to check the beneficial influence which such institutions are calculated to exercise in encouraging, among the poorer classes, industry and thrift.

COMMERCE.—The trade of Jamaica has undergone considerable fluctuations, occasioned by various political and social changes. A mere statement of the money value of the past and present imports and exports would convey a very erroneous impression respecting the internal consumption of British manufactures; for, during many years, the island was an entrepôt for the supply of different places in Central and Southern America with European goods; and although the custom-house entries gave a large total of imports, a considerable proportion was re-exported. This traffic has almost ceased; and the value of both imports and exports now indicates the actual consumption and production of the colony.

Imports of Food into Jamaica, in 1834, 1838, 1846, 1850, and 1851.

Articles.	1834.	1838.	1846.	1850.	1851.
Flour barrels . . .	53,998	69,111	107,330	77,469	66,106
Meal " . . .	13,152	11,669	19,333	18,705	9,497
Bread " . . .	6,382	6,883	—	—	—
" bags . . .	135	393	—	—	—
" cwts. . . .	4,249	1,075	—	—	6,763
" pounds . . .	—	—	1,038,240	830,928	—
Rice casks and bags	4,082	17,687	—	—	—
" pounds . . .	1,730,680	265,082	3,529,136	2,616,322	3,881,226
Corn, oats, pease, &c. . bushels . . .	17,234	33,041	185,433	102,582	75,734
Fish (dry) casks . . .	7,563	9,633	—	—	—
" boxes . . .	7,848	9,387	—	3,571	2,401
" (pickled) tierces . . .	194	846	1,558	—	—
" barrels . . .	69,122	41,557	40,669	44,865	50,632
" kits . . .	642	1,304	—	—	—
Codfish quintals . . .	—	—	116,262	109,595	106,779
Reef barrels . . .	3,904	2,671	3,881	1,831	2,647
Pork " . . .	15,665	9,299	33,812	20,187	10,314
Wet tongues " . . .	—	—	686	501	650
Dry ditto, hams, &c. . cwts. . . .	—	—	3,486	2,590	2,859
Butter and lard firkins . . .	13,717	17,997	25,798	21,104	16,736
Candles boxes . . .	14,478	8,812	19,277	11,544	14,349
Soap cwts. . . .	18,866	11,350	39,076	37,936	46,308

* Prices of articles for domestic use, in the market of Kingston, Jamaica, May, 1851:—Beef, 8d. per lb.; mutton, 1s.; veal, 7½d. (very inferior); pork, 7½d.; turtle, from 6d. to 7½d.; fish, generally about 9d.; turkeys, 10s. to 14s. each; ducks, 3s. 6d. to 4s.; guinea fowls, 3s. 6d.;

While slavery existed, the mass of the population were wretchedly and scantily clad, but at present they generally wear decent habiliments, and, as their means increase, indulge in luxuries; hence, as a market for British manufactures, the value of Jamaica to England has decidedly increased since emancipation. Moreover, when the production of sugar was deemed the sole means of acquiring wealth, the food of the inhabitants for ten months out of the twelve was imported from England and America; this improvident system is now, to some extent, rectified by the negro proprietors of small allotments, through whose labour the markets are partially supplied with daily requisites.

But for the surplus food raised by them, numbers of the inhabitants of this fertile island might die of absolute starvation; for, with strange inconsistency, the higher proprietary classes will sooner allow their sugar-fields to remain out of cultivation than employ them in the production of cerealia and vegetables, or the rearing of live stock. The fine fish with which the shores abound, meets with the same supine neglect; for, poor as the people are, they will sooner pay for a foreign supply than use that with which a bountiful Providence has liberally provided them. In a few instances, where the owners of estates have devoted their time and means to the production of food, they have derived considerable profit, and might reasonably be expected to do so, since every article, even wheat, may be readily and economically raised in different portions of Jamaica.

At present, the prices* of provisions are exorbitant, and they are nearly all of inferior quality.

The following tabular view shows the quantity of food imported during the last year of slavery, 1834; the last year of apprenticeship, 1838; during 1846-'50, and 1851. The years 1850 and 1851 must be considered as exceptional, because of the interruption to all ordinary avocations occasioned by cholera.

fowls, 2s. 6d. to 4s.; pigeons (tame), 1s. to 1s. 6d. per pair; yams, vary according to the supply, from 3s. to 12s. per 100 lbs.; potatoes (native) from 1½d. to 4½d. per lb.; cabbage, 6d. for a good head; English peas, 6d. for a pint; eggs, from three to four for 3d. and 6d.

106 DECLARED VALUE OF IMPORTS AND EXPORTS, TONNAGE INWARDS.

The absence of any consecutive commercial returns renders it impracticable to show the actual quantity or value of British manufactures imported previous and subsequent to the abolition of slavery; there is no doubt, however, that the inland dry goods trade of the colony has considerably increased since 1834. In some returns the imports are given for Kingston only; in others, for the various ports.

The declared value of imports from Great Britain exclusively, at two periods, during slavery and apprenticeship, was in currency:—1830 to 1833, £5,103,328; annual average, £1,275,667; 1835 to 1838, £6,457,969; annual average, £1,614,492 = £968,695 sterling.

But a large portion of the goods thus represented were re-exported; Jamaica, as before stated, being then an entrepôt for the Spanish main and other places. There is no complete record of the annual re-exports, but the following statement, for two years, will illustrate the well-known fact. British manufactures, paying 1 per cent., were, in—

Year.	Imported.	Re-exported.
1839	£1,171,401	£359,032
1840	1,256,880	347,026

At this period, £100 currency was only equivalent to £60 sterling; £1,256,880 was consequently equal to £754,128 sterling; from this is to be deducted £347,026 currency = £208,215 sterling; thus, the actual value of British manufactures consumed in 1840, was £545,913 sterling.

The conversion of currency into sterling in 1841, must still be borne in mind that the increased value of the present imports may be appreciated: these, in the last two years, ending January, have been—1850, £1,218,073; 1851, £1,129,776 sterling.

During 1851, the value of British imports at the different stations was thus rated:—Kingston, £501,287; Montego Bay, £52,167; Falmouth, £49,247; Savanna-la-Mar and Black River, £25,807; Port Morant, £17,762; St. Ann's Bay, £9,662; Port Maria, £7,335; Annotto Bay, £5,664; Lucea, £4,273; Rio Bueno, £2,008: total, £675,212. Almost the whole was required for domestic consumption. The average of British imports only for several years may be given at £800,000 sterling; a greater quantity than was consumed during slavery.

In the next page a table is given showing the chief exports for a series of years; among the minor items not included in that list, may be mentioned:—

Articles.	1848.	1849.	1850.	1851.
Arrowroot . . lbs.	88,218	99,118	226,186	258,426
Succades . . cwt.	418	290	1,528	214
Shrub . . gals.	419	155	378	397
Honey . . "	—	271	2,363	2,332
Bees-wax . . lbs.	—	1,036	5,243	14,195
Logwood . . tons.	4,051	3,736	6,732	6,318
Fustic . . "	567	623	1,466	875
Lancewood spars No.	9,770	9,181	12,482	8,469
Mahogany . . feet	18,606	23,808	4,030	11,399
Lignum Vitæ } tons.	220	26	336	417
Ebony, &c.	—	—	—	—
Cocoa nuts . . No.	—	—	6,400	264,923
Cotton . . lbs.	—	—	—	6,516

Cotton of every kind can be produced in Jamaica, and, indeed, a variety of spices are found wild; the plant itself is unquestionably indigenous. The valuable description termed "sea island" yielded the first year the seeds were sown, 500 lbs. to the acre,

whereas in the southern states of America, 400 lbs. is considered a good yield. The total expense of cultivation is £5 to £7 per acre, the value of the produce £35 to £37. The absence of winter (which not unfrequently blights the United States crop), and the abundance of fertile unoccupied land, indicates that Jamaica might become a great cotton country; and the chief justice, Sir J. Rowe, at a recent meeting for the purpose of forming an experimental plantation, declared there was no want of labour for the production of cotton simultaneously with that of sugar. One hundred acres might be planted, and the produce taken to market with fifteen labourers, four ploughs, and four mules.

Rice, of a fine grain, and not much inferior in size to that of Carolina, has recently been grown on morass lands by Mr. W. W. Anderson. Tobacco, quite equal in quality and size of leaf to that of Cuba and Manilla, grows almost wild; yet in 1851, 195,198 lbs. manufactured, and 513,436 in leaf, were supplied from a foreign market. Salt may be collected on the sea-shore, but 32,077 cwt. were imported in 1851. Bricks to the number of 456,608 were brought in, in the same year, although the best materials for their manufacture abound. In the time of the Spaniards Jamaica was literally overrun with cattle, yet, in 1851, 2,157 head were introduced.

Cacao and indigo, once the staple products of the island, are now entirely neglected. Although the soil is peculiarly favourable for cocoa-nuts, and the trees abound, yet the colonists import cocoa-nut oil from Ceylon. Now the negroes are turning their attention to the subject, as the produce of a tree is worth from £2 to £3 per annum, and it will continue to bear nuts for 100 years. The cottiers usually plant one or more trees on the birth of a child. Silk might be largely exported, as the mulberry thrives well. Various spices, dyes, and drugs, which we now obtain from foreign countries, might all be grown and prepared in Jamaica.

Soap might become a valuable article of trade; a Dr. Robinson, in 1767, obtained a premium of £100 from the local legislature for the manufacture of an article which united all the qualities of Castile soap to another of singular efficacy, namely, perfect solubility in salt water. The process of preparation consists in expressing by heavy rollers the juice of the lower leaves of the *coratœ* or *curaçâ* plant, a species of the *agavé*. The juice, after being strained through a hair sieve, is inspissated by the heat of the sun, or over a slow fire; the material is then made into balls or cakes.

The shipping entering the island ports has not been sensibly diminished of late years. In 1830 the tonnage inwards amounted to 120,721 tons; since the abolition of slavery it has ranged from 110,000 to 115,000 tons; in 1851 (the year of cholera) the tonnage of shipping entering inwards was from Great Britain, 46,554; from British colonies, 19,994; from United States, 28,286; from other foreign countries, 11,134. Total, 105,968 tons.

The exports unquestionably manifest a very large diminution in very important items. The decrease, however, at first sight appears greater than it really is, especially as regards sugar. Within the last few years the size of the sugar hogshead has been augmented from seventeen or eighteen to twenty and twenty-two cwt., for the convenience of carriage, and lessening of dues, &c. Thus 40,000 now represent 50,000 hogsheads of the former measurement. Moreover, during slavery the bulk of the

EXPORTS OF SUGAR, RUM, MOLASSES, GINGER, PIMENTO, COFFEE. 107

population never tasted sugar except what they obtained surreptitiously, or the skimmings or refuse during crop time; whereas it now is largely consumed by all classes. Allowing eight ounces a week

per head for a population of 450,000, an annual supply of 5,000 hogsheads is required exclusively for domestic consumption. The same remark, though in a lesser degree, applies to rum and coffee.

Year when Exported.	Hogsheads of Sugar.	Puncheons of Rum.	Casks of Molasses.	Pounds of Ginger	Pounds of Pimento.	Pounds of Coffee.
1772	76,109	—	—	—	—	841,558
1773	80,738	—	—	—	—	779,303
1774	75,781	—	—	—	—	739,039
1775	81,404	—	—	—	—	493,981
1788	89,340	—	—	—	—	1,035,368
1789	91,021	—	—	—	—	1,492,282
1790	91,131	—	—	—	—	1,783,740
1791	91,020	—	—	—	—	2,299,874
1793	82,138	35,194	—	1,063,600	1,968,560	3,938,576
1794	97,124	40,628	—	1,297,100	2,758,080	4,901,549
1795	95,362	38,421	—	1,996,320	2,626,380	6,318,812
1796	96,460	41,492	—	2,778,000	1,182,880	7,263,539
1797	85,109	28,746	—	3,621,260	411,240	7,860,133
1798	95,858	41,940	—	2,273,980	1,107,900	7,894,306
1799	110,646	38,013	—	1,363,460	2,570,640	11,745,425
1800	105,584	37,841	—	652,320	1,640,880	11,116,474
1801	136,056	49,363	—	34,680	1,806,720	13,401,468
1802	140,113	46,837	366	260,980	1,041,540	17,961,923
1803	115,494	44,006	461	419,940	1,941,060	15,866,291
1804	112,163	42,663	429	769,480	2,603,700	22,063,980
1805	150,352	53,950	471	412,860	940,680	24,137,393
1806	146,601	58,780	499	460,660	2,541,000	29,298,036
1807	135,203	52,811	699	425,320	2,401,380	26,761,188
1808	132,333	53,507	379	394,400	823,980	25,628,273
1809	114,630	44,850	230	1,229,140	4,465,200	52,586,668
1810	112,208	43,335	293	485,720	3,429,240	25,885,285
1811	138,292	56,098	446	803,640	2,763,720	17,460,068
1812	113,173	44,111	151	574,900	1,141,000	18,481,986
1813	104,558	46,604	208	579,360	1,925,640	24,623,572
1814	109,158	44,598	145	642,160	1,356,240	34,045,585
1815	127,269	54,321	242	946,540	3,438,240	27,362,742
1816	100,382	36,416	166	1,311,160	3,518,820	17,289,393
1817	123,766	48,776	354	1,824,020	2,068,320	14,793,706
1818	121,758	50,827	407	1,391,040	2,697,900	25,329,456
1819	116,344	45,333	253	943,160	3,098,760	14,901,983
1820	122,922	46,933	252	617,420	1,666,740	22,127,444
1821	119,560	47,870	167	524,520	3,199,560	16,819,761
1822	94,515	29,403	144	464,140	2,366,460	19,773,912
1823	101,271	36,244	614	527,700	2,918,640	20,326,445
1824	106,009	38,760	910	1,121,240	4,104,540	27,677,239
1825	79,090	28,747	894	2,015,260	2,614,140	21,254,656
1826	106,712	37,662	549	2,924,040	2,065,920	20,352,886
1827	87,399	33,570	204	2,464,300	3,785,400	25,741,520
1828	101,575	38,235	189	2,724,483	3,762,780	22,216,780
1829	97,893	37,430	66	2,070,660	6,543,900	22,234,640
1830	100,205	35,025	154	1,748,800	5,560,620	22,256,950
1831	94,881	36,411	230	1,614,640	3,172,320	14,055,350
1832	98,686	33,685	799	2,355,560	4,024,800	19,815,010
1833	85,401	34,976	755	2,811,760	8,423,100	9,866,060
1834	84,756	32,111	486	2,976,420	3,605,400	17,725,731
1835	77,970	27,530	300	2,050,840	7,284,660	10,593,018
1836	67,094	20,536	182	2,620,280	6,654,340	13,446,053
1837	61,506	21,976	173	2,759,840	6,744,220	8,955,178
1838	69,613	25,380	149	2,567,640	2,708,640	13,551,795
1839	49,243	16,072	18	1,669,200	3,812,760	8,897,421
1840	33,660	11,472	18	1,400,800	3,063,980	7,279,670
1841	34,491	11,769	51	1,834,120	3,595,380	6,433,370
1842	50,295	16,566	109	2,008,300	3,753,960	7,048,914
1843	44,169	15,046	177	1,456,725	3,546,720	7,367,113
1844	34,444	11,631	92	1,993,600	1,462,440	7,148,775
1845	47,926	16,997	15	1,888,480	7,181,220	5,021,209
1846	36,223	14,395	76	1,462,000	2,997,060	6,047,150
1847	48,554	18,077	22	1,324,480	2,800,140	6,421,122
1848	42,212	20,194	2	320,340	6,231,908	5,681,941
1849	41,656	16,784	1	415,866	5,712,424	3,430,228
1850	37,188	16,591	9	799,276	4,059,825	5,127,265
1851	40,249	18,492	40	1,176,676	4,439,897	5,595,273
1852	—	—	—	—	—	—
1853	—	—	—	—	—	—

Note.—The Jamaica sugar hogshead is singularly ill-adapted for inland transit and for ship stowage: in Cuba the sugar is packed in small and nearly square boxes, admirably suited for any description of carriage; in the Mauritius and Bengal mat bags are used, which are nearly as advantageous as the Havannah boxes. The cane is probably indigenous; the manufacture of sugar commenced about 1673, in which year the governor (Lynch) sent H.M. secretary of state, a pot of the then precious commodity, with its history. Coffee (according to Lunan) was introduced by Sir N. Laws, in 1728.

108 CAUSES OF DECREASED SUGAR CULTIVATION IN JAMAICA.

The cruel and ignominious treatment to which the labouring population were exposed up to the very termination of the apprenticeship system, and which happily had no parallel in any other part of the West Indies, has made many of the Jamaica negroes detest sugar cultivation, and consider it as a badge of their former hateful servitude. The planters and overseers were emphatically warned of this danger by successive governors, and several of the most upright and intelligent of the special magistrates offered valuable suggestions, respecting the best means of establishing a good understanding between masters and labourers. Mr. Stephen Bourne, special magistrate, strenuously recommended the proprietors to undertake "a general repair of all the negro houses, and to offer an ample portion of good land for gardens, as near as possible to the cottages and provision grounds;" to dismiss "every harsh and unkind overseer;" to provide schools and religious instruction for the people, so that consolation might be afforded to the sick and dying; to "offer every apprentice a lease of his house and land for a term of seven, fourteen, or twenty-one years, at a fair rent, to be paid either in money or in labour;" to choose "two of the steadiest men on each estate, swear them in as constables, and in consideration of their taking on themselves to promote the public peace on the property, to let them have their houses and lands rent-free, with an undertaking of a gift of an acre of land

in fee at the end of two years, if they have faithfully performed their duties during that period."

Except in a very few instances, these and all similar preliminary measures were, as has been stated (see p. 69), despised or neglected; the overseers, deprived of the power of coercion by the whip, thought only of using it in another form by the exaction of oppressive rents, and if these were not paid, the cattle were turned in on the provision grounds of the people, their few pigs, goats, and poultry shot, and the ties of old association which might, and (from the peculiar attachment cherished by the negro to the spot on which he was born) probably would, have sufficed to attach them to the properties to which they had previously belonged, was thus rudely and for ever severed. By impolitic harshness or neglect, a large number of people were compelled, in self-defence, to cease from being labourers for hire on the sugar estates, and to become cottiers; the more so, because the high price of provisions absolutely necessitated that they should grow food for their families, who must otherwise have starved. Proprietors, or their agents, have therefore, to a great extent, themselves to blame for the diminution of labour which they have experienced, and which has tended to bring about the diminished cultivation of sugar and coffee, shown in the following return, advertised by order of the House of Assembly in the leading London journals of March, 1853.

"A Return of all Properties in the island of Jamaica, upon which cultivation has been wholly or partially abandoned since the 1st day of January, 1848; and showing the number of acres; the assessed annual value on the 1st day of January, 1848; the assessed annual value on the 28th of March, 1852; the average amount of taxes paid annually for four years, prior to the 1st day of January, 1848; and the amount of taxes assessed for 1852:—

Parishes	Sugar Estates.		Coffee Properties.		Pens.		Number of acres.	Assessed annual value on Jan. 1st, 1848.	Assessed annual value on March 28th, 1852.	Average amount of taxes paid annually for four years prior to Jan. 1st, 1848.	Amount of taxes assessed for 1852.
	Totally abandoned.	Partially abandoned.	Totally abandoned.	Partially abandoned.	Totally abandoned.	Partially abandoned.					
St. Catherine	2	—	—	—	3	—	4,105	£1,257	£592	£209	£98
St. John	5	—	1	—	5	—	17,025	3,179	430	475	132
St. Dorothy	1	2	1	—	1	1	5,578	1,495	807	231	97
St. Thomas-in-the-Vale	9	4	25	3	—	—	26,420	6,175	3,838	1,027	588
Vere	5	—	—	—	—	—	9,273	3,033	1,215	331	202
Clarendon	10	—	1	—	2	—	24,576	3,008	954	576	266
Manchester	—	—	8	2	—	—	6,673	681	206	175	50
St. Mary	8	7	—	—	—	—	17,846	7,529	4,258	1,210	645
St. Ann	8	1	19	18	2	—	29,367	7,654	3,402	771	490
Port Royal	1	—	2	3	—	—	2,955	1,026	658	132	82
St. David	6	1	10	4	4	—	16,005	3,584	2,480	401	412
St. Andrew	4	7	3	6	—	—	15,106	4,865	1,776	938	328
St. Thomas-in-the-East	18	9	3	1	—	—	37,935	9,251	4,198	862	672
Portland	3	8	—	—	—	—	15,225	3,109	2,478	463	335
St. George	2	8	12	10	3	5	37,063	8,572	7,214	1,166	643
Metcalfe	2	2	6	13	—	—	15,245	6,022	2,955	796	363
St. Elizabeth	4	1	5	6	10	16	43,663	4,196	2,775	823	380
Westmoreland	9	5	—	—	—	—	18,510	5,423	2,886	831	277
Hanover	13	5	—	—	—	—	18,149	5,422	3,100	718	368
St. James	7	5	—	—	—	—	11,480	4,611	2,798	711	336
Trelawney	11	6	—	—	—	—	18,984	8,342	4,197	859	571
Total	128	71	96	66	30	22	391,187	98,439	53,221	13,715	7,284

Note.—The shillings and pence are omitted.

There is without doubt a great depreciation of landed property in Jamaica; numerous estates, both of sugar and coffee, have been thrown out of cultivation, or in other words "abandoned." For this various causes may be assigned. 1st. Several properties, during the period of high prices for sugar

and coffee, were laid out for the raising of these products, which, by reason of soil and position, were utterly unfit for such culture, although they would have proved profitable if kept as grazing pens, or, in

* See *Colonial Freeman* of 26th March, 1838, a periodical published at Kingston.

some instances, as agricultural farms. This may be illustrated by the well known fact that when the price of wheat in England was eighty shillings per quarter, land was appropriated to its growth which was only fit for pasture or timber. 2nd. The absence of available capital wherewith to remunerate labour, or purchase new and improved machinery, by which the quantity of sugar obtained from the cane might be largely increased. 3rd. The disinclination manifested by the proprietors to parcel out their estates in small farms or allotments on lease or sale to the coloured people, who have consequently been often compelled to resort to the mountains, and become squatters. 4th. Many of the abandoned estates belong to absentees or mortgagees, who will neither continue the cultivation, nor sell, but hold on in the hope that "protection" will be revived, or that something will be done by government to raise the value of property, and thus enable them to realize more profitably, or incur less loss, than would be the case if the lands were now sold. The sooner the proprietors of estates, thrown out of culture, can be brought to understand that government is alike unable and unwilling to give an artificial worth to such possessions, the better; like many insolvent Irish estates, those of Jamaica would then be brought into the market, and find purchaser able and willing to provide capital, energy, and skill, for turning the land to good account. At present one great check to the sale of Jamaica properties is their unwieldy size. A decided change for the better would probably be made by the passing of an Encumbered Estates Act.

Sugar is now cultivated extensively, and with profit, in Demerara, where land is abundant, and the negroes have largely become proprietors of the soil; there is no reason why Jamaica, under a sound and judicious system, should not be equally productive. With an honest Assembly, an able governor, a sound financial system, a cessation of party and political squabbles, a cordial co-operation of all classes for a restoration of harmony, and above all, a prayerful reliance on Divine Providence, the island might become permanently prosperous, and an honour to the empire of which it forms an important and integral part. To accomplish this great object, the evils and deficiencies of the past agricultural and manufacturing system must be remedied, and the improvements adopted in Barbados, Antigua, Demerara, and other places introduced. On this subject many interesting facts have recently been published by several gentlemen in the colony, and especially by Mr. Thomas Henney, in a prize essay "on the defects of the agricultural system hitherto pursued in Jamaica." This skillful tropical farmer dwells much on the absence of fencing, whereby a flourishing field of canes is laid waste in a few hours by the trespass of stock (an evil which I myself noticed in 1851); on the general want of sufficient guinea-grass to fodder the stock when penned; on the wretched state of the pastures, which are seldom cleaned at all, or only in the most superficial manner; on the absence of manuring, and the collection of any proper composts, to which neglect, irrespective of the long-continued and successive droughts, he considered all the falling off in the production of sugar might be justly attributed. In commenting on the want of proper agricultural implements, Mr. Henney says, that until recently, "except on a very few estates, even the plough was unknown or despised;" in a large district there was only one estate where that very simple instrument,

the three pronged fork, was used; "the hoe, dung-basket, and bill, were, with few exceptions, the sole implements of husbandry up to a very late period."

He likewise points out the want of care or judgment manifested in not planting the varieties of the cane in the peculiar soil best suited to their respective qualities, and the disgraceful state of the roads, by which the mill is not unfrequently stopped during crop-time, the cattle being unable to drag the loaded wains through sloughs where they were axle-deep in mud. The state of agriculture makes the island present a mortifying contrast to Cuba, the estates of whose resident proprietary exhibit stone-fenced cane-fields, and husbandry which would delight a Norfolk farmer. The manufacturing process in Jamaica, which is equally slovenly, imperfect, and ill-adapted to the requirements of the present age, was ably described in a series of papers published in *Simmond's Colonial Magazine* in 1848-'9. They were written by a Mr. John Biggs, a colonial engineer, who had spent twenty-six years in the British West Indies, during twenty-two of which he had resided in Jamaica. This gentleman's remarks agree with, in many points, and confirm those of Mr. Henney, and so far as the actual cultivation and preparation of sugar are concerned, seem well deserving of attention.

Respecting the 120 resolutions drawn up by the late Lord George Bentinck's celebrated parliamentary committee on the sugar-producing colonies, Mr. Biggs declares, that while many of the premises were indisputable, the conclusions thence drawn were totally at variance with facts. West Indian distress he attributes mainly to the want of common attention to their own interests on the part of the planters, which had been in a great measure caused by the protection they had so long enjoyed in the sugar market, whose effects had been to render them careless of attending to an improved cultivation and manufacture, or to the prevention of waste.

The errors of the present system are stated under ten distinct heads, of which the following abstract shows the leading points.

First.—The imperfect preparation of the lands before planting, whereby the labour expended in the after-cleaning of the crops is doubled, or even trebled.

Second.—The practice of cultivating quite one-third of the canes, rather for the purposes of fuel, than for their yield of sugar.

Third.—The wilful waste of valuable manures, which, if properly applied, would restore the temporarily exhausted lands in the immediate vicinity of the sugar-works, and prevent the necessity of cultivating more distant ground, and bringing the canes from a distance, which, owing to the mountainous character of the country, and the wretched state of the roads, must inevitably increase materially the labour of the cattle, and in bad weather form a very heavy item in the long list of contingencies.

Fourth.—The use of the hoe in numerous operations, that could be more speedily and efficiently performed by implemental husbandry, and thus expending from 50 to 75 per cent. more manual labour than is necessary.

Fifth.—The employment of six to seven months in taking off the crop, whereas the machinery and arrangements ought to be such as to complete the whole operation in three months, otherwise the canes must inevitably be cut at improper periods, either too early or too late. In the former case the saccharine matter cannot be perfected in them, and a waste of time and fuel must ensue in evaporating the extra quantity of aqueous parts in the juice, which, after all, can only produce sugar of a very inferior quality; while in the latter, the greater portion of the saccharine will have gone to support new

vegetation, some of the late cut canes frequently having new sprouts eighteen inches in length; and the effect on the succeeding crop must of course be very mischievous, from the sprouts or rattoons being necessarily deprived of the best seasons for growing.

Sixth and seventh.—The loss of juice by the imperfect grinding of the cane, and the bad and wasteful method of clarifying it, by which the sugar is greatly deteriorated.

Eighth and ninth.—Petty thefts, and the material thrown away by careless packing in the wharf-stores, by drainage, and on board the ships on their voyage home.

Tenth.—The consumption of double the quantity of fuel, and more than double the amount of labour, at an increased cost, to that which would be required, but for the employment of non-efficient machinery, and a dilatory manner of cropping.

Nor is it only the evils of their manufacturing and agricultural system that are now openly admitted and canvassed by the Jamaica colonists. The publication, by the House of Assembly, of such plainly expressed sentiments as those contained in the following extract, shows that other deficiencies and abuses are likewise acknowledged and deplored.

"Absenteeism is at an end. Proprietors, to reap any benefit from possessions, must make Jamaica their home; they must reside here, they must be content with limited means. Had this been done some years back, the state of Jamaica would have been different now, the most beautiful island in the Carribbean sea would have been able to boast of cities as great and as wealthy as the Havanna. The time has now arrived when, to save ourselves from utter ruin, we must be up and doing, we must cast off that apathy which has so long distinguished us as a community, which has made the creole a bye-word among nations, which hangs as a veil over all our undertakings, and is visible throughout all the departments and workings of our constitution, mars the usefulness of all our public improvements, and is too evident in all the concerns of private life. It is useless to cry out for more labourers, or for immigration; where are the thirty and odd thousand beings who this time last year were among us? Before we import others to supply their place, let us ascertain why it is our population has not increased, why has immigration so signally failed; let us search out the number of those who daily and hourly die from the effects of preventable causes; let us apply the remedy that experience assures us does exist; let the mouldering bones of hundreds of immigrants, victims of misplaced confidence, cause those in authority to pause, ere they, by their sanction, delude others; ere they hold out promises which can never be realised. Examine the present sanitary condition of the island; mark the fact, that districts of twenty, thirty, and forty square miles in extent exist, without a single qualified medical practitioner; observe the fact that the existing laws, meagre as they are, as relates to sanitary matters, are daily broken, are put to open defiance in our very towns and thoroughfares. Consider this, and few, under such circumstances, can advocate the further introduction of his fellow-man. Correct all this, and then will immigration prove to us a benefit; then will it be a boon to

* Second report of the General Board of Health of Jamaica, signed by J. Gayleard, *president of the council*; C. Mc Larty Morales, *speaker of the House of Assembly*; P. Yule, *lieutenant-colonel commanding royal engineers*; L. Q. Bowerbank, *president of the college of physicians and surgeons of Jamaica*, and others; presented to the legislature, and printed by order of the Assembly, dated 29th November, 1851; pp. 116-7.

† The mountain climate is peculiarly salubrious, and has been found very beneficial to invalids of consumptive habits; it closely resembles that of Madeira, and is becoming a favourite resort with the Americans.

‡ When visiting Jamaica in 1851, I paid my respects to the House of Assembly then sitting at Spanish Town, and the following insertion was ordered to be recorded in the

the liberty-crippled American black, a source of temporal and eternal advantage to the African heathen. Till this is done, any further attempt to induce strangers to embark their fortunes here, can be but to disregard the laws of God and man, and by exposing the deceived to destruction, to bring down greater judgments yet upon the authors of their ruin; as it is, with the population we already have, great difficulties must be anticipated; old habits and darling prejudices must be torn up and rooted out, and whatever the labour may be, it must be done."*

SUMMARY.—The facts narrated in the preceding pages will, it is hoped, enable the reader to form his own conclusions respecting the past and present condition of Jamaica, many of them have not been recorded without pain, for the memory of the writer vividly retains the remembrance of the superb scenery of this noble island, of its invigorating mountain air,† but, above all, of the hearty kindness of its impoverished but still nobly hospitable white inhabitants, and the contented and happy appearance of its coloured population. With regard to the House of Assembly, he takes this opportunity of acknowledging the courteous reception he there received, and the acceptable gift of a copy of their journals and laws, which has since been forwarded to him in England.‡ The concluding pages of the historical section were already in the press; and owing to the periodical issue of the work, could not be delayed; otherwise it would have been a grateful duty to have transcribed some of the many just and munificent legislative acts recorded in the island annals. Their examination has not, however, led him to regret the insertion of any statement in the preceding pages, but rather served to deepen his convictions respecting the evils inevitably associated with a system which in all ages, and among all nations, has produced similarly baneful results. The colony is at the commencement of a new era; the Representative Chamber now stands on the broad basis of popular franchise, and contains intelligent and patriotic men, alive to a sense of the serious responsibilities attached to their position, and having a stake at issue in the property of the island. Still a faithful history of the past is necessary both in explanation of the present state, and as a guide and warning for future legislation, and he who honestly narrates the truth, whether in regard to an individual or a community, performs a service and confers a benefit of which the value will be tested by time and experience. The persons more especially identified with the unhappy period of slavery have, most of them, passed away; many were permitted to live and acknowledge the errors committed under a false and corrupting system; and of those who remain, few, if any, now believe that real advantage can ever be derived from a policy essentially opposed to the dictates of Christianity, and to the first and universal principles of justice.

journals of the House:—"That a committee be appointed, of which Mr. Speaker shall be chairman, to procure a copy of the journals and laws of this island, and to present the same in the most acceptable manner to Montgomery Martin, Esq." In February, 1853, I was favoured with a case containing the journals and votes of the General Assembly from 1663 to 1851-'2, comprised in fourteen large folio volumes of about 520 pages each, and in fifteen lesser sized thick volumes, ranging from 580 to 880 pages each. The laws of the colony are printed in twelve quarto volumes, varying in size from 220 to 950 pages each. They comprise the statutes and all the acts passed by the Assembly since the thirty-second year of Charles II. The whole of these records are well arranged, and possess copious indices.

I never heard a single Jamaican attribute the present condition of the island to emancipation; and I firmly believe that, supposing the restoration of slavery possible, the planters would oppose it from a conviction of its impolicy, as well as from a conscientious sense of its iniquity.

With regard to the change in protective duties in 1846, the case is certainly different; that measure could not but seriously affect the whole West India interest, as it is termed, though even the severest sufferers during the transition must admit, that since it had been decided (whether wisely, or unwisely, this is not the place to discuss) that the colonies generally were not to be connected in commercial relations with the mother country, by the admission of their goods in preference to those of foreign states, it would have been evidently unfair to the others to make exceptions in favour of any particular branch, where all had such strong claims.

One good effect the sharp spur of competition at least appears to have had, in rousing the colonists to a sense of the necessity of self dependence, and combined effort for the reformation of those internal evils whose ruinous tendencies no protective legislation on the part of the imperial government could ever neutralize.

In conclusion, I cannot but express somewhat of the deep solicitude inspired by an examination of the past and present state of the coloured population. During slavery, their gentle, forbearing, unvengeful dispositions, and the grateful readiness with which they received the holy and consoling doctrines of Christianity, at once encouraged the abolitionists to persevere in the long and arduous struggle undertaken for their sakes, and furnished some of their most

efficient weapons. The fiery ordeal of adversity has been triumphantly passed, but prosperity has many insidious and dangerous temptations, which can be guarded against only by an abiding and practical knowledge, that rights and privileges are invariably accompanied by proportionate responsibilities.

The duties of freemen, and they are great, are now expected from the peasantry; and the Christian world looks anxiously for the visible working of that faith to which even, as regards earthly things, they are so largely indebted, since it has indeed proved to them a very present help in time of trouble, not only in alleviating, but even in removing their heavy bondage; since, to the glory of God be it spoken, it was almost exclusively a religious movement which prompted the British public to cry with one voice, and in a spirit not merely of disinterestedness, but of self-sacrifice, "unloose the heavy burdens, and let the oppressed go free." Now may the Africans prove their gratitude to Him who can alone continue and increase their present blessings, by conscientiously fulfilling the duties of the station to which Divine Providence has raised them. Let them think of the thousands of their countrymen still yearly torn from their native land; of the millions of wretched captives whose bodies are still galled by iron chains, or lacerated by the whip, and whose minds are yet in the darkness of heathenism, and let them remember, that by showing themselves industrious, orderly, and self-denying Christians, they may largely contribute to prove to the world the capabilities of their race, and by offering indisputable evidence of the superiority of free over slave labour, may do more than any other community to serve the great cause of universal emancipation.

CHAPTER V.—BARBADOS

THE Caribbee Islands form a segment of a circle, to the eastward of the sea which bears their name. Barbados does not, properly speaking, belong to this group, which constitutes a pretty regular curve, but lies seventy-eight miles due east of St. Vincent (see Map), in $13^{\circ} 19' N.$ lat.; the North Point being $59^{\circ} 37' W.$ long. It is about twenty-one miles long by twelve miles broad; has a circumference of fifty-five English miles, and a superficial area of 106,470 acres, or about 166 square miles. In size, and, in some measure, in its irregular triangular outline, Barbados may be compared to the Isle of Wight.

To enter into much detail regarding the history of Barbados, and of the other British possessions in the West Indies, would be impracticable within the space allotted to this section of the colonies; it

must, therefore, suffice to record the leading events in their respective progress, and offer some statistical illustration of their past and present condition.

Jamaica has been dwelt upon at more length, because it appeared necessary to exemplify the practical workings of slavery. The description there given will, with some minor differences, answer for all—cruelty, though not to the same outrageous excess, insurrections, and destruction of human life, constituting the prevailing features, while hurricanes, earthquakes, and pestilence, with various commercial fluctuations, fill up a picture which, but for the lesson it conveys, were better consigned to oblivion. The reader, desirous of fuller data, on the various points briefly sketched in the following pages, will find a large but undigested mass in the parliamentary records, and much informa-

tion in a more interesting form, in the voluminous but generally pro-slavery writings of Ligon, Oldmixon, Frere, Poyer, Smith, and the recent interesting and extensive work by Sir R. H. Schomburgk.*

HISTORY.—The exact date of the discovery of this island is not recorded, but it is supposed to have been known as early as 1618.†

The Portuguese, in their voyages to Brazil, are conjectured to have been the first Europeans who landed here; and to them is attributed the application of the name *Las Barbadas*, or *Barbudos*, signifying, in their language, one who has a long beard, in allusion to the abundance of a species of fig-tree (*Ficus laurifolia*), from whose branches masses of twisted, fibrous roots, hang down like luxuriant beards.

The Spaniards subsequently resorted to the island, and carried off the natives to work as slaves in the mines of Cuba, until not one was left; and nothing but a few Indian implements and utensils remained to bear witness to the white men who were to inherit this beautiful land of their ill-fated predecessors.

In 1606, the "Olive Blossom," an English vessel, fitten out by Sir Olive Leigh, "a worshipful knight of Kent," while on its way to Guiana with colonists and stores, accidentally touched at Barbados. A portion of the crew landed on the leeward shore, and finding no inhabitants, took possession, on behalf of their country, by erecting a cross in a conspicuous position, and inscribing on several trees a declaration of the sovereignty of "James, king of England, and of this island."‡

Eighteen or twenty years afterwards, some Dutch vessels, specially licensed by the court of Spain to trade to Brazil, landed for the purpose of procuring refreshments; and on their return to Zealand, gave a flattering account of the fertility and commodious situation of the island, which was communicated by a correspondent to Sir William Courteen, a wealthy London merchant, one of whose ships was, shortly after (in 1624), driven by stress of weather on the Barbadian coast. The crew were detained here for a time; their description fully coincided with that given by the Dutch navigators, and confirmed Courteen in his plan of establishing a settlement.

Lord Ley, afterwards Earl of Marlborough, and Lord High Treasurer, applied to and obtained from James the First a patent, granting the island to him and his heirs for ever. Under his protection, Courteen despatched two vessels laden with intending colonists, and with the necessary articles for their establishment. Of these ships, one only reached its destination, and on the 17th of February, 1625, landed forty English persons, with seven or eight negroes, who laid the foundation of James Town, on the spot occupied by the crew of the *Olive Blossom* twenty years before.

It would appear, however, that notwithstanding the patent conceded to Lord Ley, a grant or warrant of a grant, under the great seal, was subsequently

made by the same monarch, whereby all the Caribbean Islands were erected into a province under the name of Carlisle, on the model of the Palatinate of Durham, and the sole dominion thereof conferred upon the Earl of Carlisle. On learning the occupation of Barbados, his lordship, who had been almost simultaneously engaged in colonizing St. Christopher's, applied to Charles the First, who had recently ascended the throne to, confirm his former grant; but was opposed by the Earl of Marlborough, who pleaded priority of right in the case of Barbados. A tedious litigation ensued, which terminated in a compromise, Lord Carlisle agreeing to pay the lord high treasurer, and his heirs, an annuity of £300 in perpetuity for his claim; whereupon the patent, on the 2nd June, 1637, again passed the great seal, and his lordship was declared to be sole proprietor of the Caribbee Islands, comprising "St. Christopher, Grenada, St. Vincent, St. Lucia, Barbados, Martinique, Dominica, Mariegalante, Deseada, Todo Santos, Guadaloupe, Antigua, Montserrat, Redondo, Barbuda, Nevis, Eustatia, St. Bartholomew, St. Martin, Anguilla, Sombbrero, and Anegada, and many other islands." The majority of the territories above enumerated, were still in the possession of their native proprietors, the Caribs, but neither the monarch nor his subjects ever stopped to consider their rights or interests. The noble patentee and his heirs, or representatives, were empowered in ease of necessity to enact ordinances, under certain restrictions, without the express consent of all the people of the province, but the latter were nevertheless specially pronounced to be under the protection of the Crown, and entitled "freely, quietly, and peaceably to have and possess all the liberties, franchises, and privileges of this kingdom, and them to use and enjoy as liege people of England."§

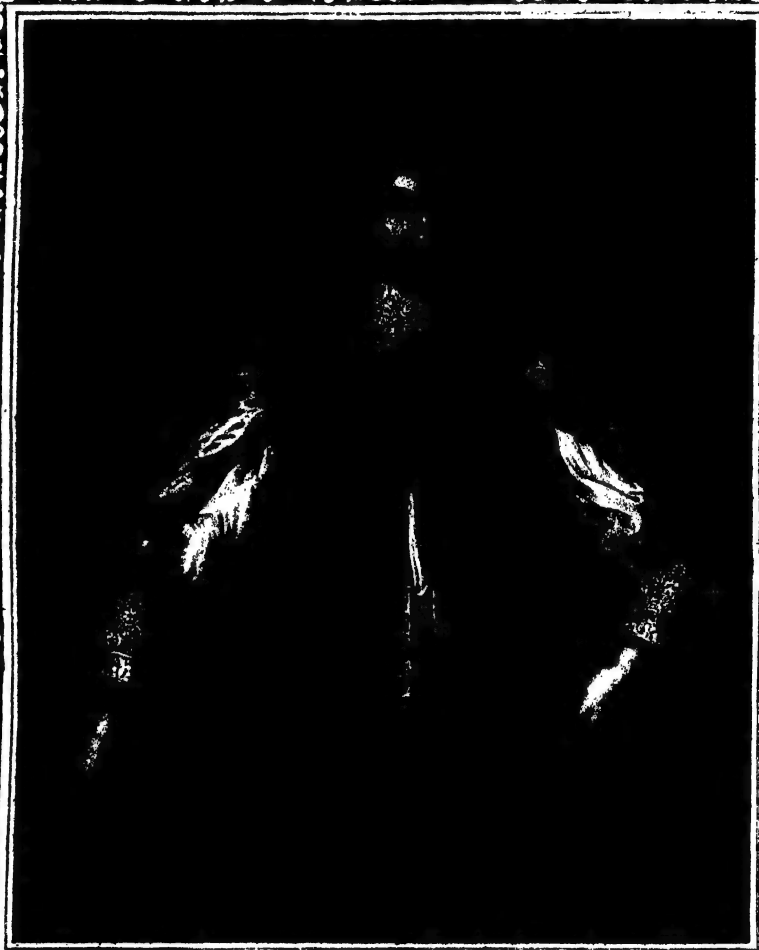
Courteen naturally considered himself very ill-used, and during the absence of Lord Carlisle on a diplomatic mission, appealed to the king through the medium of the Earl of Pembroke, who succeeded in obtaining a grant of Barbados in trust for his protégé. Lord Carlisle, on his return to court, complained bitterly of advantage having been taken of his absence, and prevailed upon the unstable monarch to revoke the patent he had so lately granted, and reinstate him in the sole authority; upon which, fearful of the consequences of any delay, he immediately proceeded to offer the lands of Barbados for sale in such parcels as might suit the convenience of adventurers, stipulating that each person should pay him forty pounds of cotton annually. A society of London merchants obtained a grant or lease of 10,000 acres from the Earl, and despatched a party of sixty-four settlers, each of whom was authorised to take up 100 acres of land, under the direction of Charles Wolferstone, a native of Bermuda, who reached Barbados in July, 1628, and immediately issued a proclamation, declaring the settlers sent out by Courteen, who were now in a very flourishing condition, to be usurpers, and summoned them to meet him immediately. This they did, but with the exception of their leader or governor, named Deane,

* *History of Barbados*, large 8vo, with maps, views, &c., pp. 722; published by Longman & Co. † *Idem*, p. 6.

‡ The island was thickly overgrown with wood, and abounded with pigeons, parrots, and wild hogs, which latter have been the subject of some discussion; Ligon asserts them to have been the descendants of some left by the Portuguese for the purpose of breeding, so that in the event of their being driven on the coast they might ensure

a supply of fresh meat.—(*Ligon's History*, p. 23.) Schomburgk considers that the hogs alluded to were of the indigenous breed, the *Peccary* or *Dicotyles labiatus*, and *D. torquatus*, of which specimens are still met with in Trinidad and some of the larger islands.—(p. 259.)

§ *Vide* Bryan Edwards' *West Indies*, vol. i., pp. 320, 321, where the most interesting clauses of this singular grant are given at length.



Engraved by J. Cochran.

PRINCE RUPERT.

OB. 1682.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF WHICH IN THE POSSESSION OF

THE RIGHT HON^{BLE} THE EARL OF CRAVEN.

who, recognising a countryman in Wolferstone, tendered his adherence, they resolutely refused to acknowledge the authority of Lord Carlisle, and returned at night to their homes, using "torches of wild canes" to light the way. A series of disputes, only prevented by the zealous interposition of a clergyman named Kentlane from proceeding to a regular engagement, ensued between the "Windward" and "Leeward" men, as they were respectively termed, from the relative positions occupied by them on the island. In January, 1629, a colonist named Powell was appointed governor by the Earl of Pembroke, (acting on behalf of Courteen,) who succeeded in surprising Wolferstone and Deane, and sending them back to England in irons. A few months later he was himself entrapped on board a vessel despatched by the Earl of Carlisle, and sent home as a prisoner. The Leeward-men thereupon attacked the Carlisle settlement, but were compelled to retreat; the defendants were subsequently rewarded for their brave conduct, by the grant of a free storage of their goods for a term of seven years. Meanwhile the rival claimants to the exclusive dominion of Barbados employed all their interest in favour of their respective grants. The influence of Lord Carlisle at length prevailed; and as in the existing state of the case, the Earl of Pembroke's title rested upon some informalities in the last charter in favour of his opponent, another patent was issued, confirming in the most explicit manner Lord Carlisle's rights as sole proprietor of the much coveted island.† Sir William Tufton was appointed governor, and proceeded thither in December 1629, accompanied by 200 intending settlers, and various requisites for colonization. The inhabitants were then estimated at between 1,500 and 1,600.

Lord Carlisle, at the period of his death, being deeply in debt, his son and heir, about the year 1647, entered into arrangements with Lord Willoughby, of Parham, for the purpose of liquidating these liabilities, by which the latter nobleman was promised a commission as governor of Barbados, and the rest of the Caribbee Islands enumerated in the late earl's charter, and a moiety of all the profits which should arise therefrom for the term of twenty-one years. The king, who was then in the hands of the army, gave his consent. Lord Willoughby had previously been connected with the parliamentary party, but about this period becoming suspected of a share in the plans of the Royalists, was impeached for high treason, and his estates were confiscated. Having escaped to Holland, he openly espoused the cause of the Prince of Wales, who, after the execution of Charles the First, 1649, despatched him secretly to Barbados, where he arrived in 1650,§ and availing himself of the loyal spirit

which was in the ascendant, put down a rising roundhead party, fortified the place, raised a considerable force for its defence, equipped several vessels, and compelled the other islands under his jurisdiction to acknowledge the royal authority.

The Protector, on learning the encouragement and support received by the colonists from the Dutch, and the extensive illicit trade carried on by the latter, issued a rigorous prohibition against all foreign ships trading with English colonies, and despatched a hostile squadron under Admiral Ayscue, for the reduction of Barbados. The fleet, with 2,000 troops on board, appeared off Bridge Town, on the 10th of October, 1651; captured all the vessels in Carlisle Bay, but did not succeed in effecting a landing until the night of the 17th of December, at Speight's Bay. The Barbadians opposed them with nine companies of foot, and three of horse, and killed the leader of the attack, Colonel Alleyne, and sixty of his men, losing on their own side 50 killed and 100 taken prisoners, besides which all their pieces of ordnance were dismounted, and many of their houses destroyed. The place being untenable, the parliamentary forces returned on board the fleet. Some of the leading settlers advocated submission, and Colonel Modyford induced his regiment, of more than 1,000 men, to declare for the Parliament. Lord Willoughby had still 3,000 troops at his command, but he could not trust them; and was compelled to capitulate, and embark for England. His property on the island was however secured to him, and the other inhabitants, with the exception of a few obnoxious individuals, who were banished for a limited period, were not interfered with. After the Restoration, Lord Willoughby applied to Charles the Second for a renewal of his commission, as eight or nine years of the lease granted to him were still unexpired. This was granted, and the king, to reward the fidelity of such of the chief inhabitants as had remained faithful to him, conferred upon seven gentlemen the honour of baronetage, and on six others that of knighthood. Notwithstanding this mark of royal favour, the planters were subjected to great anxiety by the claims upon the soil of the island, which made them feel that they held their estates on a precarious tenure, even though their rights had been recognised in two legislative acts, one passed in the Governor Bill, the other five years after, under Lord Willoughby. The matter was further involved by the death of the second Earl of Carlisle, who bequeathed his title to the Earl of Kinnoul; the creditors of the first Lord Carlisle asserted claims on the revenue of the island to the extent of £80,000, and the heirs of the Duke of Marlborough demanded the arrears of the annuity of £300, no portion of which had yet been paid. The planters petitioned the king to de-

utensils for boiling sugar, tradesmen's tools, clothing, and victuals of various kinds. The exports were indigo, cotton, wool, tobacco, sugar, ginger, and fustic wood. Tamarinds and palms, the latter imported from the East Indies, were now first planted.—(Vide Ligon's *Barbados*, vol. ii.). The servants, referred to in the preceding paragraph, were persons from the United Kingdom, who, for the sake of a certain bounty, and a free passage to the colony, sold their servitude for a term of years. They are described by contemporary writers as having been worked to excess, badly fed, and treated even worse than the slaves: The cruelty shown to these latter is one of the causes assigned for the formation of a conspiracy so early as 1649, to massacre all the English, who were saved by the plot being voluntarily discovered by a slave to his master. Eighteen of the ringleaders were put to death.

* Schomburgk's *History of Barbados*, p. 263.

† The interest of Sir William Courteen in the island ceased entirely, which cannot but excite regret, since to him belongs the honour (unspotted by the blood or violated rights of native owners) of having first settled Barbados, and secured it to the English Crown; for, but for his enterprise, it is very probable that Lord Carlisle, who took great interest in St. Christopher's, would never have turned his attention to Barbados, which might therefore have easily fallen under the dominion of a foreign power.

‡ He was superseded, and shot in 1631, through the intrigues of an island faction.

§ At this time about 100 sail of ships visited the island yearly; they brought servants and slaves, both men and women, horses, cattle, donkeys, camels (which unfortunately did not thrive, owing, it was supposed, to improper diet),

clare the original grant or patent void; a committee of lords was appointed, before which the contending parties, as well as the merchants and planters interested in the question, and then resident in England, were examined; and a Mr. Kendall, in the hope of inducing H.M. to take the sovereignty of the island into his own hands, offered, in the name of the planters, to consent to a tax on all the produce of the island, which he confidently thought would amount to £3,000 per annum at least, out of which a governor might be supported, and the remainder be disposed of as the king should see fit.*

The proposition was very tempting; the legal advisers of the Crown declared the patent void, and arrangements were made to adjust and gradually pay off the claims in their respective proportions. Lord Willoughby proceeded to Barbados, and after some strenuous opposition on the part of the planters (who denied having authorized Mr. Kendall to make any such offer in their name, and pleaded the inability of the plantation to bear so heavy an impost), the question was at length finally settled. In 1663, the proprietary government was dissolved, the planters legally established in their possessions, and a tax of 4½ per cent. in specie placed upon all native produce exported from the island. This heavy duty was exacted for 175 years, having been repealed only in the present reign.

Lord Willoughby's administration was mild and equitable, but it had a melancholy termination. In July, 1666, he quitted Barbados with seventeen sail, and nearly two thousand troops, for the purpose of revenging the incursions of the French and Dutch on the British Caribbee Islands, and perished off Guadaloupe in a tremendous hurricane; of his whole fleet only two vessels were ever heard of afterwards.

In 1673, the Windward and Leeward Caribbee Islands were separated into distinct governments. Barbados had then greatly increased in population and commerce; but in August, 1675, its prosperity received a severe check, the island, especially on the leeward side, being laid waste by the most destructive hurricane which had occurred since the formation of the colony. The shock of this calamity had scarcely passed before a slave insurrection threatened to produce new scenes of terror and disaster. The conspiracy was planned by the Coromantine negroes, and had been in agitation for nearly three years; it was discovered by means of a conversation overheard by a house-servant, named Anna, whose fidelity to her master caused its suppression. Of the alleged ringleaders, six were burnt alive, eleven beheaded, and five who were impeached, hanged themselves before their trial came on. A similar plot, encouraged it was thought by French emissaries from Martinique, was discovered in 1692, by two of the chief conspirators being overheard talking of their design. After hanging in chains four days without food or water, they discovered all they knew; many of their accomplices were tortured, and others executed. These were barbarous and horrible punishments, calculated certainly to deteriorate the character of those who inflicted, quite as much as those who suffered them. But in the Draconian code of that era, death, unaccompanied by torture, would have been no object of dread to the miserable wretches whose lives and limbs were in hourly jeopardy. So late as 1717, the severity of the slave laws of Barbados (upon which those of Jamaica were in great measure founded) was increased by an enactment

decreasing, as a punishment to a fugitive slave, for an absence of thirty days, that he was to have one of his feet cut off.

The administration of Lord Howe, which commenced in 1783, was very popular and beneficial; it was brought to a termination by his death, in 1785. His malady was an attack of fever, produced by excessive fatigue in reviewing the different regiments of militia. Under his auspices the freedom of the press was established, and the factious party spirit which had gradually been gaining ground in the colony, was greatly mitigated. The Council and Assembly, to manifest their grateful respect for his memory, voted a donation of £2,500 currency to his widow. Extreme liberality on this and other occasions marks the character of the colony; between 1687 and 1743, £96,000 sterling were bestowed in presents to governors and presidents.

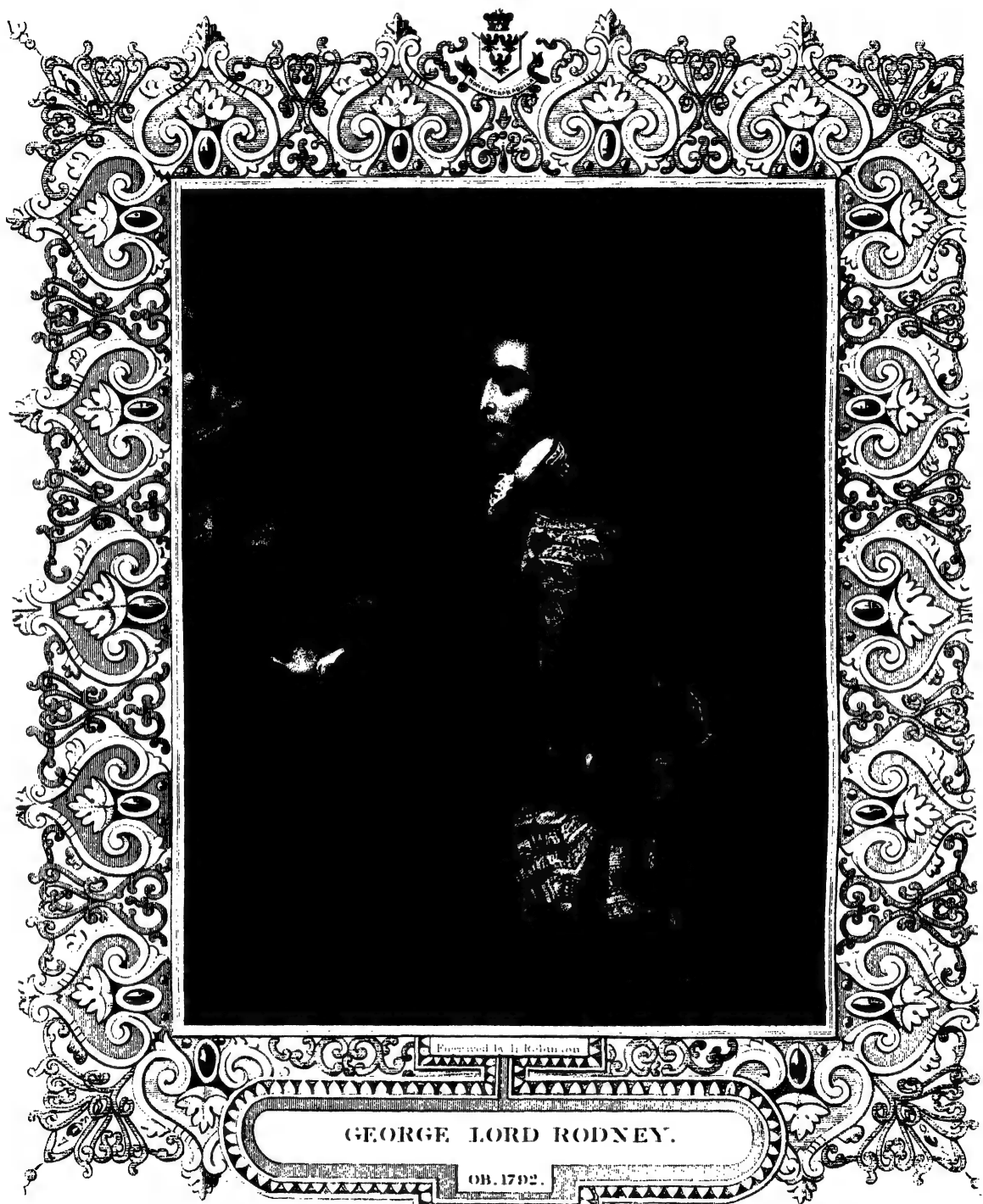
The salaries by them apportioned to their rulers were in some cases extravagantly high. Sir Jonathan Atkins, in 1674, during a time of high prosperity, received from the crown, out of the 4½ per cent. duty, only £800 per annum; in 1703, Queen Anne augmented the governor's salary to £2,000 sterling, payable out of the aforesaid fund, and strictly prohibited any gift or present being made by the local authorities, which prohibition did not prevent the Assembly from granting, or Sir Beville Granville from accepting an additional sum of £500 per annum, and an elegant abode, on a small eminence called Pilgrim Hill, which continues to be the governor's residence to the present day. Notwithstanding the promise given by Queen Anne for the due appropriation of the per centage paid by the planters; the island in 1722, was again called upon to pay (or at least permitted largely to increase) the salary of its newly appointed ruler, Colonel Worsley, who by the part he took in the discussions then pending respecting the President of the Council (Cox) is alleged to have gained the good-will of both parties; for each considering him their friend, united in confirming to him an income of £6,000 sterling per annum, to be defrayed by a capitation-tax of 2s. 6d. upon each negro. This point being settled, and not till then, Governor Worsley showed himself empowered to inquire into, and punish, if necessary, the conduct of the president, which he did by removing him for ever from the council. This decision created considerable dissatisfaction,† and strenuous endeavours were made by the Barbadians to get rid of the heavy tax with which they had burdened themselves for his benefit; at length, in 1731, Colonel Worsley resigned his position, and returned to England. For the support of Lord Howe, £4,000 per annum were nevertheless freely voted, "a liberality which," says Schomburgk, "at a time when their sugar sold for only ten or twelve shillings the hundred-weight, was rather surprising."

In 1780 an awful hurricane occurred, in which the violence of the elements surpassed all conception. Admiral Rodney stated, that the heavy cannon were carried upwards of a hundred feet from the forts; and Governor Cunningham asserted the Secretary of State, that a twelve-pounder had been carried by the winds and waves from the south to the north battery, a distance of 140 yards. The loss of life was estimated at 4,320 souls, that of property at £1,320,564 sterling.† Not a single house or building, however strong or sheltered, escaped uninjured; most of the live-stock and horned cattle perished;

* Schomburgk, p. 288.

† *Ibid.*, p. 316.

† *Annual Register*, for 1781.



FROM THE ORIGINAL OF SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON^{BLE} THE EARL OF EGREMONT.

the canes, corn, and ground-provisions were totally destroyed. Parliament voted £30,000 for the relief of the colonists, although the nation was then involved in a costly war, and numerous public and private subscriptions were set on foot; among others the generosity of the citizens of Dublin stands conspicuous, the sum of £20,000 having been quickly raised by them. This timely aid was most gratefully received by the afflicted people; and when after the lapse of more than half a century, famine scourged Ireland, Barbados was the first among British colonies to come forward for her relief with a public vote of £2,000 sterling, besides large contributions from private individuals.

The beginning of the nineteenth century was, unhappily, characterized here as in Jamaica, by a strong endeavour on the part of the white inhabitants to retain the coloured ones in slavery; or, where that was not possible, in the lowest position. In 1801, the tax on manumission was fixed at £200 a-head for males, and £300 for females; and in 1811, the free people vainly petitioned to be placed on the same footing as those of Jamaica and other islands. The missionaries were viewed as the friends of the negroes, and consequently as the enemies of the planters. So early as 1676, the Quakers were forbidden, under heavy penalties, to instruct the slaves, or pray with them. So late as 1826, a Wesleyan chapel was destroyed; and it was asserted, that the authorities had not power to protect missionaries from the effect of popular fury. And in 1827, a clergyman of the Established Church, the Rev. Mr. Harte, having rendered himself obnoxious to his parishioners by his zeal for the spiritual instruction of the negroes—"although," writes Sir George Murray, then Secretary of State, "distinguished by personal and professional merits," and pronounced by the Bishop of Barbados entirely free of the charges brought against him—was, nevertheless, brought before the Court of Quarter Sessions, and sentenced to pay a fine of one shilling for the misdemeanor of having, in the words of his accusers, by an "offensive sermon," and disgraceful conduct, while administering the Holy Sacrament, endeavoured to alienate the slaves from a sense of their duty, and inculcate doctrines of equality inconsistent with their obedience to their masters and the policy of the island.

Up to 1805, the fine for murdering a slave was fixed at £15 currency (£11 sterling); it was then made punishable with death; but the act was so vaguely worded as to render conviction a matter of the greatest difficulty; moreover, the perpetrator could in any case only be condemned upon the evidence of one or more white persons.

In December, 1826, John Archer, a white man of property, was indicted for the murder of his slave; with difficulty a verdict of manslaughter was recorded against him, and he was sentenced to twelve months' imprisonment. The last slave insurrection broke out on Easter Sunday in this year, but was suppressed in a few hours.

* The produce of this tax, declared by Lord Brougham, to be "the most injurious to the subject, in proportion to the benefit it produces to the government of any recorded in the history of taxation," was greater than could easily be credited, a sum exceeding £6,000,000 (being three times more than the fee-simple value of the lands) having been thereby raised from the chartered islands. In 1825 a government document showed the salaries, pensions, &c., paid from this fund, to amount to £48,108. The salaries of governors of islands, which did not contribute one lot,

In August, 1831, another hurricane occurred, in which 1,501 persons, and property to the value of £1,802,600, was destroyed. A sum of £100,000 was voted by parliament for the relief of the sufferers in Barbados, St. Vincent, and St. Lucia, of which amount the first-named island received one-half.

In 1834, the apprenticeship system commenced; it worked unsatisfactorily to all parties, and was terminated by the vote of the Assembly, whose members, on the 15th of May, 1838, with a single exception, declared themselves in favour of complete emancipation, on the 1st of August, 1838. The bill passed through the House in one day, met with similar despatch in the Council, and received the assent of the Governor on the following morning.

Towards the close of August, 1838, a most welcome concession was made to the people of Barbados, Antigua, St. Christopher, Nevis, Montserrat, and the Virgin Islands, by the total abolition of the 4½ per cent. duties,* by act of parliament. The patriotic William the Fourth had declared, in 1830, his abandonment of all claim upon this fund; but the complete relief of the colonists from this heavy burden was reserved for the auspicious reign of our present queen. Since then, this valuable colony has progressed steadily, both morally and materially, notwithstanding the trial it has experienced in common with the other West Indian islands, by the change in the sugar duties of 1846, and has attained a position, from its commerce and population, quite marvellous, when considered with regard to its very limited area.

PHYSICAL ASPECT.—On a diminutive scale, there are the various denominations of hill and valley, table-land and low-land, cliffs, gorges, and ravines; the low-lands are of limited extent, and are restricted to the north, south, and south-east parts of the island; Mount Hillaby, the highest elevation, is 1,147 feet above the sea. A narrow strip of land runs from Bridge Town parallel to the west coast, from north to south, and ends in a bold bluff point, from whence the shores assume a rugged cliffy outline. From the west, or leeward coast, the ground rises in successive terraces, interrupted by gullies, to a central ridge. Looking eastward from Mount Hillaby, the aspect is that of a mountainous country in miniature; hills of a conical form radiate from the central ridge towards the sea-shore; their sides worn into channels by the heavy rains, and their colour a dark reddish brown, overspread here and there with a whitish marl. To this district the name of Scotland has been affixed. A deep valley, passing nearly due west, divides the island into two unequal parts; and the rise of the sea fifty or sixty feet above its present level,† would separate Barbados into two islands. The northern section is the larger and more elevated.

The coast line affords no harbours; it is almost encircled by coral reefs, which occasionally extend for nearly three miles to seaward, and prove dangerous to navigation. The shore rises boldly to a amount to more than £6,000 sterling; and among the pensioners, were the Duchess of Gloucester (£3,000), the Princess of Homburg, the Earl of Chatham (£3,000), Edmund Burke (£2,500), and many others who had net the slightest claim on the West Indies. The aggregate amount of pensions was nearly £30,500 sterling.

† See Sir Andrew Halliday's Geological Map, and interesting account of this island, in his work on the West Indies, published in 1837. Through this vale a rail or tram-way might be advantageously constructed.

height of from thirty to fifty feet on the northern point, and on the south-eastern part of the parish of St. Philip's, but elsewhere long lines of sandy beaches are observable, protected against the encroachments of the sea by coral reefs.

STREAMS AND SPRINGS.—There are several streams, but none deserving the name of rivers. During the rainy season, some of the streamlets become impassable torrents, although, at other periods of the year, their bed is dry. They are more numerous in the Scotland district, where the soil is argillaceous, than in the other and far larger part of the island, where it is calcareous. *Scotland River*, as the largest is termed, receives several of the surface springs from the hills, and being barred at its exit on the sea-coast, its waters expand into a basin, termed the *Long Pond*. Water is obtained from numerous hollows in the rocks and by sinking wells, some of which are 180 to 270 feet deep. The total number of wells is 481, and the number of feet excavated amounts to 41,263. There are several very pure springs, and also some of a chalybeate nature, containing chiefly iron, carbonic acid, and fixed alkali, in different proportions. The "boiling spring," one of the great natural curiosities of Barbados, consists of an inflammable gas (carburetted hydrogen), which issues from a spot about two feet in diameter, near the side of a watercourse in Turners' Hall Wood, in St. Andrew's parish; a small remnant of the primitive forests that covered the island when first visited by Europeans. On the application of flame, the gas burns with a pure whitish light.

DIVISIONS AND TOPOGRAPHY.—The island was divided, in 1629, into six parishes, to which five more were added in 1645. Their names, area, and population, are shown in a subsequent section. That of St. Michael contains *Bridgetown*,* the capital of the island, which was erected into a city in 1842, and lies round Carlisle Bay, is nearly two miles in length, and about half a mile in breadth. The situation, though convenient for landing and shipping produce, is insalubrious, from its contiguity to a large swamp, to drain which endeavours are now being made by means of convict labour. The city, viewed from the bay, has a pleasing appearance; the south-eastern limit comprises Needham's Point and the garrison of St. Anne's, with its fine range of buildings, forming an irregular square, encompassing the finest parade ground in the West Indies, abounding in spacious galleries, and terminating, to seaward, in a castle, whose large batteries extend to the water's edge. The north-western extremity is characterized by the

villas of the little suburb of Fontabelle, with Rickett's battery in front; the intermediate space is filled up with houses embowered in foliage, and surmounted by the tufted heads of clustering palm-trees. Hills of moderate height rise in the back ground, and more distant ridges of higher land close the prospect. The commercial part of the town has some handsome and commodious buildings, but the streets are, with one exception (Broad Street) very irregular; and the stores, from the want of shop windows, look heavy and unattractive. A bronze statue of Lord Nelson, erected in 1813, stands in the centre of an open spot, formerly called "The Green," but now dignified with the name of Trafalgar Square.

The chief buildings are, the Queen's house, occupied by the commander of the forces, the central and free schools, the cathedral, and other places of public worship belonging to the Established Church, Wesleyan and Moravian chapels, and a very handsome Jewish synagogue. The public offices are scattered throughout the town, and for the most part contracted and insufficient. There is a commercial hall, a market place, six hotels, besides several private boarding-houses, and an ice establishment, where that useful article is cheaply and abundantly attainable.

Freemasonry has always had a strong hold in Barbados: there are at present three lodges and two arch-chapters. *Carlisle Bay* is merely an open roadstead, which has been materially improved by the erection of an excellent lighthouse, on a rocky cliff, fifty-five feet above the sea level. The tower is itself above eighty-two feet high; and has a revolving light of the first magnitude, visible from a ship's deck nearly eighteen nautical miles. The cost of the work (£6,000 sterling) has been half defrayed by the Imperial Parliament and half by a small extra tonnage duty, already repealed. Pilgrim, the governor's residence, occupies an eminence about half a mile to the east of the town, and is surrounded by extensive grounds. Bishop's Court, the diocesan residence, is placed on another eminence called Gibraltar, and commands one of the finest views of Bridgetown. The suburb of Hastings, which has received its name from the number of establishments for sea-bathing, abuts on the St. Anne's garrison; and about a mile further south, built on a coral cliff, is Worthing, also a favourite watering place.†

There are three other towns in the island: *James*, or *Hole Town*, in the parish of St. James, so called from the bay on which it was built, has now only a few houses, though, according to Oldmixon and

* The town obtained its name from a rude bridge constructed by the aborigines, over the narrowest part of the creek, which receives the surface water from the adjacent heights. It was at first styled the "Indian Bridge," but received its present designation on the substitution of a more solid structure. In 1656, it contained, according to Du Tertre, upwards of one hundred well-furnished taverns, but was unfortunately constructed of wood; ten years afterwards it was rebuilt chiefly with brick and stone. Père Labat, in 1700, described it as being handsome and large, with straight and long clean streets; houses built in the English taste, with many glazed windows, and magnificently furnished,—the town-hall very handsome and well ornamented, the shops and merchants' stores filled with all that could be desired, from every part of the world. There were also numerous goldsmiths, jewellers, and other artisans, who appeared to find abundant and remunerative employment.—(*Nouveaux Voyages aux îles de l'Amerique*, vol. i. pp. 188, 191). Oldmixon confirms this and other particulars of the flourishing condition of

the place, and says it contained 1,200 high stone houses, the rents of which were as dear as in Cheapside, London. The church dedicated to St. Michael, was as large as many English cathedrals, and possessed a fine organ, clock, and good peal of bells.—(*History of America*, vol. i. Various other authorities have attested the opulence and splendour of the city; but like Port Royal, Jamaica, it has been repeatedly devastated, probably for a like cause. In 1756, 160 houses were destroyed by fire; in 1758, 120 more houses were burned. One hundred years after the first calamity, viz., 13th May, 1766, a fire broke out, which lasted from half-past eleven A.M. until nine o'clock the next morning. Four hundred and forty houses, including the custom-house, and other public buildings, were destroyed; the damage was estimated at £300,000 sterling. In the following December the greater number of the dwellings which had been spared in May, were consumed by a fresh conflagration. On several subsequent occasions minor fires have caused great loss of property.

† Sir R. H. Schomburgk's *Barbados*, pp. 242 to 251.

Père Labat, it had, in 1700, about 100 houses, and was defended by two batteries. *Speight's*, or *Spike's Town*, has two principal and a few minor streets, comprising about 150 houses, many of which are now falling to decay. The roadstead here is equally exposed as at Carlisle Bay; it was formerly much frequented, a great deal of sugar being exported direct to Europe, but produce is now sent by droghers and small sailing vessels to Bridgetown. Many of the inhabitants earn their livelihood by fishing, and the flying fish, while in season, form their chief food. The third town, named *Oistin*, after an early settler of profligate character, now contains only a few dilapidated houses.

GEOLOGY.—The coral insect raised the foundation of this island from the bed of the ocean, but the substratum appears to have received six gradual and successive elevatory movements; hence its step-formed terraces, which are rarely seen among coral islands. The structure exhibits two distinct features; 1st, coralline limestone, with beds of calcareous marl, containing recent shells; and, 2nd, strata of siliceous sandstone, intermixed with ferruginous matter, calcareous sandstones, siliceous limestone, different kinds of clay, selenite, earthy marls, frequently containing minute fragments of pumice, selenite, strata of volcanic ashes, seams of bitumen, and springs of petroleum (Barbados tar). The coralline rocks occupy six-sevenths of the whole area, rise in terraces, sometimes to the height of above 100 feet, and are occasionally precipitous as a wall. They are traversed to the west, north, and south, by deep fissures. Not unfrequently these rocks appear like compact limestone, with a conchoidal fracture and translucent edges. Scotland district contains various modifications of tertiary rocks, but with an original uniformity. The stratification is sometimes wavy, at others greatly contorted. The earthy marl—indurated argilla—or, as the colonists call it, *chalk*, occurs in masses, from a few inches in thickness, to a depth of several hundred feet. The summit of Mount Hillaby consists of this substance. Thin seams of bituminous coal and wood have been observed. A hill near Conset's Bay is reported to have been set on fire by a slave, and to have continued burning for five years; and slags found on the slope and foot of the hill, show distinct marks of fire, and confirm the popular tradition.*

The fossil remains of the most minute forms of organic life alone, and chiefly analogous to those of the present day, have as yet been discovered.

SOIL, is varied; in some places light, sandy, and spongy; in others, a rich black earth, or a red clay of considerable depth. Dr. Davy (the brother of Sir Humphrey Davy), through the medium of the *Barbados Agricultural Reporter*, has forcibly represented the benefit derivable from the application of some of the marls in the Scotland district, to the improvement of such soils as are deficient in car-

bonate of lime, and asserts the superiority of the chalk and soft calcareous marl of this island, over that procurable in England.

CLIMATE.—Salubrious, with an even dry temperature, though yellow fever occasionally attacks this as it does other West Indian islands. The north-east is the prevailing wind. The range of the barometer, during 1844, was from 28.82 to 30.10; of the thermometer 76.86 to 83.58 Fahrenheit; the fall of rain, 72 inches.

The clearing of forests and brushwood in Barbados has had its invariable effect in diminishing aqueous precipitation; and even within the last fifty years the decrease is very perceptible. The fearful hurricanes by which this island has been visited have been elsewhere adverted to, shocks of earthquake are occasionally felt, and thunder storms are frequent and severe. Waterspouts often occur in this latitude† at some distance from the shore, and have been known to pass over the land, uprooting trees, unroofing buildings, and sucking up the water from the reservoirs on their way.

POPULATION.—Probably no colony, in proportion to its size, ever offered a more striking example of rapid numerical increase than Barbados. Two years after its first settlement in 1625, the nucleus formed by the handful of original settlers, had multiplied into 1,858 men, women, and children, including Indian slaves. The disturbed state of the British isles, induced considerable emigration to the West Indies, and royalists of rank and note took refuge in Barbados, as many republicans were afterwards glad to do in Jamaica. Others were forcibly transported thither by Cromwell, and thus a class of citizens were introduced, who gave to the colony its peculiar tone and character. In 1650, according to Ligon, the inhabitants were able to muster 10,000 foot, and 1,000 horsemen; and Oldmixon, in 1676, stated them at 150,000, of whom 70,000 were of European descent, and 80,000 negroes. These assertions are, however, considered by Schomburgk as gross exaggerations, as Governor Searle, in 1656, returned the total number of troops at only 5,300, which enormous diminution would hardly be accounted for, even by the fearful ravages made by yellow fever throughout the West Indies about this period; and Governor Sir Jonathan Atkins, in 1676, reported the population at only 21,725 whites, and 32,475 negroes.

In 1683 a very complete account of the population was given by Governor Sir Richard Dutton, who stated the whole at 66,170 individuals, viz., families and householders, 4,156; free persons 17,187; unfree persons and servants, 2,381; slaves; men able to bear arms, 6,761. There were then 358 sugar works in operation, and 90,517 acres of land "possessed, and useful." The freeholders of this period were those who formerly held their lands from the Earl of

following fact may be mentioned, which was related to me by Lieutenant-general Wood, the commander-in-chief of the Windward Islands. When the *Kent* Indianman was on fire in the Bay of Biscay some years since, Captain M'Gregor, of H.M. 31st regiment, threw overboard a bottle, containing a letter for his father, with a label attached to the neck to attract attention. A vessel hove in sight, and took the sufferers off the wreck. Captain M'Gregor returned to England, was promoted to a majority in the 93rd, and proceeded to Barbados. One day while at mess, the bottle which he had thrown overboard in the Bay of Biscay, was brought to him by a negro, who had picked it up on the beach.

* There are some curious caverns along the coast; one of these in the parish of St. Lucy's is much visited by strangers on account of a species of zoophyte (*actinia*), from which it has gained the name of the Animal-flower Cave. In an excavation or basin filled with sea-water, there is an oblong rock clothed with variegated sea-moss, from among which issue small stems or tubes, from whose summit, petals like those of the single marigold suddenly expand; but as soon as a hand approaches to pluck the seeming flower, the petal-like organs retract, and the stem disappears in the crevice whence it issued.

† As an illustration of that difficult subject, the Atlantic currents and their set towards the West Indies, the

118 BARBADOS—PROGRESS AND CHARACTERISTICS OF POPULATION.

Carlisle, under an acknowledgment of forty pounds of cotton, together with other merchants and tradesmen. The freemen had mostly arrived under indentures, or else under sentence of transportation,* and become free by serving out the stipulated time; many of these eventually became landholders. The "unfree" persons, probably, referred to the transports, or indentured labourers; and the Christian servants, as they were called for distinction, were persons from England, Ireland, and Scotland, who, for the sake of a certain bounty and a free passage, sold their services for a term of years, and, as stated in a previous page, were too generally treated with extreme cruelty, to which indeed the great mortality among them is chiefly attributable. So rapid was this decrease, that the number of white men was reduced from 7,235 in 1683, to 2,330 in 1698. This kind of importation was followed to a greater extent in Barbados than in any other colony; at a later period, when the law of the land obliged every estate to maintain a certain proportion of white servants, the proprietors, in many instances, granted small lots to poor men and former servants, from whence arose the appellation of "ten acre men." These formed the majority of the militia. In a free country they might have been valuable colonists; but in a slave-state, a middle class cannot exist; exulting in their European descent, they became idle and dissipated, looked upon field labour as a degradation, and at the utmost planted a few acres of land as a garden or provision-ground. Some who were more prudent and energetic, cultivated ginger, aloes, arrow-root, and such minor articles as did not require any great outlay, and demanded merely manual labour for their production. Others were placed in situations of authority over the unhappy negroes, for which their previous training had grievously unfitted them; since unhappily no man is more likely to become a tyrant than he who has been himself oppressed. The slaves appear to have been chiefly brought from the coast of Guinea, but there were also Indians procured, according to Oldmixon, from the continent, or the neighbouring islands, "by stealth or violence, and always with dishonour."†

The total number of slaves imported is nowhere stated. Between the years 1680 and 1688, the annual supply required for Barbados alone was computed at 4,000, besides those surreptitiously introduced. From June 1698, to December 1707, 34,583 were imported; and at the latter period Governor Crowe computed that it annually required 3,640, or about seven per cent., to keep up the stock. That

* The island appears to have been viewed very much as a penal establishment, both for political and social offenders. In 1651, 7,000 or 8,000 Scots, taken prisoners at the battle of Worcester, are asserted to have been "sold as slaves to the plantations of the American isles." In 1656, about seventy persons implicated in the Salisbury plot were sold to Barbados for 1,500 lbs. of sugar each, more or less, according to their working faculties. Among them were divines, officers, and gentlemen, who were "bought and sold from one planter to another, or attached like horses or beasts for the debt of their masters, being whipped at the whipping-post as rogues, and sleeping in styres worse than hogs in England."—*Barbados Merchandize; a Petition to Parliament, printed in the eleventh year of England's liberty, 1659.* In 1665, Chalmers relates that four young men were whipped through the streets of Edinburgh by the common hangman, and transported to Barbados for interrupting and abusing a minister when preaching. In 1685, between 800 and 900 persons accused of participation in the Duke of Monmouth's

is to say, there was then, by the governor's admission, a yearly sacrifice of human life of seven per cent. beyond the natural increase by births. In the following years the importations increased very rapidly, until in 1753, the number of negroes amounted to 69,870.

The relative progress of the whites, free coloured people, and slaves, has been as follows:—

Year.	Whites.	Free Coloured.	Slaves.	Total.
1773	18,532	—	68,548	87,080
1786	16,167	833	62,118	79,116
1787	16,127	2,229	64,405	82,761
1805	15,000	2,130	60,000	77,130
1812	13,749	2,613	69,132	85,494
1829	14,959	5,146	82,902	103,007
1834	12,797	6,584	82,850	102,231
1844	—	—	—	122,198
1851	15,824	120,115	—	135,939

In the census for 1844, the inhabitants are not classified with respect to descent; but it is certain that the coloured population has been steadily augmenting ever since the final extinction of slavery; and the annexed census of June, 1851, shows a general increase, since 1844, of 13,741 persons, or at a rate of nearly 1½ per cent. per annum.‡

Parish.	Area in square miles.	Inhabitants.	Mouths to each sq. mile.	Local taxation.
Bridge Town .	—	20,026	249	£7,255
St. Michael .	15	17,440	249	
Christ Church	22½	15,775	707	660
St. Philip . .	23½	13,898	591	525
St. George .	16½	11,260	666	752
St. John . .	13½	8,895	658	830
St. Thomas .	13½	9,810	737	405
St. Peter . .	13	9,806	754	531
St. Joseph .	9½	7,008	745	354
St. Lucy . .	13½	8,420	619	510
St. James .	12½	6,884	568	309
St. Andrew .	13½	6,717	490	730
Total .	166½	135,939	817	12,866

Note.—Males, 82,272; females, 73,677.

DESCENT.—Creole (born in the island), 134,820;

rebellion, were transported to the Leeward islands, condemned to ten years' servitude, and treated with great inhumanity.—*Vide Schomburgk, Barbados*, pp. 299, 305.

† *British Empire in America*, vol. ii., p. 14. Captain Powell, who carried out the first settlers, in 1625, is said to have proceeded immediately to the Main, and thence procured thirty Indians, men, women, and children, of the Arawaco tribe.—*Southey*, vol. i., p. 254.

‡ At the period of emancipation (1834), the number of slaves was 82,850; of these 47,876 were prædial attached, for whom the compensation awarded amounted to £1,219,065 sterling; prædial non-attached, 4,317; compensation, £106,911: non-prædial, 14,445; compensation, £333,337. The children under six years of age numbered 14,732, compensation, £57,209; the aged, diseased, or otherwise non-effective, 1,780; compensation, £3,456. Of the prædial attached, 27,693 were rated as field labourers, and their value fixed at £806,674; and 15,615 inferior class labourers were valued at £242,585.

BARBADOS—CONDITION OF INHABITANTS, MILITIA, RELIGION. 119

European, 589; foreign, 530: of these, there were, white, 15,824; coloured, 50,059; black, 90,056.

Age.	Males.	Females.	Total.
5 years and under .	13,092	13,484	26,576
15 " and over 5	17,824	18,433	36,257
30 " " 15	13,978	18,804	22,782
60 " " 30	15,398	19,247	34,645
80 " " 60	1,811	3,180	4,991
Over 80 years . . .	169	519	688

It is evident from the above that the climate is propitious to advanced life, and especially as regards females, those above eighty years of age being in the proportion of more than three females to one male.

OCCUPATION.—Public officers and professional men, 691; engaged in commerce, 2,823; tradesmen and mechanics, 7,339; employed in agriculture—under fifteen years of age, 4,541—over fifteen, 32,112; in domestic service—under fifteen years of age, 1,641—over fifteen, 13,694; sick or infirm, 3,559; no fixed employment, 73,098. This last division is well explained by a gentleman of intelligence and experience, Mr. Milner, of the Colonial Bank, thus: children not over five years of age, 26,576; half of those from five to fifteen (36,257), 18,128; two-thirds of persons above sixty (5,679), 3,786; half of sick and infirm (3,559), 1,779: total, 50,269; leaving 22,829, as above classified. This still large number, however, is mainly owing to defective classification, and the circumstance that many have no "fixed" employment. On the whole population, the proportion of males is 45.81 to 54.19 per cent. of females.

The condition of the mass of the coloured population is creditable to their industry; but that of a large number of the white inhabitants is very distressing. They are the principal burthen on the parochial taxation of the island, and receive largely out-door relief. The acting governor, in the annual report for 1851, thus describes their state:—

"It is painful to witness the indigence and indolence of these wretched people, whose position is the result of a system which to uphold it was considered to require the support of a law for compelling the maintenance on every estate of a certain number of white men. Accustomed in times of slavery to an enervating inactive existence, broken only by an occasional militia parade, it is no wonder that they were ill-prepared for the consequences of the great social change of 1833, which rendered their dronish presence on estates no longer necessary, and drove them to seek for a livelihood by some personal exertion beyond the periodical shouldering of a musket. The majority of them, however, have been unable to conquer the habits of their early life. Most of them reside on the windward coast of the island. A few contrive to gain a livelihood by fishing, and by the cultivation of small provision grounds; and there are some who, still more industrious, raise and prepare for market a considerable quantity of arrowroot and cotton. But the greater number lead an abandoned existence, many with large families, who are being brought up amid idleness and vice of the very worst description, and whose occupation, if they have any at all, is confined to the breeding of pigs and poultry. I am assured that not only are they insensible to, but that they positively resist, the efforts that are made to reclaim them."

The consumption of ardent spirits is very large: in 1851 "it was computed," says the acting governor, "that 6,500 puncheons of rum were distilled and consumed in the island," which would give 5½ gallons (old wine measure for each head of the population,

or 9½ gallons to each person above fifteen years of age: the governor adds—"and yet drunkenness is far from being a prevailing vice."

GOVERNMENT.—A council, acting in a legislative and an executive capacity, nominated by the governor as representative of the Crown; and a house of assembly, consisting of twenty-four members, elected by freeholders of all colours and creeds. The governor of Barbados is governor-in-chief of the *Windward Isles* of the Caribbean group; namely, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Grenada, and Tobago.

MILITIA.—Formerly this domestic force was very imposing: Barbados had its "life-guards," artillery, and other corps. With the abolition of slavery the necessity for this organization ceased. The pertinent remarks of Acting-governor Hamilton, made in April, 1852, are equally applicable to the present state of the militia in other British West India islands.

"The absence of the old prevailing fear of revolt, the great change which has taken place within the last twenty years in the habits and tastes of the middle classes, and which induces them to revert with little pleasure to the festivities that were then a chief attraction of militia musters; the unreasonable number on the personal staff of the governor, who is still supposed to have twelve or fourteen aides-de-camp, and the extent to which general staff appointments were carried, it would seem, only to purchase exemptions from other liabilities; the increasing disregard of the duty of enrolment, prescribed by the existing law; the exemption from militia drill, now periodically sanctioned by the governor; and, above all, the very serious cost of re-establishing a militia force, be it on however moderate a scale—are all reasons which have led the people to view the remains of their militia system with indifference or contempt; and, added to the undisturbed notions of security engendered by a long peace, have lulled the chivalrous spirit for which they were so distinguished during the war, and which had so often the effect of diverting the battle-ground from Europe to these seas."

The Barbados militia now consists of five regiments, represented by only 233 rank and file.

RELIGION.—There is a very liberal provision for the Established Church, which is under the supervision of a diocesan. By letters patent, dated July, 1824, Barbados, St. Lucia, Trinidad, Tobago, Grenada, St. Vincent, Dominica, Antigua, Montserrat, St. Christopher, Nevis, and the Virgin Islands, were formed into a diocese, under the denomination of the "Bishopric of Barbados and the Leeward Islands;" and the sum of £4,200 per annum was placed at the disposal of the bishop for the appointment of ministers, catechists, and schoolmasters. The state of the ecclesiastical establishment, for several years, is thus shown:—

Year.	Number of clergy.	Churches and chapels.	Number of sittings.
1825	15	14	5,030
1834	29	23	7,760
1841	31	35	22,502
1851	34	42	24,967

Since 1851, considerable additions have been made to the several churches and chapels, and new buildings are in course of erection. Eleven rectors have each a stipend of £320 per annum, also a glebe and parsonage, with compensation in lieu of marriage and burial fees, amounting to, for the eleven, £743. There are eighteen curates, at £150 each, and two legislative chaplains. The bishop receives from the

British treasury £2,500 per annum. The governor, in his annual report for 1851, says—"there is probably less dissent in Barbados than in any other British colony; the Wesleyans and Moravians are the only missionaries in the island; and both ministries deserve the highest praise for their energetic pursuit of their calling, and their prudent abstinence from all interference in public matters." There is a small Roman Catholic chapel. None but the Episcopalians receive any pecuniary support from the local revenues.

EDUCATION.—About 5,000 children, exclusive of 1,500 Sunday scholars, are taught in the Established Church schools, in several of which the children are both clothed and fed. There are a few endowed free schools and eighteen "Dame" schools. *Codrington College* was founded by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, by means of the munificent bequest of Colonel Codrington, in 1810, of two Barbadian plantations, yielding a clear annual income of £2,000 per annum. It is situated in St. John's parish,* on a table-land about 200 feet above the sea-level, is surrounded by hills on every side, refreshed by the breezes of the Atlantic, and abundantly watered by a clear stream flowing from a spring, which issues from the foot of a neighbouring cliff. The edifice is plain and massive. The students pay a very moderate annual sum for their board and education; and if intended for the church, are examined and ordained by the bishop. At the central school, children are educated precisely upon the plan of the national schools in England; all are fed during the day; and the majority clothed likewise. An educational committee for the whole island is formed from the members of the assembly, by which body a sum of £3,000 was, in 1850, placed at the disposal of the committee. There is a government inspector of schools.

PRESS.—Printing was introduced into the island about 1730. The first newspaper, entitled *The Barbados Gazette*, was issued in 1731; it came out twice a week, and was the earliest regularly published in the Caribbee Islands. There are now five bi-weekly papers.

CRIME.—The philanthropic exertions of the present governor, Sir William Colebrooke, have been judiciously directed to the introduction of an improved system of penal discipline. The total number of commitments during 1851 was 2,174, of whom 123 were whites, and 1,439 coloured. Three police magistrates sit in Bridge Town, and eleven are located in the rural districts. There is an efficient police system, with an inspector-general, at a salary of £750.

FINANCE.—In 1821, the revenue was £13,127; in 1830, £16,349 sterling; in 1833, £20,915; in 1838 (after the abolition of slavery, and at the termination of the apprenticeship), £33,972; in 1851, £55,724; of this, the import duties yielded £29,652; surplus tonnage and Crown duties, £4,404; licences, £3,815; under a militia impost (viz. 8s. on each acre of land, and 2d. on each pound of the annual rent of houses), £2,885. The acting-governor, in reporting on the subject for the last year, says—"the colonial treasury is in a most flourishing condition: the revenue has exceeded the expenditure by about £5,000; and at the end of the year there was a balance in the public chest of nearly £17,000 sterling: this prosperous

* In a neighbouring plantation is a large pond which still bears the name of Yarico, and recalls to mind the heroine of one of the most pathetic pieces in the *Spectator*,

state of things, be it observed, arises from no increase of taxes; on the contrary, the export duties were abolished." The civil establishment, to the amount of £8,350 (including £4,000 a-year to the governor) is paid by England; as are also the sums of £3,500 of the ecclesiastical, and £1,350 of the judicial expenses. From the colonial revenue is defrayed: police, £15,646; gaols and prisons, £2,176; lunatic asylum, £1,526; Established Church, £25,925; the chief justice, £2,000; attorney-general, £500; police magistrates and clerks, £3,237; colonial secretary and clerks, £1,100; education of the people, £1,260; central schools, £512. During 1851, £1,000 was voted in aid of the Jamaica sufferers by cholera. The military expenditure defrayed from the British commissariat chest in 1851, was £105,942.

MONETARY SYSTEM.—a branch of the *London Colonial Bank*; the notes in circulation are equal in value to about 150,000 dollars. The coin in the island is estimated at £31,000. There are no savings banks. The legal denomination of account is that of England; but mercantile dealings are generally transacted in dollars (at 50d. each) and cents. Weights and measures used are English.

COMMERCE.—Since the abolition of slavery both the trade and productions of the island have largely increased; thus,—

Year.	Imports.	Exports.	Tonnage inwards.
1832	£481,610	£408,363	79,005
1851	787,977	887,627	96,381
Increase	305,367	479,264	17,276

The Barbados, like the Jamaica Blue Books, afford no consecutive or satisfactory returns, prior to 1834, at which time a large proportion of imported goods was re-exported. In 1832 the values are given in currency (in which £135 were equal to £100 sterling). The trade of the present period is therefore more largely augmented than would at first sight appear.

About half a million of the imports for 1851, consisted of British goods; the chief part of the remainder was brought from the United States, and comprised fish, to the value of £34,612; flour, £32,092; meal, £27,606; meat, £10,015; wine, £7,582; wood and lumber, £33,352; manure, £13,109.

The number of hogsheads of sugar (irrespective of tierces or barrels) shipped at different periods since 1815, has been:—

Year.	Hogs-heads.	Year.	Hogs-heads.	Year.	Hogs-heads.
1815	11,600	1830	25,111	1845	24,777
1820	12,013	1835	24,189	1850	35,302
1825	22,553	1840	13,319	1851	38,730

"In 1851 [says the acting-governor], more sugar was made and shipped from this island than in any other year since it has been peopled; this year (1852), if no unforeseen event occurs, the crop will be still larger, close on 45,000 hogsheads; and it is a remarkable fact that there will be more labourers' sugar made this year than formerly; so far, therefore, the success of cultivation by free labour in Barbados is unquestionable. The balance of trade is in founded on the real woes of a victim of European treachery, who, in the words of Ligon, "for her love lost her liberty."—Ligon's *History of Barbados*, p. 35.

favour of the island, and still affords something of a margin for interest to mortgagees, and income to absent proprietors."—*Blue Book for 1851*.

Among the exports in 1851 are—sugar, in value £654,351; molasses, £54,730; rum, £106; cocoa, £1,727; aloes, £1,640; cotton, £1,436; coffee, £419; arrow-root, £606. Cotton was at one period largely exported; in 1805, to the amount of 9,395 bales; but in 1832, this item had disappeared; the culture is however being revived.

Landed property is now of higher value in this colony than it has been known to have attained at any former period. It is estimated that there are about 100,000 acres in cultivation, of which 25,000 are annually planted with sugar canes; the remainder is occupied by provision-grounds, or in grass for cattle. The planters (as stated in official communications) decline giving statistical details on this subject. There are

nearly 500 sugar works with mills, and a large sugar-refining manufactory at Bridge Town.

Prices in 1851:—Wheat, £1 : 7s. per bushel; wheaten bread, 3½d. per lb.; horned cattle, £10; horses, £27; sheep, £1 : 5s.; swine, £1 : 10s.; goats, 16s. 8d. each; milk, 3d. per quart; butter, 1s. per lb.; cheese, 1s. 6d.; beef, 7½d.; mutton, 10d.; pork, 5d. *Wages*—Domestic males, £1 : 5s. per month; females, 16s. 8d.; agricultural, 10d. per day; trades, 1s. 8d.

SUMMARY.—The foregoing details attest the satisfactory condition of one of the earliest and (notwithstanding its very limited extent) most valuable of our West Indian possessions. It has always been a "popular" colony, and has well deserved to be so, since loyalty to the crown, patriotism for Old England, and sympathy with their fellow-subjects, have ever been marked characteristics of every "true Barbadian born."

CHAPTER VI.—ST. LUCIA.

THIS island is situated about seventy miles to the north-north-west of Barbados, in 13° 50' N. lat.; 60° 58' W. long. Its extent and area have been very differently stated. Lieutenant-governor Torrens, in January, 1846, declared that, according "to a topographical map, prepared by the surveyor-general from a recent and actual survey undertaken under his direction," St. Lucia was "40 miles in length, 20 at her greatest breadth, and 150 miles in circumference."* Lieutenant-governor Darling, in April, 1850, says—"from a map recently constructed from actual measurement, it would appear that the greatest length is 27 miles, its greatest breadth 13½, and its area 178½ square miles = 114,400 acres."† Again, in a return transmitted in the following year, by the same authority, the area is given at "259 square miles" = 165,760 acres.‡ Mr. Breen, in his useful work on St. Lucia, states the superficies at 158,620 acres. These contradictory statements seem quite inexplicable.

HISTORY.—The date of the discovery of this island is quite unknown; there is a tradition that some French navigators gave it the name of *Sainte Alousia*, from having seen it on the anniversary of the death of a virgin martyr of that name. In 1635, the king of France made M.M. Lotine and Duplessis a grant of all the unoccupied lands in America, i.e. all the territory not yet usurped by white men; but these persons settled at Martinique, and the Caribs remained in undisputed possession of their native island until the arrival of some English settlers in 1639, who established themselves, and remained peaceably for eighteen months, until an English ship, becalmed off Dominica, attempted to kidnap a party of Caribs who had come on board with fruit, and succeeded in retaining four, who were subsequently sold as slaves. The rest jumped overboard, swam to shore, and having informed their countrymen at Martinique and St. Vincent of the treachery which they had experienced, a combined attack was made upon St. Lucia, the settlement devastated, and the majority of the colonists massacred, a few only succeeding in making their

escape to Montserrat. In 1650, about forty French adventurers, under the command of one Rousselan or Chousselan, a man of great personal bravery, who married a Carib woman, and obtained extraordinary influence over that people, succeeded in establishing themselves in St. Lucia; but he died in 1655, and the colonists were kept in constant alarm by the incursions of the neighbouring islanders, by whom three governors were killed in as many years.

In 1664, an armament, under Lord Willoughby, (*vide History of Barbados*) attacked the place, defeated the French troops, and obtained from the natives, who were collected together to the amount of about 600, the actual surrender of the island, which, however, from a variety of causes, was voluntarily evacuated by the English in 1667. On their departure, the French settlers, who had taken refuge in the mountains, returned to their former abodes; but the rival claims of England, and the dread of renewed hostilities, damped their energies, and prevented them from making any sensible progress in cultivation.

At the peace of Utrecht, in 1713, St. Lucia appears to have been viewed as a neutral island in the possession of its rightful proprietors, the Caribs; but in 1718, a number of deserters, sailors as well as soldiers, having taken refuge there, Marshal D'Estrées was induced to apply to the Regent of France for a grant of the island, which being conceded, he proceeded to send out troops, stores, and settlers; in 1722, George the First of England made a similar disposal of a country, not his to give, by bestowing it upon the Duke of Montague, who expended £40,000 in fitting out an expedition for its colonization.

The rival commanders met in January, 1723, and wisely avoided the effusion of blood by agreeing that their respective forces should evacuate the island, which should remain neutral and open to both nations until the home governments should decide to which, if either, it should eventually belong.

In 1744, when war broke out between England and France, the latter power again attempted to gain possession of St. Lucia; but by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1748, the neutrality of this island, and also of St. Vincent, Dominica, and Tobago, were formally recognised, and the remnant of the unhappy

* Report accompanying *Blue Book for 1845*, pp. 84-86.

† *Idem*, 1849, p. 35.

‡ *Idem*, 1850, p. 98.

§ *Coke's West Indies*, vol. ii., p. 293.

Caribs left for a brief period in quiet occupation of their own lands.

On the renewal of hostilities in 1756, St. Lucia was fortified by France, but surrendered to a detachment of Admiral Rodney's squadron in 1762. In the following year, by the terms of the treaty of Paris, the claims of the native proprietors were finally set aside, St. Lucia was made over to France, and the other three islands above named assigned to England.

The permission of French dominion in St. Lucia was deemed by many experienced authorities very unwise; Admiral Rodney especially dwelt on the security, defensibility, and commodiousness of its fine harbours. France seemed fully aware of its value, and formed an expensive establishment there; immigrants flocked in from various quarters; the few remaining Caribs retired to an unappropriated tract in St. Vincent's; slaves were largely introduced; cultivation rapidly extended; and in 1772, the total population amounted to 15,476 souls.

In 1778, European strife again found a battlefield in the West Indian islands; and a small English fleet, under Admiral Barrington, succeeded in entering the Bay of Grand Cul-de-Sac, and gaining possession of the adjacent heights and batteries. The last French flag in sight had hardly been struck, before the Count d'Estaing, with his own squadron of twelve heavy line-of-battle ships, and a numerous fleet of frigates, privateers, and transports, with 9,000 troops on board, was seen approaching the shore. D'Estaing having been gallantly repulsed from the Cul-de-Sac and Carénage harbours, anchored in Grosflet Bay, and disembarked the troops, about 5,000 of whom advanced in three columns to storm the lines thrown up to cover the position of the Vigie, an outpost commanding the Carénage. The assailants dashed forward with impetuous bravery; the British awaited them without firing a shot, until they reached the foot of the entrenchments; then poured one deadly volley, and received them at the point of the bayonet. The struggle was fierce and terrible, but short; twice repulsed with heavy loss, the French charged a third time, but not with their original ardour, and were repulsed and scattered in complete and irretrievable disorder, leaving their dead and wounded in the hands of the victors. General Meadows, the British commander, suffered Count D'Estaing to bury the slain, and carry away the wounded, on condition that the latter should be considered prisoners of war. Of the French, 400 were killed, 500 desperately and 600 slightly wounded—a number considerably superior to the conquering force, whose total loss was proportionately small, having 10 killed and 130 wounded. This blow seems to have paralyzed the energies of M. D'Estaing, who, though still far superior both in naval and military resources, did not attempt another engagement; but after lingering ten days on the island, embarked the troops and took his departure; whereupon the inhabitants, under the Chevalier de Micoud, sued for peace, and were generously allowed to capitulate on very favourable terms. After this, St. Lucia became the rendezvous of the British squadron; the French anxiously desired to regain it, and during the temporary absence of Admiral Rodney, while endeavouring to form a junction with Sir Samuel Hood, the Comte de Grasse invested St. Lucia, and succeeded in disembarking, but was compelled to make a hurried retreat.*

In 1783 a general peace was signed, by one of the

articles of which St. Lucia was ceded to France, though not until after much negotiation.

Grenada, which had been captured from England, was restored to that power, and its French governor, the Baron de Laborie, transferred to St. Lucia, where he arrested the incursions of the Maroon negroes, encouraged agriculture and commerce, and formed an excellent road, which still bears his name.

The revolution of 1792 produced fearful scenes in the French Antilles; slavery under any circumstances is a precarious and dangerous system, but once let the firebrand of sedition and red republicanism be applied to it, and the result is almost as certain as the effect of a lighted torch on a mass of gunpowder. The slaves hearing their masters discuss the grievances inflicted by their rulers, and the rights of man, were in turn led to think how constantly and cruelly their own had been crushed under foot; the work of the estates was discontinued, the plantations abandoned, and a struggle ensued in which one-half of the inhabitants were destroyed.† This internal strife paved the way for the easy triumph of an external foe. Admiral Sir John Jervis (afterwards Earl St. Vincent) attacked the island, and on the 4th of April, 1794, H.R.H. Edward Duke of Kent, after a fatiguing march of fourteen hours from the landing-place, hoisted the British colours on its chief fortress, *Morne Fortuné*. The island, though reduced, was far from tranquil; the insurgent slaves had retired into the woods, where they were joined by a number of French soldiers, and being instigated by a few democrats, they carried on a harassing warfare against the British garrison, which, originally inadequate to the maintenance of its difficult position, was reduced nearly one-half by sickness and fatigue. Such was the condition of affairs, when "citoyen Victor Hugues," associate and protégé of Robespierre, arrived in the West Indies; the disaffected of every class and colour hastened to swell the ranks of the republicans, who, early in 1795, were strengthened by supplies and reinforcements from France; and in June, the British, after repeated contests, bravely waged against a daily increasing force, were compelled to abandon the island so hastily that some of the women and children were left behind, who were chivalrously sent over by the conquerors to Martinique, under the protection of a flag of truce.‡ In 1796, a fleet and land-force, under Admiral Christian and General Sir Ralph Abercrombie, besieged Morne Fortuné, and captured it after a fatiguing and disastrous siege. General Moore (the well known hero of Corunna) was left as governor to maintain, as he best could, a continued bush-fighting with the republicans and negroes who held possession of the interior fastnesses. Towards the end of 1797 the whole of the *armée Française dans les bois* surrendered at discretion, the negroes stipulating only that they should not be again reduced to slavery. They were accordingly formed into a regiment, and despatched to the coast of Africa. By the peace of Amiens in 1802, St. Lucia was for the last time given back to France; eighteen months after the war was renewed, and the island once more captured, after much bloodshed, by a British force under Commodore (afterwards Lord) Hood and General Grinfield. Thus ended this long contest for dominion, during which vast sacrifices of blood and treasure were made by

* Southey, vol. ii., p. 437.

† Parl. Papers, published July, 1846, p. 85.

‡ Continuation of Bryan Edwards' *West Indies*, p. 85.



Engraved by R. Robinson.

SAMUEL, FIRST VISCOUNT HOOD.

OB. 1816.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF SIR J. REYNOLDS, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON^{BLE} THE VISCOUNTESS BRIDPORT.

both nations; France especially placed a high value on its possession, alike in a commercial and military point of view, and intended "to have made it the capital of the Antilles, the general market of the Windward Islands, and the Gibraltar of the Gulf of Mexico."*

PHYSICAL FEATURES.—St. Lucia, even amid the beautiful Caribbean group, is remarkable for wild and romantic scenery. A chain of mountains runs north and south through the island, dividing it into eastern or windward, and western or leeward districts; the mountains rise in the most fantastic shapes, and are densely clothed with forest trees; their highest elevations are distinguished by the names of *Sorcière* (2,136 feet high), *Paix Bouche*, and *Barabara*. From either side of this ridge, spurs of lesser altitude strike out towards the sea, forming plains, valleys, and ravines of varying size. The *Pitons*, or *Sugar-loaves*, two singular, and, from their perpendicular formation, probably inaccessible, pyramids of solid rock, respectively estimated at 2,710 and 2,680 feet above the level of the sea, mark the south side of the entrance to the beautiful bay of Soufrière. They are evidently of volcanic origin, appear wholly unconnected with the other mountains, are "feathered from the clouds to the waves with evergreen foliage,"† and, excepting on their seaford, are bordered with verdure and cane-fields in the highest state of cultivation. The *Piton des Canaries*, an isolated eminence, about 2,585 feet in height,‡ rises further inland, and is encompassed with dense forests and ravines. The *Soufrière*, or sulphureous mountain, about two miles to the east of the *Pitons*, is a volcano in active and uninterrupted operation. The crater occupies a space of three acres, and is crusted over with sulphur, alum, cinders, and other volcanic substances; in the midst of which are several cauldrons, more or less numerous, according to the intensity of the subterranean heat; in some of the larger, the water is quite black, and boils up to the height of two or three feet, constantly emitting dense and almost suffocating vapours. The water is celebrated for its medicinal properties;§ it is supposed to flow through an underground channel from the *Etangs* or lakes, about half a mile distant, whose contents are observed to be visibly decreasing.

PLAINS AND VALLEYS.—There are two beautiful plains, one situated in the northern, the other in the southern extremity of the island, each comprising a swamp of some extent, overgrown with aquatic plants. The principal valleys are those of *Mabouya*, on the windward, and *Roseau* on the leeward side, both of which are equally remarkable, says Mr. Breen, "for their extent, fertility, and insalubrity."||

RIVERS (so called) in abundance descend from the mountains,¶ sometimes meandering gently through the lowlands, but, after heavy rains, rushing im-

petuously down the steep slopes, forcing their way through gullies and rocks, and sweeping before them every species of vegetable production. The principal are named *Castries*, *Grand-cul-de-Sac*, *Dorée*, *Roseau*, &c.; none of them are navigable (though some might be easily rendered available for small craft), and their mouths are all dammed up by mounds of sand and gravel, forming basins of stagnant water, called lagoons.

COAST-LINE.—The north-western extremity is styled *the Cape*; the south-eastern, formed by a small mountainous promontory, is called *Pointe Moule-à-Chique*. The shores are indented with innumerable inlets, of different forms and sizes, several of which afford anchorage for ships of every description. Those on the windward are somewhat dangerous and difficult of access, owing to numerous shoals, and the boisterous breezes from the Atlantic; the most remarkable are named *Marquis*, *Grand Anse*, *Louvet*, *Dennerly*, *Praslin*, *Micoud*, *Troumassé*, *Volet*, *Cunelle*, and *Savannes*; the chief bays to leeward, are those of *Gros-îlet*, *Choc*, *Castries*, *Grand-cul-de-Sac Marigot*, (whose double basin is formed like two rings of a chain), *Roseau*, *Anse Laraye*, *Soufrière*, and *Vieux Fort*. The chief shipping station is the noble *Port de Castries*, described by Admiral Rodney under the name of the *Carénage of St. Lucia*, as one of the most accessible, commodious, and easily defended harbours in the Antilles. From the constant direction of the trade wind, only one vessel can enter at a time, whilst the largest fleet may safely ride at anchor within the spacious basin, and stand out to sea at an hour's notice. The entrance between the fortified headlands of the *Tupion* and *Vigie* is about one-third of a mile wide, and it stretches a mile and-a-half inland. There is an excellent quay, and a sufficient depth of water to allow ships of any burden to lie alongside the wharf.

DIVISIONS AND TOPOGRAPHY.—The island is divided** into eleven *quartiers* or parishes, each of which contains a town or village situated at the extremity of its principal bay, the same appellation being given to all three. The villages are described as being inhabited chiefly by fishermen, and by the poor and infirm, and remarkable for nothing save their lonely little churches and deserted streets.

Castries, the principal town and the seat of government, is situated at the head of the bay whose name it bears, on a plain in some places below the level of the sea, consisting chiefly of alluvial formations, and what is termed "made land."†† It is built in the form of a quadrangle, and has wide and well laid out streets, most of which are paved, and some provided with foot-paths, but all unhappily badly kept. The river *Castries* traverses the south side of the town, and empties itself into the bay. The upper part, or *Chaussée* division, is chiefly occu-

|| Breen's *St. Lucia*, p. 6.

¶ In the French Antilles, low ridges are called *mornes*, a name which they still retain in St. Lucia.

** It is also divided into five districts under the jurisdiction of as many special magistrates.

†† In former days a practice was adopted by the local executive of granting certain portions of the *land under water*, on condition that the lots should be filled up and enclosed. Stimulated by this judicious incentive, the colonists have wrested from the sea a considerable portion of the space now forming the western extremity of the town; but those who obtained concessions in the northern division have been less zealous, and swamps still exist there, covered with mangrove bushes, and occasionally inundated, which engender a pestilential miasm.

* *Vide* Report of Governor Noguès to First Consul Buonaparte, quoted in Breen's interesting volume on St. Lucia, published by Longman in 1844. Introduction, p. vii.

† Coleridge's *Six Months in the West Indies*, p. 112.

‡ The heights of the mountains are given on the authority of a map executed by order of Governor Reid, in 1847.

§ Louis XVI., under Governor de Laborie, granted a sum of money for the construction of barracks for the troops, which were established in 1785, but gradually fell into disuse. In 1836 an attempt was made to restore them to the public, but defeated by the proprietor who had become possessed of the property.—Breen's *St. Lucia*, p. 9.

pied by the humbler orders, and the houses are built of wood, and covered with shingles. The lower, or *Bord-de-mer* division, is inhabited by the wealthier classes, whose houses, constructed of stone, brick, or wood, mark the taste of their owners, or the prevailing anxiety to guard against the ravages of fire, hurricane, or earthquake.

Among the public structures may be noticed the *Place d'Armes*, or square, planted with ornamental trees; a substantial stone-built Catholic church in the *Place d'Armes*; an English church erected in the centre of a swamp, in the north-east corner of the town, "as if for the express purpose of checking the growth of Protestantism in St. Lucia;" an asylum for the destitute poor, and a large well-constructed, stone gaol.

The *Government House*, commonly called the *Pavilion*, is a spacious and commodious wooden structure, fitted up with considerable elegance, and situated at the western extremity of Morne Fortuné, on a terrace almost at the edge of a cliff. The prospect from it is very striking; below lies the wide-spreading town, heading the long and deep bay, the quay skirted with vessels of every size, and the broken peninsula of the Vigie; Pigeon Island is seen in the distance, and straight across the channel, as far as the eye can reach, rise the gray cliffs and woody mountains of Martinique; inland also the view is bounded by heights and forests.

The ridge of Morne Fortuné, which is about 800 feet in elevation, is studded with military buildings of every description; the men's barracks, a cluster of brick buildings of one story, are situated within Fort Charlotte. The officers', or "iron barracks," finished in 1833, are two stories high, and built of stone held together by iron bars, with an iron gallery to each story, and an exterior iron staircase from the ground to the roof. They are considered hurricane-proof; but earthquakes are also of common occurrence, and they did not escape damage in that of 1839.

Pigeon Island lies 700 yards off the north-western extremity of the island, at a distance of seven miles from the Tapon, and is about three-quarters of a mile long. It is considered very salubrious, and is used as a military station. Telegraphic communication is kept up between Fort Rodney (which is situated on the southern eminence, and commands the opposite bay and town of Gros-Ilet, on the opposite shore); and no vessel can pass the channel between St. Lucia and Martinique without being distinctly descried from thence. In the distance stands the Diamond Rock,* celebrated in the naval history of these seas.

* This memorable crag of grey limestone, "shaped like a nine-pin, with the point a little broken at the summit," was fortified by Sir Samuel Hood, in 1803, and put upon the establishment of a sloop of war, with almost a frigate's complement of seamen and marines, being allowed as many as 150 men and boys, supplied with ammunition, stores, and provisions from Antigua or Barbados for six months. A thirty-two pounder was hoisted from the top-sail yard-arm of a man-of-war, about half-way up the rock, and at least 360 feet above the water-line, and the summit and other parts being defended with cannon, this natural fortress proved of great service to the squadron. A few bullocks and sheep were kept there, and a cave on the east side formed a good and airy hospital. This non-descriptive man-of-war did good service for two years and a-half; the height of its guns enabled it to command the passage between it and Martinique so effectually, as almost to exclude vessels from entering Fort Royal. The French

The town of *Soufrière*, second in importance to Castries, though little more than a village, is built on the slope of a hill; its pretty villas and negro cottages stand in the midst of fruit and flower-gardens, overtopped by cocoa-nut and palm trees; and on the other side of the bay, the *Pitons Toner*, in lonely and imposing grandeur. There is a pretty church here, whose steeple of cut stone, erected at the expense of the labourers of the district, was thrown down by the earthquake of January, 1829. Between Castries and Soufrière constant intercourse is held by means of pirogues, or five-oared boats, which are much used on the leeward side of the island, but the more dangerous windward coast is only communicated with by means of droghers.

GEOLOGY AND MINERALOGY.—The structure of the island is volcanic. Sulphur is obtainable in abundance, and is now being exported. "Tufa, magnesia, lime, alum, quartz, are found in certain localities.† Copper and iron ores have been observed; and gold is alleged (March, 1853) to have been discovered on the windward coast.

SOIL.—In the valleys and alluvial plains, a deep vegetable mould, mixed with clay, prevails; and a red earth in the more elevated positions. The substratum is a mixture of sand and gravel. On the ordinary soils of St. Lucia the productive duration of the cane, by ratooning only, averages six years, and in some localities is said to have been propagated, by this process only, for thirty years.

CLIMATE.—The vicissitudes of the year are distinguished under two heads—the dry season—called *Carême* by the French, which includes the months of February, March, and April; and *Hivernage*, which embraces the hurricane months of July, August, September, and October; and is ushered in by the humidity and heat of May and June, as the *Carême* is by the light day breezes, and dry invigorating air of November, December, and January. Drought and rain are, however, not confined to any period; exposure to a vertical sun, and a mountainous formation, combined with extensive forests,‡ naturally produce heavy and frequent rains, which in turn encourage baneful swamps and dense vegetation. Throughout the year, according to Mr. Breen, who wrote in 1844, the thermometer ranges between 75° and 90° in the shade; but according to the register kept by staff-surgeon Connell, in 1851 (in what locality is not stated), it ranged only between 71° and 83°; and the annual quantity of rain amounted to eighty-four inches.

DISEASE.—St. Lucia has long had an unenviable reputation for insalubrity, especially the town of

in vain attempted to storm this formidable station; the whole fleet fired at it as they might have done at the rock of Gibraltar; at length they turned the siege into a blockade, and Captain Maurice and his brave band, after a gallant defence, rendered difficult by a great want of ammunition and water, after nineteen nights under arms, "three days and two nights in constant battle, and suffering meanwhile from agonizing thirst, capitulated on very honourable terms, losing three killed and wounded, while the enemy lost fifty."—*Vide* Captain Maurice's *Letter to Lord Nelson*, and other details given by Southey, vol. iii., pp. 328, 332.

† Dr. Levacher's *Guide Médicale des Antilles*.

‡ St. Lucia has several dangerous serpents, the bite of one genus peculiar to this island and Martinique, from six to eight feet long, called the yellow serpent, or *fer de lance* (trigonocephalus), is generally fatal. In 1849, nineteen persons were killed in one parish by the venom of this reptile.

Castries,* and some of the most fertile valleys, the characteristic maladies being fevers, and complaints of the stomach and bowels.† Of late years, the swamps have been partially filled, and the valleys somewhat better drained; the trade winds have been more regular, the temperature lower, and the people have enjoyed better health. The neighbourhood of the Soufrière has always proved favourable in this respect; the sulphureous vapours appearing to purify instead of taint the atmosphere; and both in the town and neighbouring estates the inhabitants attain considerable longevity, especially the females. The reports from the military stations are also improving. At Morne Fortuné and Pigeon Island, in 1845-46, out of an average strength of 277, the daily average number in hospital was 15½, and the deaths during the year from sickness 10. In 1851, out of 205 cases in hospital (white soldiers), only five terminated fatally, and four of these were attributable to excesses. The use of what is called "white rum," fresh from the still, is most injurious to the troops and settlers; generally unpalatable at first, the relish and craving for it is soon acquired, and the baneful canteen system here, as in the other West Indian isles, facilitates instead of discouraging drunkenness. Mr. Breen, from the experience acquired during a residence of thirteen years, attests the fatal effects of intemperance in a remarkable manner, by stating, that out of 142 European adult males (62 British, and 80 French) in the island in July, 1831, 68 (37 British, and 31 French) persons, generally addicted to the use of ardent spirits, were prematurely cut off, very few attaining the age of thirty-five; while the remaining 74, persons of temperate habits, were living, and in good health, in July, 1842.

POPULATION.—The relative proportion of the population has been as follows:—

Year.	Whites.	Coloured.	Blacks. ¹	Total.
1772	2,018	663	12,795	15,476
1777	2,397	1,050	10,752	14,199
1789	2,198	1,588	17,992	21,778
1810	1,210	1,878	14,397	17,485
1825	1,194	3,871	13,530	18,595
1834	2,310	2,657	13,248	18,215
1843	1,039	5,287	14,368	20,694
1851	984	5,689	17,512	24,185

Note.—According to the census of 1851, of the Europeans 468 were males and 521 females; of the coloured, 2,518 males and 3,171 females; and of the blacks, 8,731 males and 8,781 females. ¹ Slaves up to 1834.

It will be observed that the number of females is in excess of the males, which indicates an increasing population. The number under fifteen years of age is 8,469, of whom 4,051 are males, and 4,418

* The position of the Pavilion (government-house) has been regarded as very unhealthy. In a period of little more than four years (November, 1829, to January, 1834), no less than four governors died in it, but since that time no peculiar mortality or even sickness has been observed.

† Vide Captain Tulloch's Statistical Report of Troops in the West Indies in 1838.

‡ The flight from Martinique took place chiefly after the insurrection of 1831 was put down. Sturge, in 1836, states that there were 600 of these fugitives in the island who were "on the whole a peaceable and industrious set of labourers."—*West Indies* in 1837, pp. 107, 113. They obtained the soubriquet of *Passepartout*, probably in consequence of the astonishment excited in St. Lucia at their having made their escape from the vigilance of

females; number of families, 5,706; of married, 3,208; number of persons speaking English, 1,315; of those who can read, 2,636; and write, 1,879.

Castries, the chief town, is a corporate city; it contains 3,102 inhabitants, of whom 355 are Europeans, and 1,349 of mixed race.

Soufrière has 1,588; Vieux Fort, 617; Laborie, 224; Gros-Îlet, 560; Anse Laraye, 247; Choiseul, 89; Micoud, 196; Dennery, 255. The population of St. Lucia comprised under the three heads, white, coloured, and black, presents many minor diversities. The first denomination includes creoles born in this or the neighbouring islands, several of whom are the descendants of old and distinguished French families; and Europeans, from Britain, France, Germany, Italy, and Savoy. The few British settlers are nearly all Scotch.

The coloured class is rapidly progressing in numbers, wealth, and intelligence. The blacks are chiefly natives of the island, with a sprinkling of Africans and refugees from Martinique.‡ During slavery their numbers required constant recruiting by fresh importations; after the abolition of the trade they regularly decreased; but since emancipation have been augmenting by the constant preponderance of births over deaths, though not to the extent that might be expected if a stricter observance of the marriage tie prevailed among them. They have "vastly improved in physical appearance,"§ and their moral characteristics are thus satisfactorily described by the lieutenant-governor, Arthur W. Torrens, in his report on the *Blue Book*, dated 4th January, 1846.

"The enfranchised population is in a high degree grateful to the British government, and by their contentment and orderly conduct they vindicate both the policy and the justice of emancipation. Their disposition to labour improves, and is great considering their few wants in a climate and on a soil requiring so little artificial means to promote comfort, and to create plenty. The influence of the clergy is apparent in the diminution of libertinism, and the greater frequency of marriages. A desire for the education of their children exists to a certain extent. * * * The rise of a class of small proprietors and farmers is apparent among the emancipated population. This class of negroes, the most industrious, has established settlements in many parts of the country hitherto covered with forests. These lots, whether bought or hired, are usually within reach of the neighbouring sugar establishments, permitting the negro to resort at crop time to the cane-fields. Canes are grown on some of these settlements, the grower transporting them to the nearest mill, and receiving in return from the planter a portion of the sugar they produce."

The *métairie* system, adopted in 1840, is on the increase.

GOVERNMENT.—St. Lucia is what is termed a crown colony, ruled by a legislative council, composed of several official and five unofficial persons

the planters and "*guarda costas*," and successfully encountered the dangers of the passage between the two islands, frequently in an open boat or canoe, the distance from the place of embarkation having been in some instances upwards of forty miles. Breen, writing in 1844, says it was no unusual occurrence to see twelve or fifteen men and women land from a canoe in which five persons could not sit at ease; adding that numbers perished in the attempt, either by rough weather or the wretched condition of the boats, while many, upon being closely pursued, plunged into the deep, preferring death to a life of bondage. No less than 4,000 escaped from Martinique, but of these a fearful proportion must have perished on the passage to St. Lucia or Dominica.—(pp. 169, 178.)

§ Breen's *St. Lucia*, p. 167.

appointed by the sovereign. There is an executive council of three to aid the lieutenant-governor. There is no militia. Two companies of a European regiment are stationed in the island fortresses.

RELIGION.—The majority of the people are of the Roman Catholic persuasion. There are ten Roman Catholic, and three Protestant churches.*

EDUCATION.—Is carried on by several private and public schools—the latter contain 644 male, and 260 female scholars. Instruction is communicated chiefly in the French language, of which a wretched patois prevails among the lower orders.†

Press.—There is a well-conducted newspaper, and a useful almanac with statistical and general information.

CRIME.—Aggravated offences are rare; petty thefts and assaults are diminishing.

FINANCE.—The revenue in 1834 amounted to £9,246; in 1838 to £10,743; in 1851 to £13,872: of this import duties yielded £5,147, and rum duties £2,207.

The civil expenditure defrayed by Great Britain, in aid of the local revenue, was, in 1851, £1,816. The disbursements from the British commissariat chest for the same year amounted to £13,317. There is no island bank; the notes of the *London Colonial Bank* branch in circulation are estimated at £5,000.

COMMERCE.—The value of imports was, in—

Imports.				Exports.			
Year.	Currency.	Year.	Sterling.	Year.	Currency.	Year.	Sterling.
1833	£47,271	1850	£68,881	1833	£72,144	1850	£49,127
1834	58,602	1851	60,538	1834	87,136	1851	54,815
Total	105,873	—	129,419	Total	159,280	—	103,942

Note.—£100 sterling = £175 currency. Of the imports in 1851, £22,179 were from Great Britain.

The sugar exported in 1851 was valued at £43,090 sterling. In 1852 all the crops had increased considerably.

Principal exports at three periods, viz., last year of slavery, last of apprenticeship, and last official return—

Articles.	1833.	1838.	1851.
Sugar . . lbs.	4,890,040	5,533,320	7,560,000
Molasses . gals.	142,320	110,002	121,578
Rum . . . "	12,130	6,930	958
Coffee . . lbs.	235,164	135,008	22,327
Cocoa . . . "	91,048	38,590	105,877
Logwood . tons	784	109	144

Note.—The number of acres under cultivation in 1851 was 4,077, of which 3,015 were in sugar-cane

GENERAL REMARKS.—Up to the middle of the 17th century, little attempt appears to have been made at cultivation on an extended scale, the settlers eking out their subsistence from the fish which the coast (in spite of the depredations of the voracious sharks) and the rivers plentifully supplied, or resorting to the woods to shoot the wild ox, hog, iguana, or agouti; or the edible varieties of the feathered

* In most of the new villages and hamlets which have been formed since emancipation, or recovered from the ruin and pillage caused during the French revolution, churches have been built or enlarged at the sole expense of the enfranchised blacks; and whereas during the existence of slavery, there was but one priest in the island, there are

tribe that visit the island from August to the end of November. As the population increased, the growth of tobacco, ginger, and cotton was commenced, and these products continued to be staple exports for about forty years, being gradually displaced by the more lucrative commodities of coffee and cocoa. The tenure of land was very precarious until 1745, when Governor de Longueville apportioned large tracts among the more influential settlers. In 1763 several respectable French families emigrated from Grenada and St. Vincent, bringing with them capital and slaves; and the culture of cotton, till then insignificant, spread rapidly over various parts of the island. The first sugar estate was established in the Vieux Fort quartier or parish in 1765, and soon became the all-absorbing employment. Slave-labour here as elsewhere was viewed as the only lever of colonial enterprise and prosperity, and it was attended with its usual unfailing accompaniments of waste of life and treasure, varnished over by a brief show of prosperity, covering increasing mortgages and involvements of all kinds. In the absence of any law to authorize the seizure of real property, or any office for the registration of mortgages or other claims, a system was carried on between the planter-debtor, and the merchant-creditor in France or England, in which the latter strove by usurious charges and profits, to counterpoise the manœuvres and double-dealing practised by the former. Lawyers were called in to settle the numerous disputes which were perpetually arising; and their interference, profitable only to themselves, increased the burdens of the contending parties, and frequently completed the ruin of both. In 1829, through the judicious exertions of Mr. Jeremie, president of the Court of Appeal, an office for the registration of mortgages was established, and it was enacted that those only which should be enrolled in the succeeding eighteen months should retain their priority. Before the expiration of the prescribed time, 1,918 mortgages were entered, exhibiting the debts and liabilities of the proprietary body at the enormous sum of £1,199,000 sterling. Their total sugar crop for the year 1830 was about 90,000 cwts., on which a net profit of 5s. per cwt. (without deducting anything for the support of the planters), could have furnished only £22,500 towards the payment of interest, which at five per cent. (a low colonial rate) must alone have required about £60,000 per annum. When this disastrous condition of affairs was ascertained, a measure was passed, known as the *Saisie Réelle*, which had a somewhat similar effect to the Encumbered Estate Act for Ireland, in compelling the sale of bankrupt properties. These proceedings greatly facilitated the proportionment of the St. Lucia share (£335,625 sterling) of the twenty millions granted by the British Parliament on the extinction of slavery; but this sum could not suffice to remove the millstone which the planters had for years been fixing more and more firmly round their own necks, though it doubtless greatly benefited the few who were *bonâ fide* proprietors, employing their own capital. The judicial sale of estates commenced in 1833, and continued year after year until in 1843, no less than sixty-nine out of eighty-one sugar estates

now nine parish churches, and as many curés, whose influence, with very few exceptions, is beneficial in its effects on the conduct and disposition of their flocks.—(Report of Lieut.-governor Torrens, 4th January, 1846.)

† It is much to be desired that efforts should be made for the diffusion of the English language.

had changed owners. In 1850, there were only twelve whose titles bore a date antecedent to emancipation; out of about eighty-three existing in this year, forty-three, including some of the finest in the island, were still mortgaged to the amount of £200,000, the annual interest being £12,000. Their yield was about 2,000 tons, and assuming the net profit at £8 per ton = £16,000, only £4,000 remained for the support of the proprietors and their families, without sinking one fraction in paying off the capital of the debt, or in the improvement of the property.

The system of cultivation and manufacture adopted in St. Lucia is "comparatively rude and defective;" yet Lieutenant-governor Darling, speaking

from the experience he acquired as the resident proprietor of a Jamaica sugar estate, shows the profits to be very large; and states that "an average sugar estate in this island, well found with machinery in order, and water power, may, with ordinary seasons, easily be made to produce 100 hhds of sugar, say 1,400 cwt. each, at a total expenditure, excluding the salary of an attorney, of about £800. Assuming the produce to realize 39s., and deducting 18s. for duty and charges, a net produce of 21s. a cwt. remains."* Recent sales prove the increasing value of estates in St. Lucia, and confirm the opinion entertained by the above authority respecting the improving condition of the colony.

CHAPTER VII.—ST. VINCENT.

POSITION AND HISTORY.—This picturesque Caribbee island, 22 miles south of St. Lucia and 80 north of Grenada, in 13° 10' N. lat., and 61° 5' W. long., is about 18½ miles long, 11 broad, and contains an area of about 84,000 acres. It is said to have been discovered, and thus named, by Columbus in 1498; but it does not appear that any attempt was made to take possession of it by the Spaniards, or any other European nation, until the 17th century;† its numerous and warlike inhabitants, and the natural capabilities of defence afforded by its dense forests, river courses, and ravines, together with a coast-line difficult of access, probably insuring it this long immunity from foreign encroachment. In 1627‡ St. Vincent was included in the charter granted by Charles the First to Lord Carlisle; but no attempt at taking possession was made until Mr. Stede, then Lieutenant-governor of Barbados, St. Lucia, Dominica, and St. Vincent, sent Captain Temple to the last named island to prevent the French from wooding and watering without leave. His proceedings were discouraged by the home authorities, and both nations continued to touch at the island without making any endeavour at permanent settlement until 1719, when some French settlers came in an armed body from Martinique, burned the native huts, destroyed the gardens, and attempted to take forcible possession. At this time two races existed in the island, viz. the red or yellow, and the black Caribs. The former term designates the native Indians, or properly speaking, Americans. The origin of the latter people cannot be explained with certainty, but it is generally ascribed to the shipwreck of a large cargo of Guinea slaves in 1675, who being kindly received by the aborigines, settled among, and, to some extent, intermarried with them. Their numbers were gradually increased by fugitives from Barbados, and disputes arose between the two people, of which the French took advantage, and made peace with the Indians, but finding the Africans still too strong for them, and many lives being sacrificed in their night sallies, they, by persuasions and presents, at length conciliated them also. The planters brought slaves with them, and the Africans, fearful that their colour might eventually become the means of betraying their children into the same hateful thralldom,

adopted the Carib practice of flattening the foreheads of their infants, in token of their being free-born. The internal strife between the Indians and Africans terminated in favour of the latter, who became so powerful as to compel the French to repurchase from them the land which, in some instances, they are alleged to have already bought from its rightful proprietors. The planters were further kept in a state of constant anxiety, from the fear of external enemies; in fact their tenure was throughout very uncertain. In 1723 an unsuccessful attempt was made to capture the island on the authority of George the First's grant to the Duke of Montague; in 1748 its neutrality was acknowledged by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle; but war breaking out again, native rights, recognised only as a matter of convenience, were once more set aside. The island was captured by England in 1762; and in the following year confirmed to that power by the peace of Paris. There were then 800 whites possessing 3,000 slaves, and engaged in a European export trade of £63,000 per annum in value. The lands were directed to be sold to defray the expenses of the war, and 28,538 acres produced £162,854 sterling. Of the red or native Caribs only about 100 families remained, of the black about 2,000 persons.§ The tracts actually occupied by the Caribs were to be held inviolable, according to the royal instructions. These being, as they always are in these cases, disregarded by the settlers, a Carib war arose in April 1772, which threatened to be tedious and bloody, but after much parliamentary discussion it was declared that the war was "founded in injustice, and reflected dishonour on the national character;"|| negotiations for peace were forthwith instituted, and the most fertile and beautiful part of the country formally ceded to the Caribs. In 1776 St. Vincent was formed into a distinct government, but in 1779 the unfortunate dissensions existing between the governor and the inhabitants, coupled with the treachery of the Caribs, enabled the French to take possession without a blow being struck; in 1783 the island was restored to the English, and then contained sixty-one sugar estates, 500 acres in cotton, 500 in tobacco, 400 in cotton, 200 in cacao, and 200 in indigo. Although no stipulation was made in favour

a typographical error occurs, the date being given as 1837 instead of 1627.

* Bryan Edwards, vol. i., p. 420.

|| Coke's *West Indies*, vol. ii., p. 187.

* Report, dated October, 1850, accompanying the St. Lucia Blue Book for 1849.

† Shephard's *Historical Account of St. Vincent*, p. 2.

‡ In the *History of Barbados*, p. 112, 2nd column,

of the offending natives, they were generously treated as ignorant and deluded people, and allowed to return unpunished to their lands and occupations. In 1794 the revolutionary doctrines, which were desolating France, were introduced into the West Indies, and sedulously circulated there by Victor Hugues and his associates. The French planters incited the Caribs to rebellion, and many fierce contests ensued; but after a decisive struggle at a spot called Dorsetshire Hill in which the chief leader, a huge Carib named Chatoyer* fell in single combat with Major Leith of the militia, the Caribs were deserted by their French allies, and at length compelled to surrender. In 1796, above 5,000 of them were transported to the island of Rattan in the Bay of Honduras, and the fine tract appropriated to them "in perpetuity," added to the crown lands. The expenses incurred in consequence of the insurrection were estimated at more than £900,000 sterling.† The few Caribs who remained in St. Lucia were pardoned by an act passed in 1805, and about 230 acres of land granted for their subsistence, which they were prohibited from alienating "or cultivating in sugar." The latter stipulation betrays the jealousy with which native industry was regarded, and together with the decided aversion manifested towards any secular or religious instruction being imparted to the Caribs, and the desire evinced for the fertile lands allotted them, affords some insight into the errors of the system which, instead of converting them into a tractable peasantry, compelled their banishment from the island. The terrible eruption of Mount Soufrière in 1812, and slave emancipation in 1834, are the only events which have since occurred requiring comment, and both will be noticed in the following sections.

PHYSICAL FEATURES.—A connected chain of bold, sharp, and high mountains, run north and south from thence smaller ridges diverge on either side, forming ravines which, as they approach the shore, widen into valleys, whose fertile soil, consisting chiefly of a mixture of sand and clay, well adapted for the growth of the sugar-cane, is irrigated by the abundant rains that the high lands of the interior, densely clothed with fine timber, frequently attract. The streams are numerous, and water-power is the usual agent employed to work the mills. The Soufrière, a volcanic mountain, about 3,000 feet high, with a crater half-a-mile in diameter, forms one of the most remarkable natural characteristics of the island. According to Humboldt it threw out flames in 1711. In 1812, a tremendous eruption took place, in which some lives and much property were de-

stroyed,‡ but happily nothing of the kind has since occurred. There are several mineral springs, of which the principal are the Belleair, and the Muriqua spa; the former, situated about two or three miles from Kingstown, is saline; the latter, which has recently been inclosed, and is in much repute for its chalybeate properties, lies further inland, in a pleasant valley of the same name.

TOPOGRAPHY.—St. Vincent is divided into five parishes; *Kingstown*, the capital, stands in that of St. George, near the south-western extremity of the island, and extends in a narrow line along the shores of a beautiful but exposed bay, about a mile wide, defended by Cane Garden Point battery on the south, and on the north-west by Fort Charlotte, which is placed on Berkshire Hill, a rocky promontory, overhanging the sea, and nearly inaccessible on three sides. The town, behind which the mountains gradually rise in a semicircle, attaining their greatest height in Mount St. Andrew, consists of three parallel streets, intersected by six others, and contains about 300 houses. The church, court-house, gaol, market-house, and dépôt for arms, are substantial buildings, without any pretensions to elegance. There is a Wesleyan and a Roman Catholic place of worship. The government-house has been suffered to go to decay, the residence of the lieutenant-governor of late years, having been at "the cottage" in the once famous botanic garden, which formerly comprised within a carefully tended space of thirty acres, many valuable exotics from the East Indies and South America, as well as indigenous plants of great beauty. The nutmeg, clove, and cinnamon, flourished here, as did also some of the bread-fruit plants, imported by Captain Bligh; but an ill-judged economy induced the withholding of the allowance necessary for its maintenance. A small part has been appropriated for an official residence, and the remainder has become a wilderness. Many cuttings from the nutmeg trees had previously been distributed, and these promise to present excellent and abundant fruit, as do also the clove plants. *Calliaqua*, a small town or village, three miles south-east of Kingstown, is chiefly remarkable for its commodious harbour for shipping produce. Some distance above it lies the Vigie (look-out) a commanding three-topped elevation, where the Caribs formerly fixed their camp, from which various ridges diverge. Eastward lies the extensive vale of Maniaqua, with its almost perpendicular sides, and single cleft or opening, through which the Jambou flows to the sea. Bucament valley, in St. Andrew's parish, is one of the largest and most

* He had on him at the time a silver gorget, presented by H.R.H. Prince William, afterwards King William the Fourth, while visiting St. Vincent. *Vide* Dr. Coke's interesting account of this war, vol. ii., chap. xxii.

† *Shepherd's St. Vincent*, p. 174.

‡ At noon, on the 27th of April, thirty days after the destruction of the Caracacas, a severe concussion of the earth took place, and a black column of smoke burst from the crater, followed by volumes of faville (ash-coloured dust), which continued pouring forth for three days. On the evening of the 30th the flames burst forth, the rolling of the thunder became almost deafening, sand and stones were ejected, earthquakes were felt, streams of lava poured down on either side, the neighbouring estates were covered with scoria, the channels of the Wallibou and Rabacca Rivers blocked up, and some negroes killed. The waters of the Wallibou accumulated in a ravine, and formed a large lake, which some time afterwards found a way through the sandy barrier to its original bed, and carried

away several houses, with their inhabitants, into the sea. The eruption terminated on the 1st of May. The aspect of the mountain was greatly changed, the vegetation having been totally destroyed, the height diminished, old ravines closed up, a new crater found near the old one, and both filled to a considerable depth with yellow-coloured water. Parliament voted £25,000 for the relief of the sufferers by this disastrous and appalling occurrence. Some effects of the eruption were experienced at a great distance. Captain G. P. Hawkins, a cousin of mine, then stationed with his regiment at Barbados, full sixty miles from St. Vincent, says, that for four hours that island was shrouded in nearly total darkness, and the surface covered, to the depth of several inches, with the faville discharged from the crater, which proved a fertilizing agent of great power. Many ships at sea had their decks covered with ashes. The noise of the eruption heard at Barbados and several other islands, was taken for the engagement of hostile fleets, and the troops were placed under arms.

fertile in the island. St. Patrick's parish, on the western coast, contains the small towns of *Layou* and *Barrouallie* or *Princes Town*: the land here is rugged and less productive. *Chateaubelair* or *Richmond Town*, is built on a bay of the name in St. David's parish, near which there are some fine specimens of basalt. The facilities of shipping produce in this vicinity, compared with the bold eastern coast, are very great. Within the last few years, a place called *George Town* has been erected in the beautiful Carib country comprised in Charlotte parish, which though comparatively recently settled, is perhaps the best cultivated in the island.

DEPENDENCIES.—To the south of St. Vincent, and included in its government, lie the Grenadine islands, viz., *Bequia*, comprising 3,700 acres, with a fine harbour called Admiralty Bay; *Union*, 2,150 acres; *Mustique*, 1,203 acres; and *Canouan*, 1,779 acres. There are also the lesser isles of *Balliceaux* and *Battawia*, *Myra*, *Petit St. Vincent*, and *Islet à Quatre*. The air is salubrious, and the waters around abound with fish. There are altogether about 2,000 inhabitants, five villages, twenty arrowroot and six sugar estates.

GEOLOGY.—The character of the island is decidedly volcanic; traces of strata, which have undergone the action of fire, are visible everywhere, and huge masses of rock displaced from their original position, indicate the powerful upheavings which effected the change. Branches of trees and other substances have been discovered in rocks at considerable depth, which must, at one time, have been in a state of fusion. No minerals have yet been observed. The *St. Vincent Gazette* recently announced that gold dust of pure quality has been found at the head of Buccament River.

Soil.—In the valleys a rich tenacious loam, and occasionally a fine black mould; on the higher regions it is more sandy, and less fertile. The lands adjoining the Soufrière are clay, covered with sand ejected by the volcanic eruption of 1812.

CLIMATE.—At Kingstown the average temperature for the year is, lowest 75°, highest 87°, mean 81° Fahrenheit. Quantity of rain in 1849, 76 inches; the number of inches in each month, beginning with January, is about 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 8, 5, 6, 9, 14, 5, 8; the hottest months from May to November. On the highlands in the interior the air is much cooler. Hurricanes have been severely felt, and that of 1831 was especially destructive. Nineteen vessels were driven on shore in Kingstown Bay alone. The total loss occasioned to the island was estimated at £163,420 sterling; the sum of £20,000 was appropriated by Parliament for its relief.

POPULATION.—The returns are vague and scanty. The following table can only distantly approximate to correctness; but it will give some idea of the relative progress, and illustrate the fact of the invariable decrease of slaves, whenever their numbers were not kept up or increased by new importations.

Year.	Whites.	Free coloured.	Blacks, slaves to 1834.	Total.
1764	2,104	—	7,414	9,518
1787	1,450	300	11,853	13,703
1805	1,600	450	16,500	18,550
1812	1,053	1,482	24,920	27,455
1825	1,301	2,824	23,780	27,905
1831	—	—	22,997	—
1834	—	—	22,266	—
1844	1,268	4,369	21,511	27,248
1851	—	—	—	30,128

DIV. VIII.

The census of 1851 is "so incomplete and deficient in all respects as to be almost worthless;" the population was then really "little if at all short of 32,000." In the returns the males are stated at 13,957; females, 16,171; and creoles, 12,820, including 167 Caribs.—(*Blue Book* for 1851.) Between 1844 and June 1851, 2,874 Madcarse and African immigrants were registered.

"Since the memorable 1st August, 1838, 'the condition of the labouring population has greatly improved: schools and places of worship have increased, and large tracts of land have been purchased or leased, upon which villages and hamlets have been erected; and the cultivation of arrowroot is carried on to a great extent, in addition to the usual articles of ground provisions. In cases where the lands have been sold, high prices have been obtained (frequently from £25 to £30 per acre); and some of the labourers located in the villages are now employed, during a considerable portion of their time, on the adjacent estates, at wages of about four dollars per month—that is, for twenty days' labour in the cultivation of sugar, &c.'"—(*St. Vincent Almanack* for 1851; p. 86.)

In 1846 the number of the new or free villages was eighteen, with populations varying from 50 to upwards of 300. Messrs. Candler and Alexander, who visited the colony in 1850, speak highly of these locations, "which are numerous, and planted in very lovely spots." At one, termed *Victoria*, containing 800 inhabitants, the people came out to meet the "Friends," and greeted them with hearty cheers; and a school of fifty children sang their favourite hymn. "Many of the houses are very good; the alleys or paths between them neat and clean; and the gardens fruitful: the men, women, and children were well dressed, and seemed as happy as they are free. All were teetotallers; no spirit store was suffered to exist in the place."—*Anti-Slavery Reporter*.

GOVERNMENT.—An elective assembly of twelve representatives, a legislative council appointed by the Crown, and a lieutenant-governor.

RELIGION.—Various Christian denominations. Church of England, four rectors and four curates; Church of Scotland, one minister, and Church of Rome, one; the Wesleyans, who were formerly persecuted here, have now seven ministers. Number of churches and chapels in 1830, eight; worshippers, 400; in 1844, twenty-seven; worshippers, 10,115; in 1851, churches and chapels, 102.

EDUCATION.—Church of England, seventeen schools, with 422 males, and 378 females; Wesleyan, thirteen, with 809 male, and 596 female pupils. There is also a Presbyterian grammar school, and a Roman Catholic seminary. Scholars in 1830, 209; in 1851, 2,205.

CRIME.—Offences in 1835, 1,248; in 1850, 208.

PRESS.—Two newspapers, and a good almanack.

FINANCE.—The island revenue was, in 1834, £10,142; in 1851, £15,827; of this, £9,129 was derived from import, and £1,662 from tonnage duties. The civil expenditure defrayed by England in 1851, amounted to £3,150, and the disbursements from the commissariat chest, were £5,483.

COMMERCE.	1834.	1851.
Imports . . .	£156,433	£198,679
Exports . . .	424,350	218,521

The price of sugar gave an apparent increase of value to the exports in former years; thus, in 1832, the crop of 21,917,056 lbs. of sugar was valued at

130 COMMERCE—CONDITION AND CHARACTER OF THE PEOPLE.

£200,454; while that of 1851, 37,684,868 lbs. was valued at only £218,521.

Products.	1834.	1851.
Sugar . . . lbs.	24,661,168	37,684,868
Molasses . . gals.	382,880	339,871
Rum . . . "	278,785	82,459
Arrowroot . . lbs.	62,160	887,569
Cocoa . . . "	5,460	1,050
Cotton . . . "	102,000	12,000

In 1851, there was more sugar made in St. Vincent than in any previous year during the present century. In 1852 the crop was still increasing. The values of the chief articles of produce were, in 1851—sugar, £163,707; molasses, £13,013; rum, £5,667; arrowroot, £22,007. The shipping inwards was, in 1834, 29,494 tons; in 1851, 29,246 tons. In 1852, the shipments to November, amounted to upwards of 11,000 hogsheads of sugar, and a large proportion of rum and molasses. Among other articles, there were 195 bales of cotton, 44,324 cocoa-nuts, and 453 tons of puzzuolano, a new manure abounding in the island, said to be also a valuable cement.

The lieutenant-governor, in his annual report on the *Blue Book* for 1849, adverts to the decreasing concubinage, the diminution of drunkenness, and the

independent condition of the lower and middle classes—meaning by the latter, those who had formerly been slaves, but have now established themselves in villages on purchased or rented land: "among these are to be found not a few individuals possessing no small intelligence, and whose position as to worldly means and consequent comfort, is equal, if not superior, to that of a similar class in any other part of the globe." It is only the aged and infirm, who have formerly been slaves, that require charitable aid, which is supplied from private sources.

The same authority, when reporting officially in 1852, says:—

"With regard to the great body of the population, it is beyond all dispute that it has been the subject of progressive melioration, both moral and physical. In treating of the negro people as here existing, it must never be forgotten that seventeen years only have now run their course since they were emancipated from a state absolutely opposed to all improvement; and with this in view, I record not only my satisfaction, but a feeling of joyful surprise, at the advances made by them during the six years to which my observation and experience have extended. As a general rule, they possess, beyond all reasonable question, most of the essential elements of progress; and, in a pre-eminent degree, natural intelligence and quickness of perception, sharpened by a praiseworthy desire to better their condition."—(*Blue Book* for 1851, p. 104.)

CHAPTER VIII.—GRENADA.

THIS island, the most southerly, and according to general opinion the most beautiful of the Caribbean group, is situate in 12° 10' N. lat., and 61° 25' W. long. Its greatest length, north and south, is about twenty-four miles; its greatest breadth, twelve; and its area (according to the latest authorities), 76,538 acres.

HISTORY.—Grenada was discovered and thus named by Columbus in 1498. Its native inhabitants occupied it, unmolested by European invasion, until 1650, when its fertile soil, fine harbours, and salubrious climate, attracted the attention of Du Parquet, the French governor of Martinique, who having resolved to take forcible possession, collected a body of about two hundred followers for that purpose; but being received by the natives with friendly cordiality, he changed his policy, and using treachery instead of open violence, or probably as an excuse for resorting to such measures, he pretended to open a treaty with the chief of the Caribs for the purchase of the country, which, according to Du Tertre, he obtained for "some knives and hatchets, and a large quantity of glass beads, besides two bottles of brandy for the chief himself."

Du Parquet then established a colony in Grenada, built a fort for its protection, and left the government of the island to a kinsman, named Le Compte. Within eight months after this period we find a war of extermination carried on by the French against the Caribs. Du Parquet sent a reinforcement of 300 men from Martinique, with orders to extirpate the natives altogether; but Le Compte had not waited these instructions, having already proceeded to murder, without mercy, every Carib who fell into his hands—not sparing even the women and children!

Père du Tertre, the historian, and too often the extenuator of the abominable transactions of his

countrymen, and indeed of civilized nations in general in the West Indies at this period, gives an account of one expedition which will sufficiently explain the speedy and complete extinction of the native population. Forty of the Caribs, he says, were massacred on the spot. About forty others, who had escaped the sword, ran to a precipice, and being pursued, cast themselves headlong into the sea. A beautiful girl, of twelve or thirteen years of age, who was taken alive, became the object of dispute between two officers, each claiming her as his prize; a third coming up, put an end to the contest, by shooting the girl through the head. The place whence these unfortunates flung themselves was named by the French, in cruel mockery, le Morne des Sauteurs, Leapers' Hill. The French lost but one man in the expedition, and having set fire to the huts, rooted up the provisions, and destroyed or taken away everything belonging to "the savages," returned "bien joyeux."* The inhuman conquerors soon quarrelled over their ill-gotten gains, and conflicts ensued in which many lives were lost. The original invader, Du Parquet, prevailed in this instance, as before, by the right of the stronger, but being nearly ruined by the expense he had incurred in his unjust proceedings, was obliged to sell his authority in Grenada, for a small sum, to the Count de Cerillac, a French nobleman, who sent out a governor armed with despotic power, which was most mercilessly used for the purpose of extorting money. The chief settlers abandoned the plantations they had scrupled at no bloodshed in acquiring, and no labour or expense in improving; the poorer inhabitants remained exposed to daily cruelty and oppression, which ended in a general insurrection, and the execution of the obnoxious governor, after a form of

* Du Tertre, tome i., pp. 427, 430, 446.

public trial. The parties chiefly concerned, alarmed at the probable consequences of their conduct, quitted the island; the Count de Cerillac finding his acquisition as unprofitable as his predecessor had done, disposed of it to the French West Indian Company, which being dissolved in 1674, the sovereignty of the island was thenceforward vested in the crown of France.*

The colony remained in a depressed and almost ruined condition for some years; and, according to the Abbé Raynal, whose testimony however is far from unexceptionable, contained, so late as 1700, no more than 251 whites, and 525 blacks, employed in cultivating three sugar and fifty-two indigo estates. Chiefly, it is alleged, by a smuggling intercourse with the Dutch, the condition of the colony improved, and the population largely increased; and when, in 1762, the English became masters of all the French Caribbean islands, Grenada and the Grenadines were said to yield annually in clayed and muscovado sugar a quantity equal to about 11,000 hogs-heads of muscovado, of 15 cwt. each, and about 27,000 lbs. of indigo.

On the close of the war, Grenada being confirmed to England by the Peace of Paris, it was asserted on behalf of the Crown that the inhabitants were subject to the 4½ per cent. duties imposed upon Barbados, and the islands included in the Carlisle Charter. The case was elaborately argued in Westminster-hall four several times; and in 1774, Lord Chief Justice Mansfield pronounced judgment *against the Crown*. The duty in question was consequently abolished in Grenada, Dominica, St. Vincent, and Tobago.

In 1779 a French armament invaded the island, whose whole force then consisted only of 90 troops, 300 militia, and 150 merchant-sailors; the fortifications were equally insignificant. The governor (Lord Macartney) nevertheless made a determined though unsuccessful defence, and Count d'Estaing, who had landed at the head of 3,000 men, lost 300 in storming an entrenchment hastily thrown up on the summit of the Hospital-hill.

In 1783 Grenada was restored to Great Britain. Although during the former period of dominion, in 1768, the fullest toleration had been, and was afresh, accorded to the Roman Catholics by the British government, yet, owing to local intrigues, in which the governor is alleged to have played a very unworthy part, this boon was withheld, and disputes arose between the French catholics and British protestants, which not only embittered the general state

of society, and greatly retarded the progress of the colony, but paved the way for the introduction of the seditious republican doctrines of the day. In the insurrection which broke out in May, 1795, the negroes of course took part, many dreadful outrages were committed by the insurgents (such as the cold-blooded slaughter of prisoners of war); and when the government, reinforced by troops from England, at length triumphed, scarcely less sanguinary feeling was manifested under the plea of needful severity. The island long felt the consequences of the devastation committed at this time—happily it has since escaped the horrors of external or internal strife. It has shared with the neighbouring colonies, the visitations of fire,† hurricane, earthquake, and pestilence,‡ though none of these agents, powerful as they have proved, have equalled in destructiveness of property, the myriads of sugar-ants§ which made their appearance in 1770, and were at length checked by the effects of the hurricane of 1780.

Since the abolition of slavery, the trade of the island has been placed on a sounder basis, for although the treatment of the slaves was on the whole unusually mild, and the free coloured people were early placed on a legal footing with their white fellow-subjects, yet the system, in a commercial point of view, proved as ruinously expensive here as in Jamaica and other islands. In the midst of much seeming prosperity, the planters were becoming deeply indebted; thus, in 1773, their lands were mortgaged to the value of a million and-a-half, and severe depression could not fail to follow.

PHYSICAL FEATURES AND TOPOGRAPHY.—This island has an air of Italian softness quite distinct from the usual character of intertropical regions. The country, though mountainous, is nowhere inaccessible, abounds with springs and rivulets, and still justifies the description of John Davies in its "abundance of fair trees, some excellent for their fruit, others for their fitness for building."|| There are two or three craters on the crest of the ridge which runs north and south through the middle of this, as of other Caribbee islands, attaining occasionally a height of 3,000 feet, and at the north end is *Lake Antoine*, supposed to be the crater of an extinct volcano, now filled up with water, about sixty acres in extent, fifty feet deep, and eighteen feet above the sea level. In the centre of Grenada is the far-famed *Grand Etang*, with its cloud-capt mountains and picturesque scenery, its sylvan nymphs and Caribbean traditions, another crater

* According to Dr. Coke (vol. ii., p. 53), these events occurred nearly half a century later, but the dates above given, on the authority of Bryan Edwards (vol. i., p. 358), and Père Labat (tome v., p. 240), seem better grounded.

† In 1771 George Town was consumed by a fire, which occasioned a loss estimated at £200,000 sterling; it was rebuilt, and again ravaged in 1775, to the extent of £500,000 damage, and property to the amount of about £100,000 was destroyed in the same town by fire in 1792.

‡ In 1794 yellow fever broke out, and for four years continued to desolate the colony.

§ The *formica omnivora*, a description of ant of red colour, and common size, remarkable for an excessively acid taste when applied to the tongue, and a strong vitriolic smell, suddenly and unaccountably appeared on a sugar plantation at a bay called Petit Havre, and continued to increase for several years, destroying in succession every sugar plantation between St. George's and St. John's, a space of about twelve miles. Colonies of them were also observed in different parts of the island, the roads would be coloured with their red bodies for miles together, and

so thickly in many places, that the print of a horse's feet, in riding through them; would appear for a moment or two until filled up by the surrounding multitude. They were decidedly carnivorous, would devour every kind of cold victuals, and destroyed all vermin, especially rats. The Assembly, fearing that the culture of the sugar-cane would be seriously injured, offered a reward of £20,000 for their destruction. Poison and fire were unsuccessfully tried; multitudes were killed, but they still continued to increase, and make more nests among the roots of the sugar-cane, especially of the ratoons, and of the lime-lemon, orange, and some other trees, which, though they did not eat any part of, they rendered sickly and unproductive. At length came the dreadful hurricane of 1780, which indicated and partially effected a remedy, for by the rooting-up of many canes and trees, and the general disturbance of the earth, by far the greater part of the nests and young ones were destroyed through exposure to heavy rain.

|| *History of the Caribby Islands, rendered into English*, by John Davies of Kidwelly. London: 1666.

turned into an inland lake, about 1,500 feet in altitude, and covering thirty acres of ground. The island is formed into six parishes, bearing the names of *Sts. George, David, Andrew, Patrick, Mark, and John*, the calendar of saints having been the vocabulary chiefly resorted to for the designation of local divisions throughout the West Indies. The parishes of *Sts. Patrick, Andrew, and St. John*, are the least mountainous, and those of *Sts. John and Mark* the most so. The capital, *St. George*, called *Fort Royal* in the time of French dominion, is situated in the parish of the same name, on a peninsula which projects into a spacious bay on the west or lee side of the island, not far from the south end. It is built chiefly of brick and stone, and is divided by a ridge, on one side of which lies the open bay; on the other is the harbour, which still retains its old name of *Carénage*, is almost completely land-locked, and encircled by hills that would give it the appearance of some peaceful lake, but for the shipping, and wharves, where steamers of 1,800 tons burthen can lie alongside. The French, in 1779, intended to have formed a royal dock-yard here. The bay-town has a handsome square and market-place. Fort George, an old and substantial edifice, constructed of freestone, stands on the point or bluff-head of the separating ridge, and a spired church on the isthmus; the chief mercantile houses are situated in the *Carénage*-town, beyond which are seen some beautiful creeks indenting the cane-fields, an aqueduct at which the boats water, a long line of mangroves bordering the sea, a large lagoon, and Point Salines shooting out in a long jagged tongue to the south-west. Over all, and commanding everything in the vicinity, tower the *Richmond Heights*, crested with extensive fortifications, from whence the Bocas of Trinidad (ninety miles distant) have been seen on a clear afternoon.* The rest of the prospect is very charming, the eye wandering in every direction over richly cultivated valleys, with streams of water running through them, orchards of shaddocks and oranges, and cottages embowered in plantain groves and variegated foliage. "The view from government house," says Coleridge, "situated on a ridge of Hospital Hill, is the Bay of Naples, on one side, and a poet's Arcadia on the other." The colonists, naturally proud of the beauty of the scene, have given to the vale below the classic name of *Tempe*, and two neighbouring eminences are known as *Corinth* and *Parnassus*. The neighbourhood is famed for the excellent sugar and rum produced there. One disadvantage attendant on the picturesque character of the town is the extreme steepness of its streets, which are considered barely practicable with safety for any description of wheeled carriages. The ascent of Constitution Hill, leading to the market-place, is at an angle not far removed from the perpendicular. The other towns in Grenada are nothing more than inconsiderable villages or hamlets, situated at the chief shipping places. The principal of these are *Charlotte Town*, in *St. John's* parish, and a village at *Grenville Bay*, on the east or windward side of the island, where there is a convenient harbour.

DEPENDENCIES.—The group of islands called the *Grenadines*,† which form a chain between Grenada and *St. Vincent*, are chiefly comprehended under the government of the former island, and have been

already briefly mentioned. *Cariacou* and *Ronde* or *Redonda* are the principal of those belonging to Grenada. *Cariacou* is about nineteen miles in circumference, with an area of nearly 7,000 acres; it has been formed into a parish, and its town, *Hillsborough*, contains a church and rectory. It was first occupied by French fishermen, who came to catch turtles, and employed their leisure in clearing and planting the ground; cotton became the chief product, sugar having been less successful. *Isle Ronde*, midway between Grenada and *Cariacou*, contains an area of about 500 acres, wholly used for pasturage and the growth of cotton. The great defect of all the Grenadines is the absence of streams or springs, which of late years has been increasingly felt, from the diminished quantity of rain which has fallen since the injudicious destruction of the timber with which they formerly abounded.

GEOLOGY.—The island is evidently volcanic, and the prevailing formation seems to be of the tertiary period. Beds of coral, as well as mountain limestone, interspersed here and there with various grey argillaceous earths and ochres, are found in different places, principally on the western side. The coral is distributed on hills three or four hundred feet above the sea, as well as in the valleys, and contains fossil marine shells, plain and striated. The volcanic indications are for the most part confined to the central mountain range. In the parish of *St. Mark*, at the source of the river *Soumache*, is a very large and deep crater, in a partial state of activity, evolving sulphureous vapours; and at the bottom are found sulphate of alumina, and large boiling cauldrons of mud, sulphur, and bituminous matter, hot springs, lava, pumice-stone, &c. On the east side, dark red conglomerates, mixed with nodules of ironstone, prevail; on the south-east and south-west, dark and grey sandstones, gravel, sandstone grit, indurated tufa and schistose rocks; and on the west and north, darker conglomerates, shingly beaches of water-worn masses, ironstone, pyrites, basalt, and other trap rocks. Near *Black Bay* there are remains of regular basaltic columns rising out of the sea. The main ridge seems to have been raised by the agency of subterranean force subsequent to the madrepore depositions, but before the island had emerged from the sea.

MINERALOGY.—Mr. Cockburn, an intelligent resident, has remarked strong indications of iron and copper; the natural magnet has been found, but none of the quartzose or metamorphic rocks peculiar to the paleozoic period in which gold has hitherto been discovered, are observable.

SOIL.—In the lowlands chiefly a rich black mould, on a substratum of light-coloured clay; in high and central positions, it is of a dingy red or brick colour.

CLIMATE.—The medium heat throughout the year, in the low country, is about 82° Fahrenheit; but at the *Grand Etang* the thermometer rises only to 76°; when it attains 86° at *St. George's*. A large quantity of rain falls, particularly in May, June, July, and August, and in October and November: the number of inches for the year is about 107; the rain-gauge for June marks fourteen to sixteen inches.

POPULATION.—The following table, drawn from various sources, illustrates, to some extent, the progress of the population: the highest number of

like fruit. Its sap is a deadly poison; and if it touch the skin, will cause a grievous sore: even its shade is avoided by animals; and crabs, by eating its leaves, become poisonous. Du Tertre's *Histoire Générale des Antilles*.

* Coleridge's *Six months in the West Indies*, p. 95.

† Close to the sea-shore in many of the islands, the celebrated *Manchenille*, or *Manchineel-tree*, the upas of the West Indies, displays its luxuriant foliage and apple-

GRENADA—POPULATION, GOVERNMENT, FINANCE, COMMERCE. 133

slaves in the islands and its dependencies, at any one time, was in 1779, when, according to Dr. Coke, there were 35,000.

Year.	Whites.	Free Coloured.	Slaves or Blacks.	Total.
1700	251	53	525	729
1753	1,263	175	11,991	13,429
1771	1,661	415	26,211	28,287
1787	996	1,115	23,960	26,071
1793	1,000	—	24,000	—
1805	1,100	800	20,000	21,900
1817	—	—	28,029	—
1827	834	3,892	24,442	29,168
1834	661	3,687	21,074	25,422
1844	407	—	28,516	28,923
1851	410	—	32,261	32,671

Census of Grenada, October, 1851.

Districts.	Number of square miles.	Population.			Number to each sq. mile.
		Males.	Fem.	Total.	
St. George Town	0.16	1,843	2,724	4,567	—
Parish	26.00	2,750	2,654	5,413	208
St. David	18.43	1,245	1,336	2,581	140
St. Andrew	34.69	2,785	2,850	5,635	162
St. Patrick	16.43	2,514	2,646	5,160	314
St. Mark	9.07	873	865	1,738	192
St. John	14.99	1,661	1,555	3,116	208
Cariaeou Island.	13.23	2,133	2,328	4,461	338
Total . .	133.00	15,713	16,958	32,671	—

Descent.—Creoles, 28,082; other British West Indies, 1,168; British, 384; Maltese, 26; Africans, 2,425; Madeirese, 400; and a few from other countries. Nearly 86 per cent. are creoles.

Age.—Under 5 years, 4,824; in proportion to the whole population, 14.76 per cent.; 60 years old and upwards, 2,490; or 7.62 per cent. Nearly 20 per cent. of the male population (7,500) are aged from 15 to 50.

Religion.—Church of England, 10,025; Church of Scotland, 264; Wesleyans, 1,657; Moravians, 34; Church of Rome, 20,675. *Sanitary state.*—401 sick; 1.23 per cent.; 905 infirm, 2.77 per cent. *Houses and cottages.*—Inhabited, 7,669; uninhabited, 134; building, 145. Baptisms in 1851, 1,246; deaths, 718.

Mr. S. Cockburn, the population commissioner of the colony, has appended some valuable remarks to this census, which, in detail and careful preparation, might serve as a model for other colonies. With regard to the condition of the colony, he points out the decay of the small householders in George Town, but says:—

“On the other hand, the few houses that are building are principally by the labourers and lately-imported Africans, who are rising fast in the scale of society, to fill the places, at no distant period, of their superiors of the middle classes, who are fast sinking into poverty and ruin. Even the proprietors of the freeholds feel the difference in the times, and those females who have no means of obtaining a livelihood, save from their rent-rolls, find it now to be a very precarious income to depend upon. In the country districts the picture is more cheering. The peasantry appear joyful and happy in their little homesteads, many of them possessing comfortable cottages on their patches of land, upon which they grow the sugar-cane, and grind it on the neighbouring estates for half the produce, by which they obtain a considerable sum, besides the provisions they send to market, and their daily money-earnings whenever they choose to work on the sugar plantations. Thus are they

in comparatively easy circumstances, and are fast approaching an important position in the community.”—(*Blue Book for 1851.*)

The governor-in-chief of the Windward Islands (Barbados, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Grenada, and Tobago), in forwarding to H.M. Secretary of State (27th August, 1851) some useful statements, showing the condition of these islands at different periods since 1830, adverts to the peaceable disposition of the inhabitants, and says:—

“A recollection of the injustice and capricious severity to which the labouring classes were at one time subject, and which, to their credit, has engendered in them no retaliatory spirit or revengeful feelings, has led them to look up with respect to the government, to whom they have attributed their rescue from servile degradation, and a disposition to second its efforts made for their improvement.”—(*Blue Book for 1850, p. 56.*)

The ordinary language of the mass of the people is a barely intelligible French patois.

GOVERNMENT.—A lieutenant-governor, council, and house of assembly, representing the people. As in the other islands, the common statute law of England is the general rule of justice.

RELIGION.—In 1851, six clergymen of the Established Church, at salaries varying from £225 to £325 per annum. In 1830, there were 5 churches or chapels, with an average attendance of 720 persons: in 1850 these had increased to 14 churches or chapels, and an average attendance of 2,735—of which 9 were Church of England, 4 Wesleyan, and 1 Presbyterian edifice.

EDUCATION.—Church of England, 11 schools, with 530 male, and 326 female pupils; Wesleyan, 4; pupils, 786 male, and 423 female. Number of scholars in 1830, 356; in 1851, 1,209.

CRIME.—Total number of offences in 1835, 199; in 1850, 197; centesimal proportion, with respect to the population, during the first and last periods ‘8 and ‘6, showing, as in the other islands, both less frequent and less aggravated offences.

FINANCE.—The revenue was, in 1834, £11,190; in 1851, £16,956. The expenditure from the British commissariat chest for 1851, was £11,336; and the civil disbursements paid by England, £4,350, including the salary of the lieutenant-governor, £1,300.

The *Coin* in circulation is estimated at £30,000 to £40,000. There is no statement furnished of the amount of the notes issued by the Branch Colonial Bank.

COMMERCE.—The chief products are sugar, cocoa, and cotton. The value of trade at two periods—

	1833.	1851.
Imports	£73,846	£158,930
Exports	288,683	134,766

The above figures do not, however, convey a correct idea of the actual commerce of those years, because at the former period a custom prevailed, of placing a most exaggerated valuation on both imports and exports. In some years the exports have been quoted at £400,000 to £500,000, a sum manifestly inconsistent with the worth and quantity of their items of production.

While in the possession of France, and cultivated by a resident proprietary, the colony prospered; but long previous to the abolition of the slave-carrying trade in 1807, insolvency and distress were frequent; and Madden (vol. i. pp. 67, ‘8) in January 1834, made

some valuable remarks, which illustrate the fallacies of writers who, in the face of facts, persist in attributing the decline of the colony to emancipation.

Owing to the imperfect state of the early returns, it is not practicable to compare the sugar produce, during the last year of slavery, with that of 1851. The quantity made in 1830 is stated to have been 24,923,314 lbs.; in 1835, 20,467,700; the manufacture then annually decreased until 1845, when it amounted to only 8,447,831 lbs.: since that period it has yearly increased, and now has reached to between

fifteen and sixteen million pounds. The tonnage inwards, in 1834 was 21,325; in 1851, it was 22,176 tons.

PRESENT STATE.—“That Grenada has considerably recovered, during the last few years, from her previously prostrate condition, there is no doubt; her revenue is, if anything, increasing; her imports and exports both shew a considerable addition; her population is, irrespective of immigration, adding to its numbers.”—(Lieutenant-governor's Report, 18th May, 1852).

CHAPTER IX.—TOBAGO.

POSITION AND AREA.—Tobago lies sixty miles south-east of Grenada, and about eighteen miles north-east of Trinidad. The chief town (Scarborough) is in 11° 9' N. lat., and 60° 12' W. long. The length is about thirty-two miles, with a breadth of from six to nine miles; the superficies, about ninety-seven square miles.*

HISTORY.—The island seen by Columbus after discovering Trinidad, in 1498, and by him named Assumption, is supposed to be the same which subsequently acquired the name of Tobago, or Tobacco, from the use of that indigenous herb by the native Caribs when first visited by Europeans. These natives are said to have been driven off the island, and compelled to take refuge in St. Vincent, by reason of the incursions of a hostile tribe from the main land, called the Arrowauks, who, however, were only occasional visitors, often leaving the conquered territory in that desert condition, a description of which is alleged to have afforded De Foe the groundwork of *Robinson Crusoe*. All this rests upon very imperfect evidence, but it is certain that when, in consequence of British navigators having planted the national flag upon the island, in 1580, and the sovereignty having been claimed by James I., in 1608, an attempt was made, about 1625, by settlers from Barbados, to establish themselves in Tobago, and form a sugar plantation; they were opposed by an overpowering Carib force, by whom many of the adventurers were killed, and the rest being compelled to quit, afterwards settled on the island of Providence (St. Catherine's). From this time, up to the year 1684, when the neutral city of Tobago was recognised, attempts were made by private individuals, under the sanction of England, France, and Holland, for its colonization, and various bloody contests for supremacy took place. In violation of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, the French again occupied the island, and the English, after vainly remonstrating against this breach of faith, themselves took forcible possession, in which they were confirmed by the treaty of Paris in the following year. In 1764, a lieutenant-governor was sent out, lands were sold and granted, and the first permanent settlement was made; no other inhabitants than Caribs being then found there.† In 1768, the Council and Assembly

held their first session. The colonists introduced slaves, and had early experience of the anxieties connected with the system, for in 1770 an insurrection broke out in Queen's Bay, which lasted six weeks, and two others succeeded in 1771,‡ and necessitated the costly and harassing measure of forming an extensive and well-disciplined militia in an island where white men had all abundant occupation on the estates with which they were connected, and did not need the incitements to drunkenness and dissipation thus afforded. In 1776, a plague of ants destroyed the sugar-canes so extensively that the cultivation of cotton was generally adopted in the place of sugar. In 1781, the island, after a gallant defence, was captured by the French; in 1783, retaken by the English; surrendered to the French by the Treaty of Paris in 1802; regained by Commodore Hood in 1803; and, for the last time, formally ceded to Great Britain in 1814. Here, as generally in the British West Indies, slavery was superseded by the apprenticeship system, in 1834; unconditional freedom followed in August, 1838, and has been productive of decidedly beneficial results in the moral character and commerce of the colony; confirming the truth of the remark made by Sir Andrew Halliday, from personal observation in 1837, that “certainly here, as has been proved everywhere, free labour has been more productive than slavery could ever be made.”§

In October, 1847, a fearful hurricane, in which many lives were lost, destroyed two-thirds of the buildings throughout the island, and greatly damaged the canes; with this melancholy exception, Tobago, though subject to occasional storms and shocks of earthquake, has suffered comparatively little injury from these visitations.

PHYSICAL FEATURES AND TOPOGRAPHY.—Tobago has been termed the “Melancholy Isle,” because when viewed from the north, it exhibits a mass of gloomy mountains, dense forests, and precipices descending abruptly to the sea; on a nearer approach the aspect is more pleasing, though still very irregular, the surface being extensively occupied by conical hills and spurs, all connected with the interior or dorsal ridge, 1,800 feet high, which stretches through the interior for twenty miles. Deep and

* *Vide* Gov. Sir W. Colebrooke's Report, *B. B.*, 1850.

† This fact is stated in the historical account contained in Mathieson's *Tobago Almanack* for 1849, which has evidently been compiled with great care and judgment; but, unfortunately, no authorities are given.

‡ The cruelties inflicted upon the slaves were horrible. Mr. Jefferys when examined before a parliamentary

committee, stated that he had seen seven executed at one time in Tobago; their right arms were chopped off; they were then dragged to seven stakes and burnt to death. One named Sampson, being hung in chains, was seven days dying. Their crimes were murder and destroying property.—*Parl. Papers*, 1790.

§ Sir A. Halliday's *West Indies*, p. 274.

narrow ravines terminate in small alluvial plains; on the south-west there is some comparatively level land, broken by occasional isolated mounds, with but few swamps or marshes; the northern extremity is precipitous, with basaltic columns, and terminates in the dark island of Little Tobago, and the dangerous rocks of St. Giles. Numerous streams and rivulets rise in the interior, and flow to the sea. The coastline abounds in bays; *King's Bay*, *Queen's Bay*, and *Barbados Bay*, on the windward or south-east side, and *Man-of-War*, *Courland*, and *Sandy Point*, on the leeward or north-west, are adapted to the largest sized ships. The island is divided into seven parishes: those of Sts. John, Paul, and Mary, lie to the eastward; Sts. David, George, Andrew, and Patrick, to the westward.

Scarborough is situated on the south-west coast, on the shores of a wide open inlet called *Rockley Bay*, which affords no good anchorage, until nearly in with the town. Although irregularly built, yet, from its position at the base of a conical hill, 422 feet in altitude, crowned by Fort King George, Scarborough has a pleasing appearance. The public buildings are a commodious court-house, English church, Presbyterian kirk, Wesleyan chapel, public gaol, and commissariat stores. Fort King George is the only fortification in the island in a state of repair; the barracks, hospital, and officers' quarters, substantial brick buildings, were for the most part razed to the ground in 1847, but are in course of restoration. The commerce of the island is conducted here, and the port being free, is the rendezvous for vessels engaged in the import trade. There is a light-house on *Racolet Point*.

Plymouth, which lies nearly opposite Scarborough on the leeward shore, distant about six miles, is a village of increasing importance, being the landing-place of the Royal Mail Packet Company's steamers. *Milford*, on the south-west, is merely a small fishing-place. Two-thirds of the island are still covered with a primitive forest, comprising many varieties of hard wood and ornamental trees. Its shores swarm with fine fish.

GEOLOGY.—There is a general resemblance between the structure of Tobago and of Trinidad, except that there are not seen here the large blocks of hyaline quartz found in the contiguous island. The hill above Scarborough appears to be composed of basalt and schistose rock. The rounded form of the eminences generally, indicates the long continued action of water in rotatory currents.

SOIL.—In the level lands of some districts, a stiff tenacious yellow clay upon an under-stratum of marl or rotten-rock; the former containing a large proportion of lime. Drainage is now being resorted to, and is much needed; bamboos, as thick as a man's arm, in sections of four feet long, fitted into each other, and with the compartments opened, are being employed for this purpose; and if cut at the proper time of the moon, when the sap is down, have been found to last under ground several years.

CLIMATE.—Is salubrious, owing to the narrowness of the island, and the regularity of the sea and land breezes. Dr. Lloyd reported to Sir J. McGregor, in 1827, that "on some of the estates in the interior no European resident had been buried for upwards of ten years." Range of thermometer 75° to 90°; barometer 29° 68" to 29° 85"; hygrometer from 0° to 10° damp, in the wet season, and from 0° to 13° dry, in crop time.

POPULATION.—The following imperfect sketch

partially illustrates the numerical and relative progress of the inhabitants:—

Year.	Whites.	Free Coloured.	Blacks. ¹	Total.
1727	2,300	—	10,000	12,300
1776	2,397	1,050	10,752	14,199
1787	1,397	1,050	10,539	12,986
1805	900	700	14,883	16,483
1830	450	1,163	12,556	14,169
1833	304	1,266	11,628	13,198
1844	—	—	—	13,208
1851	—	—	—	15,000

Note.—¹ The destruction of life in this colony during slavery must have been very great: between 1819 and 1832 the number decreased from 15,470 to 12,091, while the whole of the manumissions during the fourteen years, was only 192;—for example, the births in 1817 were 304, and the deaths 800. The total for the year 1851 is an estimate.

Tobago census in 1844.

Parish.	Area in acres.	Males.	Females.	Total.
St. John	10,520	485	474	959
St. Paul	7,558	443	478	921
St. Mary	10,447	299	412	711
St. George	11,192	785	818	1,603
St. Andrew	3,170	1,049	1,268	2,317
St. Patrick	5,801	899	935	1,834
St. David		1,409	1,580	2,989
Scarborough	437	605	869	1,474
Plymouth	128	178	222	400
Total	62,083 ¹	6,152	7,056	13,208

Note.—¹ Including—Milford, 110 acres; new settlers' lots, 1,500; reserved lands, 2,500. 97 square miles = 62,083 acres. Births in 1851, 491; deaths, 261. No classification of the population of 1851 has been sent home.

"The conduct of the peasantry is very good: they are fast clearing the forest lands, establishing settlements along the sea-coast, and extending cultivation into the interior. By their sole industry [says Lieutenant-governor Graeme,] the extensive forests and waste lands are rapidly giving way to the advances of civilization." He adds:—"It would be difficult, I imagine, to induce any considerable capitalist, at the present time, to clear land and establish a new set of sugar works in the West Indies; and unless the labour is to be performed by the small proprietors of three or four acres, I see no hope whatever of our forests yielding to improvements of any kind. In my evening rides beyond the confines of sugar cultivation, I observe with interest and much pleasure the erection of tenements surrounded by small clearings, and long after sunset I hear the sound of the axe resounding in the distance amongst the hills. It may not here be out of place to give a striking evidence of the economy, laying other considerations aside, of free over compulsory labour. The charge in slavery for preparing and opening an acre of land in this island, by the employment of a task-gang, was £8 sterling. The same amount of work was performed very recently for £1 : 19s. : 10d., upon a Saturday, too, when the people, as stated above, demand the higher rate of wages. The gang consisted of twenty-six men and women, with four water-carriers: each person opened 100 four-feet cane holes, which very nearly cover the surface of an acre of ground."—(*Report*, dated March, 1847, accompanying *Blue Book* for 1846, pp. 30, 31.)

GOVERNMENT.—As in Granada; a lieutenant-governor, council, and an assembly, elected by the people.

RELIGION.—There are three rectors of the Church of England, with stipends of £320 each; and several Wesleyan and Moravian ministers, supported, as in the other colonies, by voluntary contributions, and here, as well as elsewhere, doing much good. In 1835, there were 6 churches or chapels, with an average attendance of 1,000; in 1850, 13, viz., 6 Church of England, 5 Wesleyan, and 2 Moravian, with 6,780 worshippers.—(*Blue Book* for 1850, p. 61.)

EDUCATION, has been neglected by the Assembly on the plea of the inadequacy of the public income to meet the expenditure. The numbers attending the several schools in 1851, are stated as follows:—

Denomination.	Schools.	Scholars.		
		Male.	Female.	Total.
Church of England	11	328	257	585
Wesleyan . . .	7	305	182	487
Moravian . . .	3	304	316	620
Total . .	21	937	755	1,692

The method adopted in Tobago by a meritorious missionary body is thus described by Lieutenant-governor Grème, in an official report:—

“The Moravians commence by a system of discipline which, without fatiguing either the mind or the body, is well suited to children of the most tender age. The more advanced are (as a part of their education) required to sweep the school-rooms, trim the walks, and ornament the grounds within the confines of the mission establishment, plant and weed Guinea grass, raise Indian corn, bananas, and other fruits and vegetables. To the elder

pupils are assigned small plots of land, for their own exclusive benefit; and I am informed that in many cases the boys are not unfrequently at work in their gardens early and late. By such means as these, industrial habits are implanted, and obedience and regularity inculcated imperceptibly on the minds of the rising generation—elements of instruction almost as necessary to the future comfort and happiness of the labouring classes as the intellectual acquirements of reading and writing.”

CRIME, inconsiderable in amount—chiefly minor offences: centesimal proportion to population in 1835, 1.9; in 1850, .9.

PRESS.—A weekly newspaper and a good almanack, with general information.

FINANCE.—Revenue in 1834, £4,242; in 1851, £7,792; of which £4,844 was derived from import duties. Payments from the commissariat chest in 1851, £5,641.

COMMERCE.—Value of imports in 1833, £75,427; in 1851, £63,884 sterling. Sugar exported in 1833, estimated at 6,378 hogsheads; in the year 1851-52, the actual shipments were 4,315 hogsheads. In the former period there were 72 sugar estates; in 1851 there were 70, which have on them 26 steam engines, 33 water, 16 wind, and 5 cattle mills. Cocoon-nuts, to the number of 121,500, were exported in 1851; and other articles are now being added to the small list of staple products, whose only important item is sugar; although cotton, coffee, cocoa, and indigo all thrive here, and pimento, or allspice, grows wild, and the wood is even commonly used for building or burning into charcoal. *Wages* of labour, 6d. to 1s. per day; meat, 6d. to 10d. per pound.

Political dissensions and financial embarrassments have contributed to hinder the progress of Tobago; but these clouds are apparently fast passing away.

CHAPTER X.—TRINIDAD.

POSITION AND AREA.—This large and valuable island, the most southerly of the British West Indies, is separated from the province of Cumana, on the neighbouring continent, by the Gulf of Paria, which it bounds and shelters on the east. The average length is about 50 miles, the breadth from 30 to 35; and the area having never been positively ascertained, is vaguely stated in official returns at from 1,682 to 2,000 square miles. Its form has been compared to a stretched ox-hide; it is oblong, with promontories at three corners, two of which form the north and south-eastern limits of the Parian Gulf; and their extremities are respectively 13 and 9 miles distant from the main land, while the north-eastern and least extensive, terminating in Point Galera,* in 10° 50' N. lat., 60° 30' W. long., lies nearest to Tobago.

HISTORY.—Trinidad was discovered by Columbus in 1498. While in great distress from the leakage of his three vessels, and the want of water, he determined to give the first land he should meet with the name of the Trinity; and, by a remarkable coincidence, three mountain summits were seen from the mast-head, which on a nearer approach proved to be joined at the base. Columbus was delighted with the verdure and fertility of the country; its palm-groves and luxuriant forest sweeping down to the

* So called from an isolated rock, which resembles a gallej under sail.

sea-side, its running streams, and soft pure climate. The interior was cultivated in many places, and enlivened by hamlets and scattered dwellings; but the shores were low and uninhabited. While sailing along the east coast, Columbus for the first time beheld the South American continent; but supposing himself in the seventh degree of latitude instead of the tenth, he had no idea of the greatness of his discovery; and looking upon the low tract of coast, intersected by the numerous branches of the Orinoco, considered it part of another island of limited extent. Entering the Gulf of Paria, by the strait which, from its dangerous and angry appearance, he called the Boca del Sierpe (the Mouth of the Serpent), he feared to attempt quitting it by the opposite pass, which looked yet more alarming, being beset with rocks, through which the strong easterly current forced its way with a violence which induced him to name it the Boca del Dragon. Not venturing to encounter its possible perils, Columbus turned back, and steered along the inner side of the long promontory of Paria, his wonder being highly excited by the various currents and eddies, the placidity of the gulf, which forms in truth one vast harbour, 100 miles in length, and the fresh taste of its waters, caused by the various rivers which empty themselves into its bosom being at that period of the year swollen by rains.

Respecting the native inhabitants of Trinidad,

there are various and occasionally contradictory accounts. According to Las Casas, the majority of them were a part of the same people already described as the Leeward Islanders, and are supposed to have been descended from a colony of the Arrawauks of Guiana, a nation "to whose noble qualities," says Bryan Edwards, "the most honourable testimony is borne by every traveller that has visited them, and recorded his observations."* Humboldt is of opinion, that there was also a branch of the Caribs in this island, which, from other evidence, appears probable,† notwithstanding the general enmity that existed between these warlike barbarians, and their more peaceful and civilized neighbours.

Soon after its discovery, the Spaniards appear to have been in the habit of touching at Trinidad for wood and water, and only too often for the purpose of carrying off the inhabitants as slaves to Porto Rico, or Hispaniola, but no settlement was made until 1532, when, after a fierce struggle, they succeeded in establishing themselves, built a fort, and were sanctioned in their inhuman proceedings by the Spanish Council of the Indies, it being declared lawful to reduce the aborigines to slavery, and carry on rigorous war against them for the extension of the holy faith.‡ The colony made but slow progress during the next fifty years; in 1795, England being then at war with Spain, Sir Walter Raleigh arrived at Punto de Gallo, and burnt a small town styled the city of San Joseph, in revenge for the treacherous capture and execution of eight English sailors a short time before. He set at liberty many captive natives; among them five caciques, whom he found linked together in one chain, almost starved, and having endured grievous torments.§

In 1676, the Marquis de Maintenon in the *Sorcière* frigate, aided by some buccaneers from Tortuga, ravaged Trinidad, and are stated by Charlevoix to have obtained booty to the amount of 100,000 "pieces of eight," which, considering the feeble garrison, and small European population, is barely credible. A last fierce struggle, in which the governor and many Spaniards were killed by the natives, is said to have occurred towards the close of the seventeenth, or the beginning of the eighteenth century; it was used as a pretext for making "terrible examples,"|| according to the gentle phraseology of colonial writers when referring to the infliction of the most agonizing and prolonged sufferings on their darker-skinned fellow-beings. The Spanish monarch absolutely forbade the enslavement of the people, but a very heavy capitation tax was levied from them in maize, cassava, and other provisions, and this probably was used as a means of yet further oppression; they decreased rapidly, and their numbers were also diminished by the ravages of small pox, and other diseases of European origin. There were then but few negroes in the island, but several ship-loads were introduced soon after the signing of the treaty at Madrid between "his most Christian majesty of France," and his "most catholic majesty of Spain."

* Edwards' *West Indies*, vol. i., p. 72.

† Caribs from Trinidad molested the island of San Juan in 1547. Southey, vol. i., p. 187.

‡ Herrera, quoted by Southey, vol. i., p. 176.

§ Vide Account of Sir Walter's Expedition to Guiana, in the *World Displayed, or, A Curious Collection of Voyages and Travels*. Fourth edition; vol. iv., p. 59.

|| Vide Mills' *Trinidad Almanack* for 1840, which contains interesting information, extracted from island documents and family papers, respecting the internal history of the colony.

by which the Royal French Guinea Company undertook to supply the Spanish colonies with 4,800 negroes per annum for the term of ten years. Cacao was the chief production; the sugar was inferior in quality, and small in quantity. A blight of the cacao crop in 1725, and a similar visitation in 1740, reduced the colony very low; still more injurious were the effects of an insurrection on a small scale, in which the Ayuntamiento, or Cabildo, a body corporate, combining the functions of a legislative, executive, and ecclesiastical council, a municipal corporation, and a parish vestry, having taken part with the people against the governor (de Linan), who rightfully presided over them, took upon themselves to supersede, chain, and imprison him for the space of six months, on the plea of his vexatious and oppressive conduct. A force sent by the viceroy of Grenada released him; some of the leaders of the revolt were banished for ten years, and a large proportion of the male population hastily quitted the colony, which in 1750 had sunk to its lowest ebb of poverty and apathy. In 1781, measures were taken by the king of Spain (in consequence of the representations of a M. St. Laurent, who had visited and been greatly struck with the capabilities of Trinidad), to induce immigration; many French, and a few Irish immigrants flocked in; and Trinidad, which a few years before appeared with difficulty to support two or three hundred inhabitants, abundantly supplied thrice as many thousands.

In 1783, the Spanish monarch issued a second ordinance, or cedula, which, by promising to each white person of either sex of the Roman catholic persuasion, a free grant of about thirty-two English acres, and half that quantity to the new settler for every slave he or she might possess, and to free blacks half the quantity of land granted to whites, induced a great influx of population from the French islands of St. Domingo, Martinique, Guadaloupe, St. Lucia, and Cayenne, so much that the colony soon became French in everything but name. The premium upon the possession of every additional slave proved fatal to the liberty of many free blacks and people of colour, who were kidnapped from various parts of the West Indies;¶ and another clause in the cedula which insured to persons who had left other places in debt, immunity from the consequences of fraudulent bankruptcy, made Trinidad the resort of the worst class of characters. The aborigines were now fast verging on extinction, and their successors, the descendants of the old Spanish settlers, were themselves in great part superseded, and their large and ill-defined claims to land set aside in favour of the new comers. A strong government, greatly needed to control such an assembly of unruly spirits, was formed under Don Josef Chacon, a naval captain of great physical and mental energy, who, although a zealous catholic, set to work by expelling some of the dissolute monks, and banishing the last emissary of the hateful inquisition. In February, 1797, a British expedition** for the

¶ The Cabildo formally complained of the inferior class of slaves brought to Trinidad. The infirm, diseased, or refractory, for whom no market could be found elsewhere, were brought here; and out of every forty or fifty landed, only five or six remained alive after the first few days. Certain it is, that their treatment in the colony was excessively cruel; and the slave laws adopted at this period, notwithstanding the injunctions of the feeble Spanish government in 1789, were very similar to the horrible "code noir" of the French colonies.

** It consisted of about 20 vessels and 10,000 men.

reduction of Trinidad, sailed from Martinique, under Abercrombie and Harvey. The strong republican and party spirit fermenting among the inhabitants, prevented Governor Chacon from making efficient preparations for the defence of the colony. The seat of government removed, in 1783, from the inland position of San Joseph to Port of Spain, could only be defended by a strong fleet in the Gulf; the Spanish admiral, Apodaca, who had the reputation of a good and pious, but very unwarlike man, had four fine line-of-battle ships and a frigate, manned by about 1,600 men; by the advice of Chacon, the little island of Gaspar Grande was fortified at the entrance of the Boca Grande (the Dragon's mouth of Columbus). Apodaca did not, however, endeavour to defend the colony, but seeing the superiority of the British force, and the impossibility of escape, set fire to his superb ships, which were models of architecture, and took refuge in Port of Spain.* Chacon was of course compelled to capitulate.

Abercrombie made the best arrangements he could, and left his aid-de-camp, the afterwards famous Sir Thomas Picton, a brave and energetic, but stern and unscrupulous man, in the difficult position of governor. He ruled with a rod of iron, systematically violated an article in the capitulation insisted upon by Chacon to secure the rights of the coloured inhabitants; and in one celebrated case (that of Luisa Calderon) he ordered the application of torture (standing on a picket), on a mere accusation of having robbed the man with whom she was living; and adopted a most iniquitous measure for the suppression of obi, or obeah, by instituting an inquisitorial and very sanguinary tribunal, quite contrary to the spirit of British laws, by whose orders burning, hanging, whipping, and cutting off ears and noses, were frequent exhibitions. During the general but short-lived peace of 1802, Trinidad being confirmed to England, Picton, Fullarton, and Hood, were appointed joint-commissioners for the settlement of affairs; the arrangement proved, as might be expected, from the character of Picton, who was placed second to Colonel Fullarton, a very good and humane officer of the East India Company, a perfectly impracticable one; and was put an end to in 1803 by the arrival of Sir Thomas Hislop, a soldier of reputation, but quite unfit for the governorship of a crown colony in a state of almost complete anarchy. In 1805 great sensation was created by Nelson's fleet suddenly appearing off the northern coast, on which stood a single martello tower: the officer in command mistaking the squadron for that of France or Spain, flung his solitary gun over the hill, blew up his fort, and hastened to communicate the news of an approaching foe. Nelson himself, misled by previous reports, which this circumstance tended to confirm, concluded the island in possession of the French and Spanish, and hoping to find their squadron in the gulf, swept through the Bocas in splendid style. Being soon undeceived, and without staying to send even a note ashore, the Admiral sailed out of the gulf in pursuit of the combined fleets of France and Spain. The mistake created confusion; but one satisfactory result was obtained in proving the inhabitants, at the declaration of

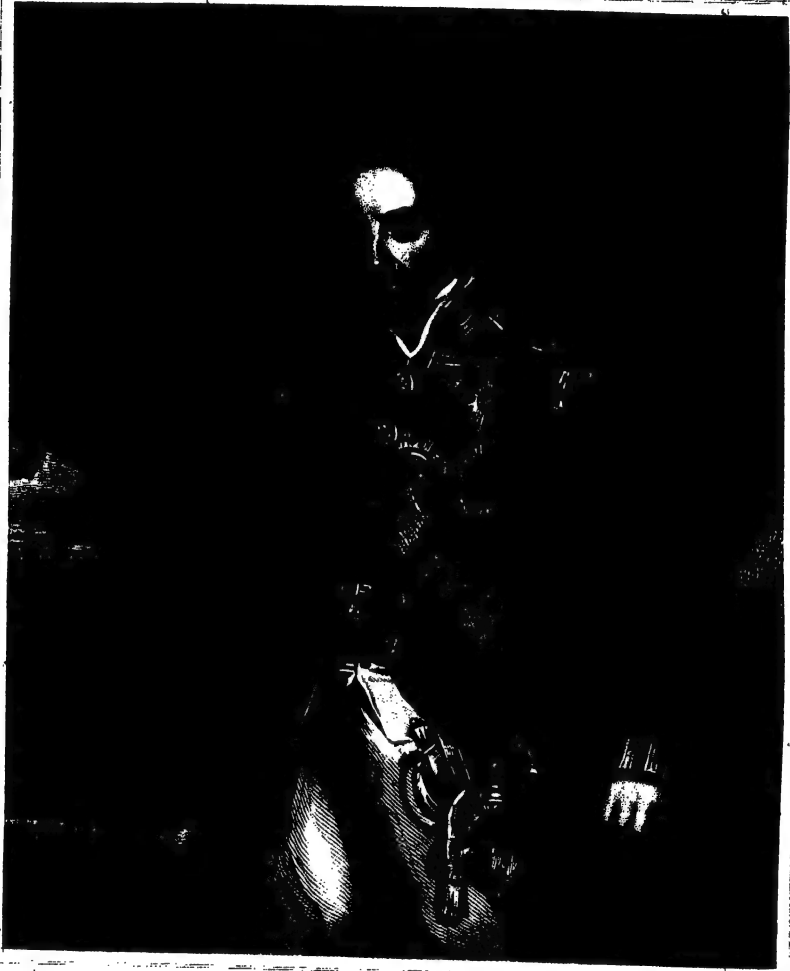
* It is said that Chacon, on learning from Apodaca what he had done, exclaimed—"Then all is lost; you have saved nothing?" "Si, Senor," replied the admiral, with Castilian enthusiasm, "I have saved Saint Jago de Compostella!" exhibiting an image of his patron saint. Both officials, on their return to Spain, were imprisoned, and underwent a long investigation as to their conduct;

martial law, and the assemblage of the militia unanimous in their desire to maintain British rule. In this same year a negro insurrection is said to have been planned, and four of the alleged ringleaders were executed by orders of courts-martial, many horribly mutilated, and some flogged and banished. In 1808, Port of Spain, which had been regularly built, though chiefly of wood, in the South American style, with streets all of equal length and breadth intersecting each other at right angles, was visited with a terrible fire. Three-fourths of the town, including property to the amount of half a million sterling, were destroyed. Parliament voted £50,000 for the relief of the sufferers; and the neighbouring British colonies sent supplies of food, to prevent the famine which, from the mistaken policy of procuring stores from the United States, instead of growing them, threatened to overwhelm the people. In 1809 the condition of the law with regard to slaves was exemplified in the case of Le Bis, a surgeon and planter, who being tried before Judge Smith, on the accusation of having deliberately flogged his slave to death, was discharged after being fined fifty dollars for treating his victim unskilfully in his capacity of surgeon! This was actually the only plea on which he could be punished at all; at that time it being little better than an open question, whether Spanish, and if not, British laws were in force.†

Dr. Coke, on visiting Trinidad in 1810, found several colonists of the Methodist persuasion, and despatched thither a missionary (Rev. T. Talboys), who was very badly received by a factious party on his objecting to do militia duty, from which all clergymen were exempted; attempts were made to expel him; but protected by the governor he held his ground, and since that time the Methodists have met with no further opposition.

Captain Sir Ralph Woodford, R.N., was appointed governor in 1813, and by the zeal and discretion which he displayed in his administration, appears to have greatly improved the condition of the colony, whose capabilities became gradually better understood. He quitted the island, after fifteen years' administration, in April, 1828, and died on his passage to England. Sir Lewis Grant became governor in the following year; he was a kind and just man, though possessed of less administrative ability than his predecessor. He was succeeded by Sir G. F. Hill, as lieutenant-governor, in 1833, and in 1834 the great change from hereditary slavery to emancipation was made without any disturbance, and without the proclamation, according to the desire of the colonists, of martial-law. This favourite measure, employed in the British West Indies for so many purposes, whether to quell imaginary rebellions got up as a means of counter-irritation, whenever Parliament attempted to interfere on behalf of the slaves,—used to ship off an obnoxious "Saint," persecute a missionary, or keep down disturbance liable to be caused by an epidemic disease, a fire, or public rejoicings, has had its day, a long and a bloody one; but with slavery, the desire and excuse for such coercion have alike passed away; and the proclamation of martial-law would probably be deprecated by the colonists, with one voice, in any of strange to say, Apodaca was acquitted and promoted, but Chacon, through the manoeuvres of some of the disaffected Trinidad republicans, was disgraced; and only on his death-bed learned that through the exertions of an affectionate and generous-hearted youth, his nephew, his worth was known to and acknowledged by his sovereign.

† *Trinidad Almanack* for 1840, p. 238.



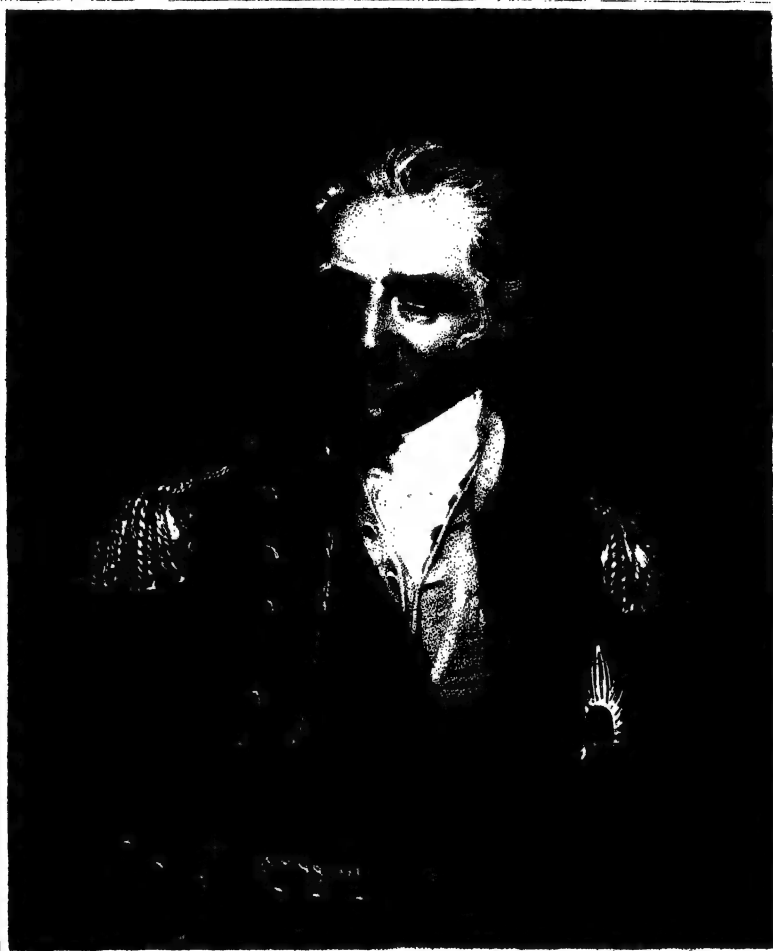
Engraved by W. Finden.

HORATIO, VISCOUNT NELSON

OB. 1805

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF HOPNER, IN

HIS MAJESTY'S COLLECTION.



Engraved by W. Finden.

SIR RALPH ABERCROMBY.

O.B. 1801

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF HENRY, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE HON^{BLE} JAMES ABERCROMBY.

those islands, as earnestly as by the orderly and peace-loving inhabitants of an English town. The present governor, Lord Harris, appears to be labouring strenuously and successfully for the development of some of the numerous, and as yet but partially appreciated resources of the colony.

ASPECT.—The formation of Trinidad is directly opposite to that of the Caribbee group; the mountains have not the towering majesty which distinguishes some of those islands, neither do they run lengthways like a backbone, loftiest in the centre, but, on the contrary, the principal chain, from 2,000 to 3,000 feet in height, clothed from the summit to the base with stately forests, and fringed with mangroves overhanging and actually vegetating in the sea, extends in an east and west direction along the northern coast, commencing at *Point Galera*, and becoming submerged after forming *Point Mona*, the highest summits being still visible in three small isles, which extend across the northern entrance of the Gulf of Paria, leaving four Bocas,* or mouths, towards the Cumana Mountains, with which they were evidently at one time connected, having with them formed a spur of the great chain stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific, known as the Andes. Whether Trinidad has been insulated by volcanic force, or continuous aqueous irruption, is an open question, but the latter seems very probable, on considering the power of the immense volumes of water poured into the gulf during the rainy seasons by the Guarapiche and branches of the Orinoco Rivers. About twenty miles to the southward of this chain, and eight from the western shore, the *Montserrat Hills* rise with a gentle slope; a few miles further south, near *Mariquire Bay*, is an eminence about 600 feet in altitude, called by the aborigines *Naparima*, or Single Mountain, at whose base stands the town of San Fernando; towards the centre of the island is a double-peaked mountain, called *Tamana*, with a spacious platform from whence the lovely and fertile valleys of *St. Joseph*, *Santa Cruz*, *Maraccas*, and *Las Cuevas*, extend themselves before the eye, and the ocean is visible both on the east and west; the rest of the area consists of plains and undulating lands, with some moderately high ridges, called *Mornes* by the French creoles.

COAST-LINE AND RIVERS.—The Gulf of Paria, as has been before remarked, forms one great harbour, in which ships may anchor in from three to six fathoms, on a gravel and mud bottom; the chief ports resorted to on the Trinidad side, are *Chaguaramas Bay*, where the extremity of the north-western peninsula, *Gaspar Grande*, and other small islets, form an immense natural dock, sheltered from all weathers and all winds, and *Port of Spain*, on whose shores stands the capital of the island. The three other sides of Trinidad are deficient in safe and accessible ports; *Guayaguayare*, on the south-east, formed by the small promontory of *Point Galeota*, is one of the best for small vessels, but it is open to the south wind (which, however, rarely blows with violence), and has a pebbly bar across its entrance; on the east coast, *Mayero* is a good roadstead.

* Boca Grande, or great channel; Boca de Navios, or ship's channel; Boca Nuevos, or Egg, or Umbrella channel; so called from the appearance of a remarkable tree, growing upon a rock on the lee side, much resembling an umbrella; and the Boca de Monas, or apes' channel. The currents here are dangerous, and the navigation very intricate.

† Savanna is an Indian word, signifying a plain covered with, what is here termed fox-tailed grass, and clumps of

Balandra Bay, or *Boat Island*, offers anchorage to droghers or coasting-vessels; *Rio Grande, Toco*, and *Cumana*, on the north-east, are tolerable roadsteads; and on the north are the bays of *Las Cuevas*, where *Fort Abercrombie* is situated, and *Muquaripe*.

Streams abound, several really deserve the name of rivers, and are navigable for vessels of a tolerable size for some distance. The *Caroni*, the chief of those which fall into the gulf, rises in the northern mountains, receives the *Aripo*, *Guanapo*, and several mountain streams, passes *St. Joseph*, is joined by the *Maraccas* or *St. Joseph's River* and *St. Juan's*,—flows through an extensive savanna, and disembogues a little to the southward of *Port of Spain*, being navigable for conveying produce about 18 miles in a direct line. The *Moruga* is the finest stream on the southern shore; the *Guartaro* or *Ortoir*, *Nariva*, *Branche*, and *Oropouche*, on the eastern; and the *Grande* and *Paria*, on the northern coast, which abounds in cascades and waterfalls. One of these, in the valley of *Maraccas*, down which the waters of *St. Joseph's River* are precipitated, is very remarkable.

TOPOGRAPHY.—In 1789, Trinidad was divided into numerous divisions, called "quarters," which upon the enactment of slave emancipation, were consolidated into eight districts, under the superintendence of special magistrates. No good survey has ever been made of the island; and the fertile savannas of the interior, no longer penetrated by parties of militia in search of fugitive negroes, remain in their wild native beauty.

Port of Spain, the capital, is one of the finest towns in the British West Indies. After the calamitous fire of 1808, the inhabitants being forbidden to reconstruct their dwellings of wood, used the good stone which is plentiful in the neighbourhood. The long, wide, well paved and cleanly streets, shaded with trees, extend in parallel lines from the land to the sea, and are intersected with cross rows. The main (Brunswick) square is artistically laid out with straight and circular walks, and adorned with both indigenous and exotic trees. The Protestant and Roman Catholic cathedrals are magnificent buildings. The former is well situated, with a large inclosed lawn in front of it, bordered on two sides by handsome dwellings. There are no aisles, the roof sweeping in an elliptical arch from side to side, and the wainscoting of the various rich native woods tastefully arranged. There is a Scottish church and a Methodist chapel. The spacious market-place and market-house are kept with admirable neatness and order; the gay costumes and vivacious manners of the French and Spanish women, give a mirthful but foreign-looking character to the scene. The stores are crowded with rich European goods, some of which find their way to Columbia. The town is divided into barrios or districts, under the superintendence of alcaides or magistrates, who are responsible for the state of the streets and markets in their several divisions, and the system appears to answer admirably.

St. Ann's, the governor's plain but comfortable dwelling, stands upon a very gentle slope, about crooked dwarf-trees, called savanna wood, or wild cashew trees. In Trinidad, there are other tracts, forming lagoon or marshy savannas, such as the one at the *Caroni River*, which is inundated during a part of the wet season, and at other times covered with tall fox-tailed grass and "tusk" rushes which grow so high that a man on horseback, riding through them, is completely shut in by a green wall on either side.

half-a-mile from the town; the mountain forests rise almost immediately behind it, whilst the lawn and shrubbery would give the place something of an English air, but for the vegetation; the nutmeg-tree, the cinnamon and clove-bushes flourishing there, together with many less rare but most beautiful trees, including the magnificent Bois Immortel (*Erythrina umbrosa*), called by the Spaniards Madre de Cacao, and planted by them beside the alleys of the cacao walks, to shade the young plants from the too fervent rays of a tropical sun. Indeed, a cacao plantation is in itself a charming sight; the trees are placed from twelve to fifteen feet apart, and not suffered to grow above about fifteen feet in height; their broad rich foliage of hues varying from a light green to a dark red, and stems laden with the yellow and dark red pods, which contain the chocolate bean, are far overtopped by the Bois Immortel, which, like the bignonia, at certain seasons exchanges its leaves for a thick covering of brilliant red blossoms. Another striking feature in the scenery of Trinidad, is the abundance and variety of the humming-birds, which, according to Sir Walter Raleigh, obtained for the island the native name of *Jeri*; a third less pleasing characteristic is the number of great red monkeys whose wild yell greets the voyager on entering the Bocas, and ill accords with the extraordinary beauty of the panorama which unfolds itself as the vessel, after safely passing the Dragon's Mouth, sails along the eastern shore of the placid gulf, passing the deep and abrupt mountain clefts, amid which lie the valleys of *Ques*, *Diego Martin*, and *Carenage*; the strong, but now almost dismantled, *Fort George*, whose batteries rise in succession from the coast to the height of about a thousand feet; and the costly but insalubrious *Barracks of St. James*, about a mile from Port of Spain. The anchorage is a mile or two from the extensive and beautiful but low plain on which the town is built, and of its structures, only the cathedrals are seen to advantage from thence. But for the excellent drainage and effective police system enforced, the situation must have proved very unhealthy, the foundation being formed of mud deposits from the gulf and the detritus of the mountain ridges, which rise immediately behind and around it. The waters are still perceptibly retreating, and the sites of *Marine-square* and many fine houses in that neighbourhood, which, says Sir Andrew Halliday, writing in 1837, "were covered with mud not many years ago," are now left considerably inland.

Five miles from the capital is the pretty village of *San Juan*, nestled amid a wooded branch of the northern mountains; and three miles further, the ancient capital *San Josef de Oruna*, now called *San Joseph*. Though ill-suited for commercial purposes, the position is excellent in regard to health and beauty; a clear stream flows from a neighbouring valley, and passes beside the hill on which the town stands, and the view extends over the chief alluvial plains of the island, as well as Mount Tamana, the hills of *Montserrat* and *Naparima*.

Arima, a neat village, interesting because in and around it a remnant of the native Indians still lingered till very recently, is separated from *San Joseph* by an open plain about ten miles in length, upon which the plantations, though of some extent, are as mere patches compared with the vast virgin forests by which they are bordered. The villagers, whether white or coloured, are described as miserably indolent, and devoted to the luxury of swinging in their

cotton hammocks. The town of *San Fernando*, thirty miles from Port of Spain, will probably become of importance from being in the neighbourhood of some of the best populated and cultivated land in the colony; at the back of it there is a gently sloping tract of great value.

The little village of *La Brea*, on the western coast, is visited by strangers on account of the natural phenomena for which its neighbourhood is distinguished. The most remarkable of these is the *pitch lake*, so called from an extensive collection of bituminous matter on the surface of a fresh-water lake, about three miles in circumference, eighty feet above the level of the sea, and surrounded, except to seaward, by dark woods. This exudation from the diluvial clay-hills is of the same nature, and is produced somewhat in the same way as the *green-tar* of Barbados. The surface of the lake is black, more or less intense, according to the season, and clumps of dwarf trees maintain a sort of floating vegetation amid the immense masses of asphaltum, the crevices between which are filled with water, wholesome, but somewhat bituminous in flavour, in which small fresh-water mullets and caymans (small alligators) are caught. Butterflies and humming birds of the most brilliant hues, paroquettes and beautiful "man-grove ramiers," hover round the vegetation which springs up in the dark and gloomy lagoon; but at one part, for about three acres and a half, near the source where the petroleum flows into the lake, no bird dares approach, for to breathe the dense sulphureous vapours would be certain suffocation. Could the asphaltum which nature has provided so abundantly, be made cheaply applicable to common uses, as pitch and tar, it would be a great boon to Trinidad. The traces of former volcanic action are elsewhere manifest; hot springs exist in several places, and not far from Cape Brea there is a submarine volcano, whose eruptions occasionally agitate the waves, and eject considerable quantities of petroleum; there is another crater of the same kind in *Mayero bay*, on the opposite side of the island, from whence, in the months of March and June each year, flames and smoke, attended with a loud noise, burst through the sea, and fragments of bitumen, black and shining as jet, float to the shore.

There are also several *mud volcanoes* in different parts of the island, which cast up quantities of mud, rounded pebbles, pyrites, bits of half-burned wood, and sometimes salt water, but always cold.

GEOLOGY—The absence of calcareous masses in Trinidad and Cumana affords a marked contrast to the mountains and hills of the Caribbean chain. The nucleus here is a dense argillaceous schistus, which becomes laminated and friable when exposed to the atmosphere. Masses of limestone, covered with a superficial soil, are found in most parts of the island; but especially along the northern range of mountains, where gneiss is frequently met with. No granite has been observed. Blocks of milky and finely crystallized quartz have been obtained in all the mountains, and gypsum among those near *St. Joseph*, and at the back of the south *Naparima* hills. On the east side of the island there are extensive strata of ferruginous sandstone. No vestiges of organic remains have been discovered. Marine and land shells are found in the alluvial plains. Madrepores are drifted on the coast; but no coral banks exist.

MINERALOGY.—Large pieces of iron ore have been obtained; sulphate of copper, and brilliant copper pyrites are found among the extinct volcanoes

of Erin. A white metal, specific gravity 10, has been noticed, which, when fused with gold, destroyed its malleability and ductility. M. Vanquelin thought it either a new metal, or composed of several others. Quicksilver, arsenic, and plumbago have been seen, but the mineralogy of the island is little known.

SOIL.—Very various; in the *végas*, or hollows of the rivers, and in the valleys, there is generally a good soil, which is being continually fertilized by the torrents flowing from the mountains, strongly impregnated with calcareous carbonate; some of the soils have a dark reddish appearance, others are of a deep chocolate colour, intermingled with black, both very deep and productive, the latter in a high degree. A loose and deep sand, mixed with shells, with springs immediately beneath the surface, though seemingly very poor, yields fine sugar crops. A deep and fertile argillaceous vegetative earth, without a rock, or even a pebble, covers the surface of several extensive valleys and plains on the east and west coasts. The anonymous but evidently experienced author of an account of Trinidad, published in the Almanac for 1840, says, that canes will ratoon in new and very rich tracts of land for from twenty to thirty years: new lands of ordinary quality yield rattoons for ten years, old lands of good soil eight, and old and inferior soils five. The heavy and regular rains, and the marked alternations of season, doubtless contribute to promote the fertility of the earth. The pasturage generally is of inferior quality, from the exuberant richness of the soil.

CLIMATE.—Not so dry as that of Cumana, and less moist than that of Guiana, with more constant winds, and a frequently renovated atmosphere. At Port of Spain the general range of the thermometer is usually from 70° to 85°; sometimes it rises to 90°; in the country districts it is 5°, and in the mountains 10° to 12° lower. The fall of rain, including the heavy dews, is about 75 inches. The rainy and dry seasons are more marked than in the Antilles; the latter commences with December, and ends in May, when the east-north-east and north winds become less cool; and in June the temperature is at its height. Part of June, July, August, September, October, and part of November, constitute the hot and wet months when earthquakes occur; hurricanes, however, are unknown, not reaching so far to the southward. On the north coast especially, the temperature is enjoyable, and the air for the greater part of the year fresh, pure, and very elastic, by reason of the rains and dews being evaporated by fresh breezes from the Atlantic. The southern side of the island is the warmest, and least humid. It seldom rains at night; but according to the old Spaniards this has only been the case since the English "heretics" took the country. Notwithstanding the implied malediction, the climate on the whole seems to have undergone a considerable change for the better, especially if the improved health of the population affords any criterion, the preponderance of births to deaths being as large as in Europe, longevity with sound mental and corporeal faculties, frequent among persons of temperate habits, and the Creoles healthy and more muscular than is usual among the natives of tropical regions.

POPULATION.—According to a census taken in 1733, it appears that there were then only 152 adult males capable of being taxed for local purposes, and of these but 28 were white. The aboriginal Indians were not taken into the account. Since then, the population has increased, by means already stated;

and though still but limited in number, considering the area of the island, is perhaps the very motliest in the British West Indies. The following table, like those given for other islands, must of course be only taken as approximate, and cannot be relied on; it is formed from many and varied sources.

Year.	Whites.	Free Coloured.	Indians. ¹	Slaves or Blacks. ²	Total.
1783	126	295	2,032	310	2,763
1797	2,151	4,474	1,078	10,009	17,712
1800	2,359	4,408	1,071	15,012	22,850
1802	2,261	5,275	1,232	19,709	28,477
1808	2,470	6,478	1,635	21,895	32,478
1811	2,617	7,493	1,736	21,288	33,134
1813	2,896	8,102	1,265	25,717	37,980
1822	3,341	13,392	893	23,227	40,873
1831	3,319	16,285	762	21,302	41,675
1834	3,632	18,724	600	20,657	43,613
1844	—	—	—	—	60,319*
1851	1,494	—	—	—	68,600

Note.—¹ The varying and at times increasing numbers of the Indians, if correctly recorded, probably resulted from immigration. They are now so diminished in numbers, that they are not separately noticed in the official records. The early augmentation among the free coloured, was caused by immigration in great part. Many of the South American labourers, called *Peons*, a mixed race of African, Indian, and European blood, came over, allured by the promises held out in the Spanish cedula of 1783. ² Before emancipation the decrease of the slave population by death, far beyond any augmentation, here, as in other colonies, necessitated constant fresh importation, not only to increase but even to keep up the numbers. Just before the trade was prohibited in 1807, large numbers were hurried into the country, and eagerly bought and sold on credit. In 1834 the total number emancipated in Trinidad was 20,657—of these, 2,246 were children under six years of age, and 872 aged, diseased, and otherwise ineffective. In 1851 there were 39,913 of the inhabitants who had been born in the island, and of these 16,403 were under ten years of age, showing a considerable increase among the former slave population. ³ Including 20 Chinese immigrants. ⁴ Including 7 Chinese. ⁵ Including 604 military, their wives and children. There are no classified returns for 1844 or 1851.

Census of July, 1851.

Parishes.	Males.	Females.	Total.
St. George	18,538	20,072	38,630
Victoria	8,899	7,041	15,940
St. Patrick	2,679	1,895	4,574
St. David	533	380	913
St. Andrew	145	112	257
Nariva	113	81	194
Mayero	537	448	985
Caroni	4,187	2,920	7,107
Total	35,631	32,969	68,600

Of the above, there were, married, 11,870; unmarried, 56,730.

Descent.—Natives of Great Britain and Ireland, 727; Trinidad, 39,913; British West India colonies, 10,800; East Indies (coolies), 3,933; Europe, 767; Foreign colonies, 2,735; Africa, 8,010; America, 1,395; Asia, and elsewhere, 260.

Age.—Under 10 years, 16,403; 10 to 20, 10,497; 20 to 30, 16,408; 30 to 40, 12,710; 40 to 50, 6,405; 50 to 60, 3,348; 60 to 70, 1,777; 70 to 80, 661; 80 to 90, 237; 90 to 100, 94.

Religion.—Church of England, 16,246; Rome,

43,605; Wesleyan, 2,508; Presbyterian, 1,017; Independent, 133; Baptist, 448; other Christian denominations, 98. Mahomedans, 1,016; Hindoo, 2,649; Heathen, 880. Of these, 8,710 can read and write; 5,019 can read only. Labourers, 32,884; no stated employment, 26,989; employed in agriculture, 34,885; commerce, 760.

Immigration, on an extensive and costly, but very injudicious system, has been carried on since 1836. In November, 1847, a return of the number of men, women, and children located on the estates, or then working, gave the following result:—Natives of Trinidad emancipated in 1838, 20,656; number of immigrants imported—old islanders, 11,339; Africans, 3,990; East India coolies, 4,359; Americans (free blacks), 1,301; Portuguese, 96; from Saba, 64 = 22,015. Grand total, 42,671. The treatment of the immigrants generally, and especially of the East India coolies, has been most discreditable. "The immigrant," says the governor, "is looked upon too much as a mere animal whose labour is valuable;" in 1847, numbers were found destitute, sick, and starving in the roads; their skeletons were seen in the woods and cane pieces; 250 died in the hospital between June 1847, and February 1848, and a great number in other places." "I believe," adds Lord Harris, "that in no country has greater suffering been undergone than by these unfortunate people in the shape of disease, starvation, and ultimate death, and to those who have had to witness it daily, it has been most distressing." The contracts which many of the planters entered into for the obtainment of these labourers were broken; bills were given on their agents for the £2 per head payable to government towards the expense of the introduction, most of which were dishonoured. As might be expected, the gaol was crowded, the hospital full, and lunatics and idiots wandered about the streets, to the annoyance and disgust of all. It is not surprising that the former slave population, witnessing the fate and treatment of these hordes of immigrants, should anxiously desire to be no longer dependent on the precarious wages which the sugar-planter could give, the more so as money was then (according to an official statement) being borrowed in Port of Spain, at 45 per cent. The governor, writing in February, 1849, says—"there is a marked inclination in the population to retire to any spot of land they can purchase, instead of continuing to work as hired labourers; and though it may be of minute proportions, yet it is considered at once as an independence, whether it be sufficient to support them and their families or not." Several free villages have thus been formed at Arima, Aronca, and other places. The character given of their inhabitants, and of the creole population generally, is highly satisfactory. Lord Harris says—

"I can bear witness to their good qualities, which have been particularly displayed during the present distress (1847-'48); the labourers on estates have worked as usual thereon, though there has been a want of money to pay them regularly; and up to the present time wages are due on some estates for three or four months. It is also very gratifying to see the emulation which has been called forth amongst the young by holding examinations, and by the distribution of a few prizes; and I feel certain that it only requires the means to diffuse instruction more extensively to cause a rapid and general improvement in the mental, and I hope also, in the moral state of the population; to what pitch of advancement they are capable of attaining still remains to be proved."—*Blue Book for 1847*, p. 177.)

The population is being yearly increased by immigrants from different countries; in the early part of 1853, Chinese, to the number of 400, arrived, and proved excellent husbands.

GOVERNMENT.—Trinidad is a crown colony, ruled by a governor, an executive council of three, and a legislative council of thirteen members, six of whom are unofficial; but all nominated by the sovereign. There is a town council of San Fernando, with an annual revenue of £2,000; and the island is divided into 40 wards, whose local revenues, in 1851, amounted to £17,906 sterling.

RELIGION.—Eleven ministers of the Church of England, and eighteen of the Church of Rome. The majority of the inhabitants are of the latter persuasion. There are also some ministers of the Wesleyan and other Protestant denominations.

EDUCATION.—One school in each ward; also four public seminaries in connection with the Church of England, and two with that of Rome. I have not the statistics of the missionary bodies.

Press.—Two or three newspapers and an almanac.

CRIME.—Owing to the large immigration since emancipation, and other circumstances, no comparison can be drawn; but in 1847, out of 990 persons convicted of crime, only 240 were creoles.

FINANCE.—Revenue in 1833, £35,120; in 1850, £88,660; in 1851, £95,733, of which custom duties yielded £70,797. The civil establishment (including £3,500 salary of governor) cost in 1851, £28,481, exclusive of £1,800 paid by England; judicial, £10,353; ecclesiastical, £11,129; pensions, £1,027; miscellaneous, £55,322; military expenditure paid from commissariat chest in 1851, £16,370.

Coin in circulation estimated at £40,000; bank notes at £50,000.

Weights and measures.—English.

COMMERCE AND PRODUCE.—Previous to 1783 the whole produce of the island consisted of a small quantity of cocoa, vanilla, indigo, annatto, cotton, and maize, not more than sufficient to employ a small schooner two or three times a-year for its conveyance to St. Eustatia. In 1787, the first sugar plantation was formed. Upon the final cession of the island to Great Britain, agriculture and commerce received a strong stimulus; the progress during the present century is thus shown:—

Year.	Sugar.	Molasses.	Rum.	Cocoa.	Coffee.
	lbs.	gals.	gals.	lbs.	lbs.
1800	9,895,634	128,507	194,488	284,170	449,614
1808	25,950,928	606,100	540,564	688,993	387,028
1833	37,681,572	1,065,649	231,125	2,400,196	161,727
1839	29,208,854	834,609	9,946	2,571,988	175,985
1849	43,678,018	950,158	34,697	3,651,795	92,247
1851	44,575,146	915,193	42,120	5,552,437	898
1852	—	—	—	—	—

Note.—Cotton, in 1800, 317,395 lbs.; 1808, 139,200; 1833, 11,300; 1839, 121,042; 1849, 23,780. ¹ Average of three years, 1847-'8-'9. Sugar crop of 1852, at least 50,000,000 lbs.

The value of the trade has, of necessity, fluctuated according to the quantity of the staple articles produced; and the market prices in different years—

—	1833.	1834.	1850.	1851.
Imports . .	£307,075	£308,178	£476,910	£548,471
Exports . .	341,571	394,541	319,394	390,909
Total . .	648,646	702,719	796,304	939,380

Note.—Shipping inwards, 1834, tons 41,149; 1851, 62,178.

Arrow-root, cocoa-nuts, and cocoa-nut oil, hides, and other articles, are now being added to the export list. The same impolitic system of importing articles which might be far more cheaply and remuneratively produced on the spot, is equally conspicuous in Trinidad as in Jamaica. Thus it appears that from America, bananas, plantains, yams, sweet potatoes, corn, meal, rice, tobacco, and spices, to the aggregate value of at least £30,000, are annually imported, although there is ample space, and even labour, with a favourable climate for the production of all these items. The ungranted land amounts, in round numbers, to 850,000 acres; that granted, to about 220,000, out of which 60,000, at the most, are cultivated in canes, cocoa, coffee, provision, or used for pasture. The labourers were stated in the last census at 32,884; of these, according to a statement recently made by Lord Harris at a public meeting, 15,000 were required for sugar, 2,000 for cocoa

estates, and 6,000 were small proprietors, leaving 9,884 who might be profitably engaged in raising food.

The amount of sugar exported in 1849, viz. 49,000,000 lbs., was 9,000,000 lbs. above the average for the nine years previous, and only inferior to one of those years, viz. 1847. The average value of the previous nine years' imports was £500,000 per annum; the revenue had also increased. The governor, in stating these facts, remarked that they afforded "ground for hope that this island is able to struggle against the difficulties with which it has to contend, and that it may eventually overcome them."—(Report, dated 1850, accompanying *Blue Book* for 1849, p. 210). The crop of the 1852-'53 season was equal to about 56,000 hogsheads.* That of 1853-'54 is expected to be much greater. The crop of cocoa in 1851-'52 was the largest ever obtained in the island.

CHAPTER XI.—ANTIGUA, BARBUDA, DOMINICA, MONTserrat, NEVIS, ST. KITT'S, ANGUILLA, AND THE VIRGIN ISLANDS.

THE above colonies comprise the British possessions in the *Leeward* portion of the Caribbean group, and extend through four degrees of latitude. The governor-in-chief resides at Antigua; under him there are lieutenant-governors (or other subordinate functionaries), who superintend the affairs of the respective islands, in the same manner as do the resident rulers of the *Windward* Caribbees (St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Grenada, and Tobago), under the governor-in-chief at Barbados.

ANTIGUA

Is situated between 17° 2' and 17° 13' N. lat., and between 61° 44' and 61° 58' W. long; forty miles north of Guadaloupe, and twenty-five north-east of Montserrat. It is twenty miles long and fifty-four in circumference, containing an area estimated at 110 square miles = 70,400 acres.

HISTORY.—Columbus sailed by this island in 1493, and named it in honour of a church in Seville, *Santa Maria la Antigua*. Whether it was then inhabited does not appear, but from its almost total lack of springs and rivers, it would probably be considered untenable by any people not acquainted with a method of preserving rain water in cisterns. In 1632, it was taken possession of by Sir Thomas Warner and a few English settlers who, in 1640, amounted to about thirty families. From this period the population increased, and Antigua promised to become a flourishing possession, but was desolated in 1666 by a French force from Martinique, by whom the tobacco plantations, which then afforded the sole export, were ruined, and all the negroes carried off. By the treaty of Breda, in 1666, the island was formally declared a British possession; in the following year it was visited by Lord (William) Willoughby, who re-established the colony, and bestowed large

tracts of land on Colonel Byam and other royalist officers who accompanied him.

A great step in commerce was made by the enterprise of Colonel Codrington, who, believing its virgin soil admirably calculated for the growth of the sugar-cane, which he had already cultivated in Jamaica with extraordinary success, purchased a considerable quantity of land, came over with his family, rapidly amassed a large fortune,† and was appointed, in the phraseology of that day, captain-general of the British Leeward Caribbean Islands. In 1706, the progress of the colony received a severe check by the appointment, through the influence of the Duke of Marlborough, of a man named Park, of infamous and immoral character. His conduct, however, bad as it is represented to have been,‡ can but faintly palliate the disgraceful fury of the colonists. After repeated attempts on his life, in the last of which he was grievously, though not mortally wounded, they at length succeeded in obtaining his recall, which was hailed with an open triumph, which maddened the governor, and appears to have induced him (for the accounts of this wretched business are very confused) to attempt dissolving the Assembly, and continuing his administration by force. The inhabitants assembled, and on 7th December, 1710, about 500 appeared in arms at St. John's, and invested the government-house, where the few regular troops in the colony awaited them. Perceiving, when too late, the crisis he had provoked, the wretched man offered to dismiss his soldiers if six of the chief settlers would be hostages for his safety. The speaker of the Assembly, and one of the members of the Council, inclined towards a compromise, and offered themselves as two of the required sureties, but—the beginning of strife is as the letting out of water—they could not control the movements of an armed assem-

and a packed jury, sentence of death against a merchant and influential settler, named Chester, for having accidentally killed a man; the true cause of the persecution, being the governor's having seduced the wife of Chester, whose vengeance or interference he dreaded.—(Edwards, vol. i., p. 478.)

* The hogshead varies in size in different colonies.

† Schomburgk's *History of Barbados*, p. 295.

‡ The chief charge brought against him during his administration, was an unsuccessful attempt to obtain from a provost-marshal (a creature of his own, whom he had raised to that position from the rank of a common soldier),

blage, whose excited passions reacted upon one another; a rush forward was made in two columns; the government-house was attacked; and being at length broken in, the governor met them, and shot dead the first man who approached him (Piggott, a member of the Assembly); falling wounded himself at the same moment. The assailants seized his prostrate body, and, while yet alive, tore him limb from limb, scattering abroad the bloody fragments in their mad and brutal rage. Thus ended perhaps the most disgraceful scene, always excepting the horrors attendant on slavery, that ever occurred in a British colony.

An ensign and thirteen privates were killed, and a lieutenant and twenty-four privates wounded in defending their miserable ruler; and thirty-two of the insurgents were killed or wounded. After some investigation, influenced, probably, by the great majority of the colonists concerned in this outrage, a general pardon was issued by the Crown to all concerned.

In 1723, the Antigua legislature strove to ameliorate the condition of the slaves, who were then being rapidly imported, by enacting penalties of not less than £100 for wilfully killing one of them; and for dismemberment, of not less than £20 currency.*

In 1737, a plot was discovered on the part of the negroes to massacre all the white inhabitants; about 200 of the wretched conspirators were seized at various times, of whom 58 were chained to stakes and burnt, 5 broken on the wheel, and six hung in chains upon gibbets and starved to death, one of whom lived nine days and eight nights without sustenance.†

Soon after this, a change appears to have come over the minds of the colonists, the mild influences of religion mitigating the evils of slavery, though its precepts were too little understood entirely to banish the hateful system. The Moravian missionaries had, as early as 1732, been permitted to establish themselves in Antigua; they held their ground, and even continued gradually to gain it; and in 1787, had under their care 3,465 slaves.‡ The speaker of the House of Assembly, Mr. Gilbert, who settled in the island in 1760, set an excellent example, by his anxiety for the spiritual instruction of the negroes, manifested in the teeth of much scoffing and contumely. He appears to have been one of Wesley's early followers: after his death, his place was partially supplied from an humbler class of life, by a shipwright named Baxter, who, after his daily toil was concluded, devoted his evenings to the instruction of the slaves. Dr. Coke, when visiting the West Indies in 1789, was obliged, by what he afterwards termed "friendly adverse winds," to land at Antigua. Here he found a small Methodist body, presided over by Baxter, who was then under-storekeeper at English Harbour, with an income of £400 a-year. This, together with his improving prospects, he cheerfully resigned, and joined the mission then duly formed in the island. Religious teaching did more than the dread of torture, to prevent insurrection. The white inhabitants both acknowledged and shared its effects;

and Antigua has the great honour of having been the British colony in which the slaves were first fully emancipated; the local legislature, either from policy or a more noble motive, and it was sound policy at any rate, rejecting the apprenticeship system, and giving the great boon of unqualified freedom on the 1st of August, 1834. The conduct of the slaves justified here, as elsewhere, the highest expectations formed concerning them. The momentous Thursday was awaited by nearly the whole adult negro population assembled at midnight in the Houses of Prayer. Friday, Saturday, and as a matter of course, Sunday, were also devoted mainly to religious exercises, and on Monday they went cheerfully to work. Nor was this a temporary impulse: the following Christmas was the first for thirty years that had been celebrated without the proclamation of martial law. The satisfactory manner in which this mighty change was effected in Antigua, was a great triumph to the anti-slavery party, and did much to remove the apprehensions of those who conscientiously feared the consequences of too sudden a transition; while the money received by the planters relieved many of them from the heavy embarrassments under which they had been sinking, though some were too deeply involved to receive any benefit, their estates being mortgaged far beyond their value.

PHYSICAL FEATURES AND TOPOGRAPHY.—Antigua is in shape somewhat of an irregular oval; its shores are deeply indented with creeks, bays, and coves, some of them running into the centre of the plantations like canals; some swelling into estuaries, and others forming spacious harbours. Beyond these, numerous islets, rocks, and shoals, border the shore, and render the approach very dangerous on every side, except the south-west. There are no mountains, properly so called; the highest points not exceeding 1,000 feet; but magnificent cliffs form stately ramparts towards the sea, sloping gradually inwards, crowned with lofty trees, and often rise so abruptly as to wear an appearance of height which they do not really possess.§ The interior, with its green vales and gently rounded hills, much resembles some of the scenery of England; and though, on the whole, wanting in wood, would not inspire the traveller with an idea of the great deficiency of springs, which is the one drawback of the island, droughts of terrible severity being occasionally experienced. The rain-water preserved in cisterns is, fortunately, by no means unpalatable, and proves wholesome. The colony is divided into six parishes. *St. John's*, the chief town, is prettily situated on the top of a moderate eminence on the north-west side of the island, at the head of a sheltered and capacious bay, which is, however, unfortunately barred at the mouth, to the exclusion of large vessels. About midway up the harbour is an elevated rock called *Rat Island*, connected with the mainland by a causeway, which is dry at low water. The Royal Mail Steam Packets anchor at *English Harbour*, on the eastern coast, a secure and commodious port, twelve miles distant, on whose shores good docks and a busy thriving village

* In the preamble to this Act, it was formally stated that, "several cruel persons, to gratify their own humours, against the laws of God and humanity, frequently kill, destroy, or dismember their own and other persons' slaves, and have hitherto gone unpunished, because it is inconsistent with the constitution and government of this island, and would be too great a countenance and encouragement to slaves to resist white persons; to set slaves so far upon an equality with the free inhabitants

as to try those that kill them for their lives; nor is it known or practised in any of the Caribbee islands, that any free person killing a slave is triable for his life."—(Southey, vol. ii., pp. 235, 236.)

† Southey, vol. ii., p. 264. ‡ Coke, vol. ii., p. 425.

§ By the neighbouring islanders there is said to be a metropolitan air about Antigua; the very hills lift up their heads, and try to look like mountains.—Baird's *West Indies and North America* in 1849, p. 48.

have been established. The terrible earthquake which desolated the Leeward Islands in 1843, committed sad havoc in various parts of Antigua (where about twenty lives were lost), especially in St. John's, and spaces between handsome dwellings now occupied by negro huts or temporary erections, tell of damages still unrepaired. A cathedral, placed on the brow of an acclivity, on which the town stands, was entirely destroyed; but has been replaced by another, built of a kind of marl-stone found in the island, at a cost of nearly £40,000 sterling. The prospect thence commands one of the many pleasing panoramic views in which Antigua abounds, and includes the town, the harbour, Fort James, the romantic hills of the Five Islands, with the ocean in the distance. The court-house is a good structure, and the prison which, in the time of Coleridge (1825) was described as being "like most others in the West Indies, that is to say, as bad every way as possible," is now a cleanly and well-arranged building. Government-house is built on a hill overlooking English Harbour, near a higher eminence called *Shirley Heights*. *Fig Tree Hill* is remarkable for the variety and luxuriance of the vegetation with which it is covered, and for a clear and transparent spring. The summits, called *Ridge* and *Monk's Hill*, which rise above *Falmouth Bay* on the south, and are crowned by massive fortifications, have a very imposing appearance. The so-called towns of *Falmouth*, *Purham*, *Willoughby*, *Bridge Town*, and *St. James*, are mere villages, not needing notice. The country mansions of the of the Antiguans are, many of them, very handsome, and well appointed; some are still possessed by the descendants of the Codringtons, Warners, Byams, and others, whose names are interwoven with the early history of these islands.

GEOLOGY.—Three distinct classifications of the tertiary formation have been noted; on a general view the island consists of a rocky conglomerate of the newest floetztrap, such as wacke, porphyry, trap, breccia, amygdaloid, and some spherical masses of basaltic greenstone; this occupies the hilly district in the south and west: the north and east divisions exhibit calcareous marl and coarse sandstone, interspersed with blocks of tolerably compact limestone; the interior exhibits argillaceous strata of varied character, and extensive irregular beds of coarse chert or flint. No organic fossils, excepting immense shark's teeth and marine exuviae, have been discovered. Petrified woods, with the distinctive and delicate fibres of palms and dycotyledonous trees, perfectly preserved, are found, associated with chert, or on the surface of the conglomerate and the marl, with agate, cornelian, and chalcedony. Nitrate of potass sometimes covers, like a hoar frost, the flat oozy shore on the north and east.

SOIL.—In the highlands a red clay, argillaceous, with a substratum of marl; in the lowlands a rich dark mould, on clay.

CLIMATE.—Owing to the absence of forests, the periodical rains are uncertain, the air dryer, and the temperature less subject to variations than in the neighbouring islands. The mercury seldom ranges more than 4° Fahrenheit in the twenty-four hours. The annual range is between 73° to 84°. Severe hurricanes have been experienced here in 1681, 1707, 1740, 1772, 1780, 1792, 1795, and 1804. Forty-nine of these tempests have been felt in the West Indies since their colonisation by Europeans; of these 8 occurred in July, 19 in August, 13 in September, and 9 in October; on these occasions the barometer

DIV. VIII.

fell from a half to an inch and-a-half below its ordinary height. An earthquake, in 1689, caused much destruction in Antigua, as did also that of 1843. From April to August the refreshing trade-wind blows steadily from the eastward; for the next three months the electric fluid is disturbed, the wind is variable in force and direction, and there are heavy rains; from December to April the wind is more northerly, and the thermometer occasionally as low as 66° Fahrenheit.

POPULATION.—The statistics are imperfect. In 1673, there were 570 slaves in the island.

Year.	Whites.	Free Coloured.	Blacks, or Slaves.	Total.
1707	2,892	—	2,892	5,784
1724	6,200	—	19,800	25,000
1774	2,590	1,230	37,808	41,628
1805	3,000	1,300	36,000	40,300
1821	1,998	4,066	31,064	37,128
1834	1,900	3,895	29,121	34,916
1844	—	—	—	36,178
1851	—	—	—	37,163

Note.—In the years 1844 and 1851 there were no classified returns.

According to the census of 1851, there were, males, 17,616; females, 19,520 = 27,136, which, on an area of 110 square miles, would give 380 mouths to each square mile; the governor states, there are about as many persons as arable acres. In 1851 the births were 1,092, deaths, 902.

The condition of the people who had formerly been slaves, is thus described in a valuable official document drawn up by Governor Higginson:—

"Here, as in other islands, the material condition of the emancipated race is most satisfactory. They are abundantly supplied with all the necessaries, and many of the comforts of life. They are well fed, well housed, and well clothed; the passion for fine dress in both sexes continues unabated. Through the aid of friendly societies, which are in active and beneficial operation, the poorest can command good medical attendance, and other privileges seldom enjoyed by persons in a similar rank of life in other countries. The number of labourers withdrawing from estates and settling in detached villages, where they purchase or rent small independent holdings, continues to increase. As stated on a former occasion, by the latest returns made up to June of last year (1845), there appears to be seventy settlements formed, containing about 3,300 houses, and a population of about 9,300. These village communities are not peculiar to Antigua, but owing to the transition which took place here direct from slavery to freedom, without the intervention of apprenticeship, they have made greater progress in this island, and from them may spring the germ of a middle class, which must exercise considerable influence over the future destinies of the colony."—(*Blue Book* for 1846, p. 48.)

Governor Mackintosh, in April, 1852, confirmed the favourable report of his predecessor, and informed the Secretary of State that there was no "perceptible evidence of the retrogression of the well-ordered community over which it is my good fortune to preside."—(*Blue Book* for 1851, p. 123.)

Messrs. Candler and Alexander visited Antigua in 1850; they arrived on a Sunday morning at St. John's, and were gratified with observing that in a city of 9,000 inhabitants, "scarcely a single person was to be seen in the streets." The people filled the new and great cathedral, the kirk, the spacious Wea-

U

leyan chapel, the Moravian, and other places of worship. It was a gratifying sight when the services were over, to see people of every colour, black, white, and brown, handsomely attired, all slowly returning to their respective homes, and afforded a marked contrast to the riot, debauchery, and iniquity, which characterised the Sunday markets of slavery. The benevolent friends expected a greater advance in the condition of the people in Antigua than in the other West India colonies, and were not disappointed. "The people at once emancipated from bondage, have proved themselves good subjects, and they continue to exhibit the pleasing spectacle of an improved and improving community. Not wishing to remain in the cabins where they once lived as slaves, they soon bought land, and built houses of their own. The free villages are numerous, and scattered over hill and dale, or lying by the sea-side, animate the face of nature, and improve its scenery. One of these villages, consisting of a fair class of houses, with gardens attached, and close to the bay, forms a handsome suburb to the capital."^a

GOVERNMENT.—The governor-in-chief resides here, and is assisted by an elective legislative assembly of fourteen members, and a legislative council, appointed by the crown.

RELIGION.—A Bishop of the Church of England (whose see was formed in 1842, and extends over the Leeward and Virgin Islands), resides at Antigua. Under him there are, an Archdeacon, six rectors, and three curates. There are six parish churches (including the cathedral), and as many chapels of ease. About 10,000 of the inhabitants belong to the establishment. The Moravians have nine chapels under the charge of ten ministers, and about 9,000 members; the Wesleyans have 7 chapels, besides preaching stations. Their chapel in St. John's holds 2,000 people, and is generally filled. The Scotch Presbyterians have a church in St. John's.

EDUCATION.—In 1851, 20 Church of England, 9 Moravian, 6 Wesleyan, and 4 Mico schools; the Moravians had then 610 male, and 490 female; Wesleyans, 251 male, and 187 female; and Mico, 193 male, and 76 female scholars = 1,817.

CRIME.—The governor, writing to the Secretary of State, 12th April, 1852, says, "there has been no increase in crime, if indeed such a term is applicable in definition of the petty offences arising out of the hasty, facile temperament of the negro, which form the bulk of the convictions." This remark is applicable to the other West Indian colonies.

FINANCE.—General revenue in 1834, £12,151; 1851, £21,888; of this sum £16,646 were furnished by custom, and £1,890 by tonnage duties. There is a local revenue raised for parochial purposes; it amounted in 1851 to £7,675 sterling. Disbursements from the British Exchequer in 1851, for civil establishment (including the salary of the governor-in-chief, £3,000), £3,980; ecclesiastical, £2,500; judicial, £450 = £6,930; and from the commissariat chest for military purposes, £11,521.—Coin in circulation, about £45,000. Notes of Branch Colonial Bank, about £5,000.

Wages in 1851, domestic, 6s. per week; agricultural, 6d. to 1s.; and trades, 1s. 4d. to 2s. per day.

Prices in 1851, sugar, 16s. to 18s. per 100 lbs.;

* *Vide Anti-slavery Reporter* for March, 1851.

† Coleridge's *Six Months in the West Indies*.

‡ *West India Sketch Book*, vol. ii., p. 47.

§ *Parl. Papers, Commons, 1838. Latrobe's Report*, pp. 128-9.

rum, 1s. to 1s. 2d. per gallon; molasses 8s.; Maize, 4s. to 4s. 6d. per bushel.

COMMERCE.	1833.	1851.
Imports . . . value £ .	69,945	198,425
Exports "	206,464	219,235
Ships Inwards . tons .	22,790	34,439
Sugar Crop . hogsheads	12,189	14,739
Molasses ¹ . . puncheons	7,177	8,701

Note.—¹ Average of five years, ending 1833.

By another statement it appears that the annual produce of sugar, on an average of three years, ending 1833 was 155,344 cwt.; and in 1851, 197,025 cwt.

The above brief enumeration of facts, comprises forcible arguments respecting the actual prosperity and satisfactory progress of this ancient colony.

BARBUDA

LIES thirty miles north of Antigua. It is about nineteen miles long by ten broad, and for the most part low and flat, but rises somewhat towards the eastward; the whole rests on a coral basis. The first European settlement was formed by a party of colonists from St. Christopher's under Sir Thomas Warner; but the incursions of the Caribs of Dominica compelled its abandonment. Their strength being ere long much diminished, the English returned and re-occupied the island without further molestation. The whole of Barbuda has been granted by the Crown, under successive leases, to the Codrington family, since 1684, and is held by their representative upon the service of presenting a fat sheep to the governor-in-chief of Antigua whenever he visits the island. This offering is generally commuted for a turtle or a buck; the former abounding on the shores, the latter have greatly diminished in number, but are still hunted in the dense forest, interspersed with patches of savanna, that covers the greatest part of the interior.† There is a roadstead, but no harbour; and the coast is very dangerous, being beset with reefs and shoals under water: many lamentable shipwrecks formerly occurred here. Like Antigua, this island is almost destitute of springs. A narrow neck of land extends along the western shore, forming a lagoon about seven miles in length, on the shores of which stands the village and a dilapidated structure styled the Castle, where the superintendent of the property resides.‡ The population of the island, in 1851, was 121 males, 206 females, 145 boys, and 157 girls, in all 629 souls. The negroes were fully emancipated in 1834, agricultural labour is confined to the cultivation of provision grounds, the chief sources of income are the raising of stock, and the produce of the turtle fishery. A church was erected by the present Sir William Codrington, about 1843, and he now supports a clergyman of the Established Church; there is a school and school-house. The necessary expenses of the establishment are heavy, and the returns comparatively small.

DOMINICA.

MIDWAY between the French colonies of Martinique and Guadeloupe, lies the lofty and densely wooded island to which Columbus gave the above name, in commemoration of its discovery on Sunday, November 3rd, 1493. Its length is twenty-eight miles, and

its greatest breadth about fourteen, its area has been estimated at 275 square miles = 186,436 acres. The chief town (Roseau) is situated in 15° 18' N. lat., 61° 24' W. long.

HISTORY.—When first visited by Europeans, Dominica was thinly inhabited by Caribs, who, more fortunate in this than in other islands, were long suffered to remain undisturbed. At the commencement of the seventeenth century some French settlers established themselves on vacant parts of the sea-coast, having, it would appear, succeeded in obtaining the good will of the natives, with whom they lived on friendly terms. From a few families they augmented by natural increase and immigration, until in 1632 they numbered 349 whites, 23 free mulattoes, and 338 negro slaves, engaged in rearing poultry, and growing cotton, a little coffee, and ground provisions for sale in Martinique. The Caribs then numbered about 1,000. The growing prosperity of the little colony attracted the attention of the rival states of England, France, and Holland, and to prevent further contests, it was declared a neutral island, to which all European traders might freely resort. In this position it remained till the war broke out in the year 1759 between Great Britain and France, when the governor taking part with the latter power, Dominica was attacked and captured by England, and formally ceded to her by the treaty of Paris, in 1763.

The inhabitants being kindly and justly treated, intermixed peaceably with the new British settlers, to whom 96,000 acres of unoccupied land (about half the total area) were disposed of in lots of 50 to 100 acres, realizing £312,090 sterling. A small town, named Roseau, previously formed by the French, was made a free port, and the prosperity of the island, manifested by its exports of coffee, cotton, and sugar, and its increased imports of British manufactures was becoming yearly more evident, when the unhappy struggle between England and her North American colonies induced the interference and renewed hostility of France. Before the declaration of European war had been made known in the English islands, the chief fort of Dominica (Cashacrou) was stormed by the Marquis de Bouille, in September, 1778, and taken without a contest, through the treachery of some of the French inhabitants, who had contrived to intoxicate the soldiers on duty, and fill the touch-holes of the guns with sand. A brave, but unavailing, defence was nevertheless made by the troops and English colonists, who were ultimately compelled to capitulate. They succeeded in obtaining favourable terms, but a contribution of £4,400 currency was levied upon them a few days afterwards, and the new governor, the Marquis Duchilleau, broke through the articles agreed upon, and treated them so tyrannically, that many of the English quitted the island.*

On Easter Sunday, 1781, the town was set on fire by the French soldiers, and from the governor's having frequently threatened to do so in the event of an attack upon the island, the incendiarism was supposed to have been committed by his private orders, the

more so as he was himself present a great part of the time, and would not allow the troops to assist in extinguishing the flames, save only in the houses of the French inhabitants. Property to the value of £200,000 sterling was destroyed in a few hours. The colony became rapidly impoverished; indeed, it appears to have been the policy systematically pursued by the conquerors to reduce it, as far as possible, to insignificance, that they might at the close of the war, be suffered without difficulty to retain possession. The unworthy manœuvre failed; England insisted upon and obtained the restoration of the island in 1783, but the French manifested their ill-will to the last moment, by demolishing the fortifications they had built, destroying with gunpowder several which had been erected previously to their invasion, and doing serious damage to the remainder.

In 1795, Victor Hugues, relying upon the disaffection of many of the French inhabitants, and aware that there was only a single company of regular troops in the island, dispatched a republican force of about 600 men, who landed in two parties, at different spots, and were joined by some of their countrymen. The determined conduct of the militia, and the bravery of the negroes, preserved Dominica to England, and the coast was thenceforth carefully guarded by armed vessels.

On the 9th of April, 1802, the whole of the 8th West India regiment (blacks), stationed at Prince Rupert's, irritated by having been mulcted of their pay and other grievances, but in particular by a wicked report that they were to be sold as slaves, mutinied, and murdered the whole of their officers, with two exceptions. The tidings of this catastrophe were not known at Roseau until the following day. The governor (Cochrane Johnstone) collected militia and regulars, dispatched them by sea to the scene of action, and proceeded thither himself on the 11th. The rebels having scarcely any ammunition, agreed to submit, and were met by the governor at the head of 500 men, and commanded to ground their arms, under pain of being attacked, instead of which they shouldered their weapons, and prepared to resist. A heavy fire was immediately poured in upon them, and a furious but brief contest ensued, which soon terminated in their complete dispersion; some scrambled up the fortified ridges, and fired the cannon fixed there upon their pursuers, and then flung themselves headlong down the precipitous rocks. Sixty were killed, 370 taken prisoners, and a few escaped to the woods and mountains. The loss of the whites was four slain, and twenty-four wounded. Several of the ringleaders were executed, and thus ended this melancholy tragedy, notwithstanding which the governor declared his confidence in the fidelity of the black regiments generally quite unshaken. Unfortunately the part which he is believed to have acted in the matter, would suffice to have prevented full investigation into the causes of an outbreak so inconsistent with the usual loyal character of the negro corps.

In 1805, a marauding attack was made by a French force. About 4,000 men were landed, the town was

* Atwood's *History of Dominica*, pp. 140, 155.

† The father-in-law of the author (the late Mr. George Barron) was seated at whist with the officers of the regiment at Prince Rupert, when the news of the mutiny was communicated. He hastily quitted the table, to proceed to the powder magazine, of which he had charge, but on the way was shot through the thigh and stomach. A negress had him conveyed to her hut, and he lay there con-

cealed two or three days and nights, with the keys of the powder magazine under him, and loaded pistols by his side, determined to defend them with his life. Of his three late associates, two, if not three, were barbarously murdered and literally cut to pieces, within half-an-hour of their quitting the card-table. He received the commendations of the home authorities, and eventually a pension of £300 a-year.

set on fire in several places, and after a severe struggle, during which 500 of the assailants were killed or wounded, General Prevost abandoned Roseau, and retreated to Prince Rupert's, whither the French commander, La Grange, did not attempt to follow him, but levied a heavy contribution from the miserable inhabitants, destroyed or carried away the shipping in the anchorage, and quitted the island.

In 1813, and part of 1814, Dominica was harassed by what was termed a "Maroon" war, occasioned by the marauding incursions of about 500 negroes, fugitive slaves, and others, who had established themselves in the mountain fastnesses. They were at length totally subjugated or killed; the means used were sufficiently unscrupulous, the governor (Ainslie) having publicly proclaimed that the soldiers, or rangers, as they were termed when employed on this service, had "orders to take no prisoners, but to put to death men, women, and children, without exception;" a reward was offered for each fugitive killed, and the owner of every such slave was indemnified by the colony. This flagrant barbarity excited the severe censure of the British Parliament; it was declared, not without some reason, that the colonists, no longer able to procure slaves by importation, had carried on hostilities against the Maroons for the purpose of reducing them indiscriminately to bondage, and the governor was recalled. There is no other event requiring notice in the history of Dominica excepting the great charge common to all the British West Indies, from slavery to apprenticeship, in 1834, and from apprenticeship to complete freedom in 1838.

PHYSICAL FEATURES AND TOPOGRAPHY.—Its early discoverers found the island "so covered with trees that they could not see so much as an ell space of bare earth or stony ground;" and Columbus on his return to Spain endeavoured to satisfy the curiosity of Queen Isabella, by crumpling a sheet of paper in his hands, in order to give her some idea of the jagged and compressed appearance of its mountains. It still retains the same characteristics, and a late writer speaks of it "as truly a highland country, a land of mist, and rainbows, and mountain-torrents," and dwells with enthusiasm on its luxuriant vegetation, its trees laden with fruit, and flowering shrubs descending to the waters' edge, except where the cliff sometimes, for considerable distances, presents a perpendicular face of rock. The mountains, peaked, lofty, and abrupt as they are, occasionally rising to the height of 5,600 feet above the level of the sea, are mantled to their very tops with verdure; sometimes they are divided only by narrow ravines, or luxuriant dells; but at others they enclose large and perfectly level savannas. Dominica is abundantly watered by streams and streamlets, chiefly supplied, it is said, by a large fresh water lake situated on a mountain summit nearly in the centre of the island, which covers a space of several acres, is in some places unfathomable, and spreads into three distinct branches; having altogether a very extraordinary appearance. Several of the mountains emit sulphureous vapours, and are called Soufrières, this term being applied alike to active volcanoes, like those of St. Vincent or Guadaloupe, or to the numerous quarries of hot sand, and boiling mineral springs, which are either the remains of ancient craters, or minor eruptions from a soil highly impregnated with volcanic elements. The island is divided into ten parishes. *Roseau*, the chief town, is situated

in the parish of St. George, on a point of land on the south-west coast, which forms two bays, that of *Woodbridge's* to the north, and *Charlotte Ville* to the southward. Viewed from the sea the town is not a very pleasing object, but seen from the edge of *Morne Bruce*, a lofty table rock occupied by the garrison, it has a very different appearance; its long, spacious, regularly laid out and well paved streets, large square, market-place, government-house, bounded by a pleasant garden, and the shingled roofs of the dwellings, tinged with the intense blue of the heaven above them, have altogether much of the clear, well-defined aspect which the good towns of France have when viewed from an eminence. The remaining portion of the landscape is extremely beautiful, the valley runs up for many miles in a gently inclined plane between mountains of various heights and forms, most of which are crowned with rich coffee plantations, that perfume the air to some distance over the sea; the Roseau River rolls a deep and roaring stream down the middle of the vale, and is joined at the outlet of each side ravine by a mountain torrent, whilst at the top, where the rocks converge into an acute angle, a cascade falls from the apex, in a long sheet of silvery foam.* There are no public buildings requiring notice, except the gaol, a fine stone building erected from funds contributed by charitable persons in England, for the relief of the sufferers by the fire of 1781, which could not, it appears, be distributed, owing to the deaths of some and the emigration of others of the persons for whom it was intended.† The roadstead of Roseau is capacious, but dangerous during the hurricane months (from the end of August to October), when the sea often flows turbulently from the southward, in billows of amazing height. The fortifications of Roseau, namely *Young's Fort*, *Melville's Battery*, *Bruce Hill Batteries*, and *Fort Desmoulins*, occupy strong and commanding positions.

Prince Rupert's Bay, in St. John's parish, on the north-west side of the island, is three miles wide, and one and a half deep, offering a spacious basin, in which the whole of the British navy might safely ride at anchor at all seasons, and sheltered by two mountain ridges called the Cabaretas, the inner of which is about 500, the outer 600 feet in perpendicular altitude, and both beyond the reach of any other elevated land. *Fort Shirley* stands between the two Cabaretas, with a flat of 100 acres in extent at its base; in time of war the fortifications on these heights might be rendered almost as strong as Gibraltar. *Portsmouth*, the so-called town, laid out on the shore of the bay, returns two members to the assembly, but is a very inconsiderable place. The *Grand Savanna*, an elevated plain about a mile in extent, possesses large quarries of excellent freestone, which at one time formed an article of export to Guadaloupe and other islands. Very little of the soil has been brought into cultivation beyond the river levels, and the slopes of the mountains; the rest remains a fertile wilderness. The monkey, wild boar, and agouti, a small hairy animal, half-pig half-rabbit, still tenant the woods, whence a species of boa constrictor occasionally emerges on marauding excursions to the nearest poultry yard; and numerous parroquets, hawks, doves, and varieties of humming-birds, add, by their brilliant plumage, a new charm to the glens and glades, embowered in richest foliage, a prominent and charming characteristic of which is ever formed by the branching tree-ferns, which grow to the height of

* Coleridge's *Six Months in the West Indies*, pp. 157-8.

† Atwood's *History of Dominica*, p. 185.

twenty or even thirty feet, and wave their delicate feathers over the whole scenery of this romantic island. The Guana is not uncommon, and there is a large edible frog, which is caught in great numbers and esteemed a delicacy.

The GEOLOGY and MINERALOGY of Dominica have been little investigated; according to Atwood,* pieces of silver ore have been found in the north-east portion of the interior. The SOIL in some places is a light brown-coloured mould, that appears to have been washed down from the mountains, and is mixed with decayed vegetable matter. In the level country towards the sea-coast, and in many parts of the interior, it is a fine deep black mould, well adapted for the cultivation of the sugar-cane, coffee, and other tropical produce. The under-stratum of the soil is sometimes a yellow or brick clay, in others a stiff terrace; but generally very stony. The CLIMATE is hot and humid, but the frequent mountain breezes are refreshing and salubrious. The wet season sets in about the end of August and lasts till the beginning of January, with frequent intervals of fine weather. Neither the rainy nor the dry season appear to be accompanied by illness, but irregular rain and sunshine usually induce ague and intermittent fevers. Temperature of the low districts varies from 69° to 88°.

POPULATION.—In the statements of different writers (Edwards and Southey more especially), regarding the population at different epochs, there are discrepancies which are not easily explicable. The following table is the best I have been able to frame upon this head:—

Year.	Whites.	Free Coloured.	Slaves or Blacks.	Total.
1763	1,718	500	5,872	8,090
1773	3,350	750	18,753	22,853
1787	1,236	445	14,967	16,648
1805	1,594	2,822	22,083	26,499
1811	1,325	2,988	21,728	26,041
1834	720	3,814	14,175	18,709
1844	—	—	—	22,000
1851	—	—	—	—

Note.—No classified returns for the years 1844 and 1851.

There appears to have been no census in 1851. In that of 1844 there was no classification as to descent. The proportion of creoles and whites can be but small; it comprises, notwithstanding, the issue of English, Scotch, Irish, a few American refugees, a large proportion of French, and some Spanish, Italian, and Genoese immigrants. There are said to be still a few Caribs, who maintain themselves by hunting, fishing, and basket-making. The language commonly spoken is a French patois. The number of males in 1844 was 10,596; of females, 11,604. The town of Roseau contains about 4,000 inhabitants. The conduct of the freed blacks, albeit very cruelly used during slavery and even apprenticeship, is highly satisfactory.

In 1839, the planters at a public meeting acknowledged, "with feelings of unmixed gratification, the peaceable and quiet disposition evinced by the labourers as a body, since their entire emancipation." Here, as in other islands, they have purchased land to a considerable extent, consisting of private estates and Crown property. The lieutenant-governor, in March, 1852, in his annual official despatch, adverts to their prosperous condition and increasing means,

* *History of Dominica*, p. 5.

and to the contentment which "very generally prevails amongst the labouring classes."—(*Blue Book* for 1851, p. 141.)

GOVERNMENT as in the other islands, having representative assemblies; the majority of the representatives, who are in number nineteen, are men of colour.

RELIGION.—The Roman Catholic form predominates; there is a small Church of England, and an active Wesleyan ministry. The numbers of the different persuasions, in 1844, were, Church of Rome, 19,040; Church of England, 714; Wesleyans, 2,531; Moravians, 5; unknown, 179.

EDUCATION.—Nine Roman Catholic and several Protestant schools. A Board of Instruction, with an inspector of schools, was appointed in 1850-'1.

CRIME.—Total commitments, in 1851, 219. The lieutenant-governor reports, "a decided diminution."

PRESS.—One newspaper.

FINANCE.—Revenue in 1834, £3,905; in 1851, £12,901, of which £5,356 were derived from import duties. Civil expenditure paid by England, in 1851, £4,441, including the salary (£1,200) of the lieutenant-governor. Commissariat disbursements in the same year, £7,226.

COMMERCE.	1833.	1851-2.
Sugar . . . hogs.	3,230	4,252
Molasses . . . casks	596	807 ¹
Rum . . . pun.	309	295
Shipping inwards tons	7,606	12,046
Imports . . . value	£53,506	£71,828

Note.—¹ Puncheons.

The statistics of the revenue afford satisfactory proof of the commercial progress of the colony, exhibiting a steady increase during the last three years, whilst the amount of imports and exports, for the same period, present an equally favourable aspect.—(Report dated March, 1852, accompanying *Blue Book* for 1851, p. 140.)

MONTserrat,—

was first seen by Columbus in 1493, and so called from its real or supposed resemblance to a mountain of the same name, about twenty miles from Barcelona. It is situated in 16° 54' N. lat., and 61° 34' W. long., about thirty miles north-west of Antigua, and is loosely estimated at nine miles in breadth, and as many in length, with an area of 30,000 acres.

HISTORY.—The accounts recorded of this small island are scanty and unsatisfactory. According to Peter Martyr, the Haytian captives whom Columbus had on board with him at the time of its discovery, described it as very populous, and replenished with all things necessary for the sustenance of man. In 1632, a party of adventurers from St. Kitt's, chiefly Irish Roman Catholics, came over and, if the testimony of the Abbé Raynal may be trusted, "were not content with disturbing the peace of the many savages then inhabiting it, but very soon contrived to expel them." The colonists would seem to have increased rapidly by emigration, since Oldmixon asserts that, at the end of sixteen years, they numbered upwards of 1,000 white families, the adult males constituting a militia of 360 effective men. In 1712 the invasion and depredations of a French armament greatly injured the island, which in 1782 was captured by France, but restored at the close of the war, and has ever since remained a British possession.

PHYSICAL FEATURES AND TOPOGRAPHY.—The

150 MONTSERRAT—PHYSICAL FEATURES, POPULATION, COMMERCE.

interior is, for the most part, a congeries of mountains, occasionally attaining an altitude of 2,500 feet, extending south-east and north-west, covered with dense forest, and terminating towards the north in a bold headland, close to which vessels may approach with safety, but there is no landing there, and indeed no secure anchorage along the whole coast-line.

The southern shores are lofty and precipitous, rising abruptly to the height of 1,500 feet, and the sea, for a mile or two off, is bordered by immense rocks and shelving coral banks. Of the whole surface, only one-third is considered cultivable, the remainder being very mountainous, or barren. The heights in many places are rendered inaccessible by steep clay-stone masses, and immense perpendicular chasms, several hundred feet deep. Even where the country slopes towards the sea-coast, or extends between the flanks of the various groups, the surface is commonly furrowed with deep and broad ravines, serving as channels for innumerable torrents, which, in the rainy season, bring with them large accumulations of sand and gravel, and often completely blockade roads at all times rugged, and difficult to traverse even on the patient and sure-footed mules. Among the heights there is a Soufrière, situated about 1,000 feet above the sea, in a romantic dell, between three conical peaks. A hot spring rises here, whose waters boil up violently, cooling gradually as they meander towards the sea; the surrounding surface is hot everywhere, and strewn with irregular blocks of limestone and clay mounds entirely crusted with pure alum. The sulphur procured here is less valuable than that of the Dominica Soufrière; it has been shipped to America at a cost on board of four dollars per ton; the expense of freight forbids its being sent to England.

Plymouth, the only town, is small but convenient, the houses are built of good grey-stone, and embowered in trees. The public buildings are not creditable, but the colonists plead poverty in excuse. Great damage was inflicted here by the hurricane of 1825, both to life and property; above 230 persons are said to have perished in various miserable ways.

GEOLOGY—resembles that of the neighbouring islands. Many of the rocks seem vast masses of clay, of various hues. The conical hills abound with carbonate of lime, iron pyrites, and aluminous earth.

The **SOIL** is in general dry, light, thin, gravelly, and thickly strewn, except in the valleys, where there is a loamy deposit.

CLIMATE.—An elastic atmosphere, and temperature varying according to position at the windward or leeward sides of the island, or the elevation above the sea. Hurricanes occasionally occur.

POPULATION.

Year.	Whites.	Free Coloured.	Blacks or Slaves	Total.
1673	1,500	—	523	2,023 ¹
1707	1,545	—	3,570	5,115
1720	1,688	—	3,772	5,460
1787	1,300	260	10,000	11,560
1805	1,000	250	9,500	10,750
1812	444	402	6,537	7,383
1828	315	818	6,986	7,119
1834	312	827	6,401	7,540
1844	—	—	—	7,365
1851	—	—	—	7,053 ²

Note.—¹ An estimate. ² Males, 3,149; females, 3,904. No classified returns for the years 1844 and 1851.

The decrease of population has been owing to the emigration of numbers of the labouring class, between the ages of 16 and 45. The diminution between 1844 and 1851 was about 25 per cent. The increase by births must have been considerable, nearly half the population in 1851 being under 16 years of age. The births in that year were 271, deaths 78.

GOVERNMENT.—A president, acting in subordination to the governor-in-chief at Antigua; a house of assembly of twelve members; and an executive and legislative council of seven.

RELIGION.—Three clergymen of the Church of England, and a small Wesleyan establishment.

EDUCATION.—Ten public schools, containing, in 1851, 345 males and 386 females = 731, and 844 Sunday scholars. The large number in proportion to the scholars is necessitated by the difficulty of communication between various parts of the island.

CRIME.—The president, Mr. E. D. Baynes, in reporting officially on the *Blue Book* for 1851, says—

“ I do not think there is in the West Indies a more orderly community than that of Montserrat. * * * * Such is the confidence of the authorities in the conduct of the population, that the police force was discontinued several years since, and in July last the services of the only remaining paid constable were dispensed with. * * * Our criminal calendars, instead of exhibiting numerous felonies and other offences of magnitude, are now confined to petty police charges. * * * Our prison, instead of being crowded as formerly, has now been for more than a month (including the festive and idle season of Christmas) without an inmate.”

FINANCE.—Revenue, in 1834, about £2,000; in 1851, £3,235; payments by England, in 1851, £1,770 including £500 to president, or officer administering the government.

Coin in circulation, about £1,000.

COMMERCE.—Value of imports, in 1834, £20,123 currency; in 1851, £9,498 sterling. Sugar exported, in 1833, 654 hogshheads; molasses, 425 puncheons: in 1851, sugar, 926 hogshheads; molasses, 434 puncheons.

An extensive change of ownership in the soil has recently taken place, from embarrassed to unembarrassed parties, and has been attended by favourable results—

“ Long-abandoned estates have been restored to cultivation by the new purchasers, who, instead of leaving their labourers for months, sometimes for years, or altogether, unpaid, settle with them punctually, and thus acquiring confidence, instead of having cause to lament the want of labour, have more applicants for work than they can employ, even at the extremely moderate rate of 5½d. per diem for hard descriptions of labour, such as cutting wood and clearing land, and 4d. for lighter work. * * * It is prejudice or fatuity, with so many and such unmistakable signs of amelioration before our eyes, to join in the cry of decay or ruin with those whose imprudence and mismanagement have, beyond all contest, ruined themselves and temporarily injured others, but whose downfall has proved the redemption and safety of the island. That parties in such a position should be incapable of appreciating, or unwilling to acknowledge the improvement in which they can no longer participate, and which in fact their own fall has prepared and made practicable, is by no means matter of surprise; but the impartial observer, the punctual landlord, and the labourer so long unpaid, will not confound individual with general distress, nor mistake private for public depression; but will, on the contrary, hail the beneficial effects of a change that has taken the land from the possession of parties unable, whether from want of capital or want of method, to cultivate it successfully for the advantage of society, and placed it in the hands of others

more sensible of their duties, more alive to the reciprocal obligations between employer and labourer, and who have the will and the means of regularly employing and punctually paying their labourers."—(President Baynes' report accompanying *Blue Book* for 1850, p. 110, 111.)

It would be well for Jamaica, and other islands, if the altered state of affairs so well described in the preceding remarks, were equally applicable to them.

REDONDA,—

so named by Columbus from its rounded form, is a high, rocky, uninhabited isle, situated between Montserrat and Nevis, which seen from different points of view resembles a great ship under sail, a haycock, or a huge tower. It is of easy access on all sides, but its western coast affords anchorage in ten to twelve fathoms. At the south-east is a small islet called the *Pinnacle*, which nearly joins the land. To the westward and northward there are said to be sand-banks abounding in fish.

NEVIS,—

To the north-east of Montserrat, in 17° 10' north lat., 62° 42' west long., is nothing more than a single mountain, rising like a cone in an easy ascent from the sea, to the height of 2,500 feet, and bordered by a fertile strip of level and highly cultivated land. The area is about twenty square miles. The island received from Columbus the appellation of *Nievis*, or *the Snows*, either from the resemblance its lofty summit canopied in a mass of fleecy clouds bore to a snow-capped eminence of that name in Spain, or as Edwards supposes, from a white smoke which probably then issued from a now extinct volcano.

HISTORY.—A small settlement was formed here in 1628 by emigrants from St. Kitt's, under the protection of Sir Thomas Warner, who dying in 1638 was succeeded by Governor Lake, "a knowing person and fearing God,"* under whose administration the little colony progressed so rapidly as to become, within twelve years of its formation, of national importance. Its prosperity continued for nearly half a century, but was then checked by a long series of disasters. In 1689 a dreadful mortality swept off half the inhabitants. In 1706 the French came on a marauding expedition, and carried away between 3,000 and 4,000 slaves, whom they sold to their own

planters in Martinique, and in the following year a fearful hurricane well nigh completed the ruin of the island. By slow degrees commerce revived, sugar however becoming the sole article of export, and its cultivation entirely superseding that of tobacco and ginger, which had been profitably carried on by the early settlers.† The slaves are said to have been comparatively well-treated in Nevis, but this statement it is difficult to credit after perusing the circumstances connected with the case of a miscreant named Huggins,‡ whose trial revealed to the British public, in 1811, the atrocious cruelties that might be committed in slave-holding colonies, in defiance of all laws made by the Imperial Parliament, and which the local legislatures could not or would not prevent or punish. So late as 1825, Coleridge, in describing the island, commented on the wretched clothing of the slaves, alike insufficient for the requirements of common decency, and even health (for it is at times really cold on many of the estates), and adverted to various things which even he, the new bishop's nephew, the petted guest of the planters, and the sworn foe of "methodists and saints," could not but admit ought to "make the planters think a little." Indeed few Englishmen with eyes happily unused to such sad scenes could have "not seldom watched a poor girl in the fields, who has turned away from the gaze of man, and shrouded her bosom with crossed arms and declining head," even though his experience showed him no worse sufferings to which womanly modesty and virtue might be exposed than this degrading want of proper covering, without questioning the soundness of the system under which such things were suffered to continue. The great change visible in the appearance of the labouring classes, speaks volumes in favour of emancipation; the former slaves throughout the West Indies, are all decorously clad, according to the requirements of the varying climates under which they live.

PHYSICAL FEATURES AND TOPOGRAPHY.—When first visited, Nevis was densely clothed with forest, and is still supplied with fine timber, and well watered by clear springs and rivulets. Plantations commence at the sea shore, and ascend the mountain slopes nearly to its summit; the fertility of the soil diminishes with increased height; but the temperature becomes proportionately lower, and favours the growth of many European vegetables, as sea-kale, turnips, and carrots.‡ The coast-line affords no

* Davies' *History of the Caribby Islands*, p. 20. † *Idem*.

‡ In direct opposition to a clause in the Melioration Act of 1798, a wealthy planter, named Huggins, ordered his slaves to labour by night, in carrying out dung, and this illegal exaction was said to have produced some appearance of insubordination among them, to check which, or rather to gratify his own fiend-like cruelty, he, with his two sons, brought thirty-two of them to be flogged with cart-whips in the public market of Charlestown, by two drivers expert in the inhuman office. Many of them were women, one of whom received 291 lashes, and a man 365, this number being inflicted in direct defiance of the amount (thirty-nine) prescribed by law not to be exceeded, yet it was done within sight or hearing of five magistrates, not one of whom interfered. Of the victims, many fell sick of fevers, and a woman wasted away and expired in a few months. A coroner's inquest, composed of three friends of the murderer's, declared her to have died "by the visitation of God." The House of Assembly passed resolutions denunciatory of the whole transaction. Huggins was indicted and brought to trial, and could not attempt to deny having violated a positive statute; which, however, was treated by his counsel as a very slight offence, the Melioration Act

being sneered at as a mere deception, passed for the purpose of silencing the clamours of "the saints" in England. The jury acquitted Huggins, who forthwith prosecuted the printer of the *St. Christopher's Gazette* for libel, for having published the resolutions of the House of Assembly, and the defendant was actually found guilty, and sentenced to a month's imprisonment. When these proceedings became known in England, orders were sent out for the public dismissal of the magistrates who had witnessed without attempting to prevent so horrible a scene; but the chief criminal appears to have escaped unpunished, by man, for this as for many other cruelties perpetrated on his wretched slaves, some of whom committed suicide to escape from him, and many others perished on his estates, like the unhappy woman above mentioned.—(Continuation of Edwards, vol. iv., pp. 456-77. *Quarterly Review*, September, 1819.)

§ The fruits here are peculiarly well-flavoured, especially the pines and oranges, which, according to Coleridge, are "most ambrosial." This entertaining writer says—"In Nevis a man is always placed as sentinel in a pinery; for, otherwise, those dogs the monkeys, who are very good livers, and know a ripe pine to a day, are sure to take an

harbours, but has three roadsteads; the best and most frequented of which is that situated in the wide curving bay, on whose shores *Charlestown*, the seat of government, is built. It is a place of some pretension; the court-house is a handsome building with a square in front, and contains commodious public offices. *Charles Fort* is the chief fortification. Government-house is a convenient and pleasant edifice, situated a little above the town, on the lowest slope of the mountain, which rises gradually behind it. Half a mile to the south of Charlestown are extensive mineral baths, on a rising ground near the margin of the sea. There are three spacious plunge baths on terraces one above another, varying in their temperature, from 50° to 100° Fahrenheit. The lowest and largest is now used as a turtle crawl. The island, small as it is, is divided into five parishes, each of which has a church generally in excellent condition, and most picturesquely situated; that of St. John's parish (Fig-tree church),* is placed half-way up the mountain, and looks down upon a wide expanse of sea; including the town, shipping, the whole of the neighbouring island of St. Kitt's, with the summit of St. Eustatius in the distance. Besides Charlestown there are two other shipping places, called *Indian Castle* and *New Castle*.

POPULATION.—The accounts on this head given by Raynal and others are so conflicting as to afford no satisfactory evidence whatever; but according to official data† it appears that, so early as 1673, there were 1,411 white men able to bear arms, and 1,739 blacks (slaves). During the present century the progress has been as follows:—

Year.	Whites.	Free coloured.	Blacks, or slaves.	Total.
1707	1,104	—	3,676	4,780
1720	2,358	—	5,689	8,047
1730	1,296	—	5,646	6,942
1778	2,050	140	9,100	11,290
1812	501	603	9,326	10,430
1834	300	200	8,815	9,315
1844		9,571 ¹	—	—
1851		10,200 ²	—	—

Note.—¹ Of whom there were 4,418 males and 5,153 females. ² The estimate of the president of the island; there having been no census taken in 1851.

The European settlers are chiefly of British descent. The president reported in 1851 that the working classes still preserved their former good character. The majority of the field labourers work on the metayer or share system, as the planters, whose credit no longer enables them to obtain loans from England, have no capital for the payment of wages, and the credit of the island has for many years been at a low ebb.

GOVERNMENT.—A representative assembly of nine, and council of seven members, and a president, under the governor-in-chief of Antigua.

evening walk from the mountain, and will, I am told, fairly pick, pack, and carry away all the eatable fruit in the garden at one visit. Certainly Jacco is a rogue, a villain, a thief; yet the fellow's cleverness is so great, his malice so keen, his impudence so intense, that it exceeds the hardness of my heart not to like him. You may offer your fine green Seville oranges to him by handful; deuce a bit of the rind of ten thousand of them will Jacco touch! no! no! massa—dem monies savey what bitter as well as buckra [White man.]!'"—*Six Months in the West Indies*, p. 184.

RELIGION.—Five clergymen of the Church of England. A Wesleyan Mission was established here in 1789, and has ever since been prosecuted with diligence and success.†

EDUCATION.—Eleven public schools, with 647 male, and 630 female scholars. There are several seminaries conducted by Wesleyan Missionaries.

CRIME.—Commitments in 1851, six.

FINANCE.—No returns for 1834; in 1833, revenue stated at £5,794 (but doubtful whether for the single year); in 1851, £3,705. There is a debt to Great Britain of £12,000, now in course of liquidation.

Labour is 6d. to 1s. per day.

COMMERCE.	1833.	1851.
Value of Imports	£18,567	£16,483
Sugar exported . . hogsheads	2,826	1,885
Molasses gallons	17,864	66,900
Shipping inwards . tons . .	8,266	8,700

In 1851 there were seven steam engines, forty-five wind and forty-seven cattle mills employed in the manufacture of sugar.

ST. CHRISTOPHER'S, COMMONLY CALLED ST. KITT'S,—

was named by Columbus in 1493, from the form of its mountains; the island having on its upper part, as it were upon one of its shoulders, another lesser mountain, which gave it some resemblance to the statues common at that period on church porches of St. Christopher carrying our Saviour; by its numerous native proprietors, it was called *Liamuiga*, or the Fertile Isle. It is separated from Nevis by the "Narrows," a rocky strait impeded by shoals, but affording a ship channel of at least six fathoms depth. St. Kitt's (*Fort Smith*) is in 17° 17' N. lat., 60° 42' W. long., and extends north-west and south-east about twenty miles, with a small and very unequal breadth, and an area of about 68 square miles, or 43,726 acres.

HISTORY.—The honour of having been the first West Indian island colonised by England has been assigned by different writers to Barbados, Antigua, and St. Kitt's; there was certainly no great difference of time between the three; but the last-named appears to have had the priority. The Spaniards never took possession: and the first attempt at its settlement was made, according to Dr. John Campbell, by Mr. Thomas Warner, who established himself and about fourteen other persons there, in January, 1623, immediately commenced the cultivation of tobacco, and was proceeding very satisfactorily until, towards the close of the year, when their plantations were demolished by a hurricane; Warner returned to England to seek succour, which he obtained from the Earl of Carlisle, who despatched a ship, the *Hopewell*, laden with all kinds of necessaries, in the beginning of 1624. In the following

* In the burying-ground attached to this church is a monument erected by Viscountess Nelson (who was born here), to the memory of her father, or some relation. It may here be remarked, that the British West Indian burial-grounds are generally characterised by costly monumental structures, more conspicuous for size than elegance.

† Report of the Lords of the Committee, 1789. Supplement, No. 15.

‡ Vide Dr. Coke's *West Indies*, vol. iii., pp. 15 to 35; and Latrobe's *Report on Negro Education*. Parl. Papers, June, 1838.

year, Warner returned to St. Kitt's, accompanied by a large body of recruits; and about the time of his landing, or, as some assert, on the very same day, D'Enambuc, the commander of a French privateer, having lost several men in an engagement with a Spanish galloon, retreated here with the remainder of his crew, consisting of about thirty hardy veterans, who were well received by the early settlers, with whom they entered into an offensive and defensive alliance with regard to the Caribs. The English had previously been very kindly treated by the natives, and supplied by them with provisions; but at length some symptoms of anger were manifested at the unscrupulous usurpation of their lands, and suspicions being entertained of their hostile intentions, the Europeans took counsel together; and to prevent the possible attempts of the Caribs, fell upon them by night, and having murdered 120 of the stoutest, drove all the rest from the island, except such of the women as were young and handsome, of whom (says a contemporary writer, *Père du Tertre*, who relates these transactions, as if they were ordinary and quite justifiable), they made concubines and slaves. Some Caribs, however, escaped to the neighbouring islands, and returned, accompanied by a large body of their countrymen. In the struggle which ensued, the Europeans were eventually victorious; but 100 of them were mortally wounded by poisoned arrows, and several died raving mad; 2,000 Indians were killed or wounded, and their dead bodies were piled up into an immense mound.* The survivors fled the island, which Warner and D'Enambuc then formally divided, and some months after returned to their respective countries, where each was well received, the former being knighted by Charles the First, and sent back to St. Kitt's as governor, with 400 new recruits; and the latter, through the patronage of Richelieu, was enabled to assemble 532 intending colonists, who sailed from France in 1627; but, from the wretched and inefficient supplies furnished by the new company who fitted out the ships, for the most part perished miserably at sea for want of food.†

The disasters attendant on the establishment of a colony, founded in crime, did not end here, for the Spaniards who, before the arrival of either the English or French, had been in the habit of touching at the island for wood and water, and had even left their sick men under the care of the natives who had kindly tended them, asserted their right of discovery, and, in 1629, at the head of a powerful fleet, invaded St. Kitt's in a treacherous manner. The French planters hastily quitted the island; but for want of provisions many perished on their way to Antigua; the English fled to the mountains, but were compelled to surrender unconditionally; 600 of the ablest men were captured, and carried off to labour in the Spanish mines; the rest, consisting chiefly of women and children, were commanded to quit the island in some English vessels which had been seized at Nevis; the Spanish commander (Don

Frederick de Toledo) then laid waste all the settlements within his reach, and sailed off to attack the Dutch colony at Brazil.‡

The remaining English persisted, however, in retaining their position in St. Kitt's, the French returned there, and in the absence of an external foe, internal strife, more or less fierce, at different times scourged the population for the next half century; which people were the first and chief aggressors it is now difficult to say;—each party inflicted great suffering, and temporarily succeeded in expelling the other from the island, which was at length, by the Peace of Utrecht, ceded wholly to the English, some few only of the French being suffered to retain their estates, and become naturalised.

In 1782, St. Kitt's was captured by a powerful French armament, after a tedious siege of more than a month's duration, in which the enemy are said to have lost 1,000 men in killed and wounded, and the English between 300 and 400, together with property to the amount of £160,000 sterling,§ “in negroes and cattle, and the burning of the canes,” says Edwards, who adds that this “sum was made up to the sufferers by a poll-tax on the slaves of no less than forty shillings.”|| In the following year the island was restored to England. In 1804, a tremendous hurricane, in which 274 vessels are said to have been destroyed,¶ included in its desolating sweep all the windward islands, but was especially felt at St. Kitt's. In 1805, a French marauding expedition visited the island, and, under the threat of attacking the fortifications at Brimstone Hill, and destroying the town of Basseterre, extorted from the inhabitants a contribution of £18,000, and burned, after first pillaging, six valuable vessels they found in the anchorage. Since this period no other event has occurred requiring notice in this necessarily brief historical sketch.

PHYSICAL FEATURES AND TOPOGRAPHY.—The form of St. Kitt's may be compared to an outstretched leg, the upper and larger part or calf being about five miles in breadth, the lower, or the foot, about four, and the ankle being represented by an isthmus not more than half-a-mile wide. A central ridge of volcanic origin traverses the length of the island, increasing in height towards its northern extremity, terminating to the southward in the verdant slopes of *Monkey Hill*,** and in the middle forming a rugged mountain group, above which, overshadowing the crater of an extinct volcano, the gloomy crag well named *Mount Misery*, rises to the height of above 3,711 feet in nearly perpendicular ascent, its bare, black summit being generally visible, whilst the lower parts of the surrounding eminences are enveloped in clouds. This striking object imparts a peculiar majesty to the softer features of the scenery, the land everywhere sloping from the centre towards the coast, and being for the most part in a state of high cultivation. The crater beneath (or rather forming part of) Mount Misery, is 2,600 feet in depth; the bottom of it is described to be a level of

* Southey, vol. i., p. 256.

† Edwards, vol. i., p. 458.

‡ The treaty of 1630 would, it was hoped, put an end to such enormities as these, but it did not do so: for only eight years after the affair at St. Kitt's, the Spaniards attacked a small English colony established in the small island of Tortuga, and put every man, woman, and child to the sword.

§ Adolphus' *History of England*, vol. iii., p. 380; and *Annual Register for 1782*.

|| DIV. VIII.

¶ Edwards, vol. i., p. 510.

¶ A ship from Surinam sailed for three days through the floating fragments of the wrecks.—Edwards, vol. v., p. 72.

** The monkeys here are mostly small, but even more than usually mischievous. They assemble in troops, and commit sad havoc among the sugar-canes, but are too cunning to be shot, always placing a sentinel in advance, who sets up a terrible screeching on the approach of danger.—Sturge's *West Indies* in 1837, p. 44.

fifty acres in extent, of which seven are covered with a lake, and the rest with grass and trees. Hot water, impregnated with sulphur, still issues from the fissures. Several streams descend from the mountains, four of which are called rivers, though they little merit that name; during the rainy season, few plantations are without rivulets, some of which occasionally become destructive torrents. In the low lands springs are plentiful, but often unfit for use in consequence of their being strongly saline. There are large salt-ponds at the southern extremity of the island. The water in use is chiefly that supplied by the abundant rains, preserved in large tanks. The coast-line has roadsteads, but no harbours.

Basseterre, the capital, is a low, hot, dusty town, with some good buildings, a spacious square, and Church of England and Wesleyan places of worship. Seen from a neighbouring eminence in the road to the picturesque parish of St. Mary Cayenne, on the opposite coast, the town, with the shipping in the anchorage, defended by Fort Smith, has a pleasing appearance; and the lovely vale of Basseterre, with its tall moving windmills, houses, sugar-works, and cottages, embowered in trees, has many points of resemblance to the village scenery of England, although beautiful wild flowers, large hedges of aloes, and groves of the sea-side grape,* are decidedly foreign characteristics. The churches belonging to the different parishes (nine in number), into which the island is divided, are generally large, well-arranged, situated near the sea, and command fine views of the country, forming themselves very pleasing objects, as do also the buildings attached to the Wesleyan and Moravian Missions.

Sandy Point is a sea-port town or village on the north-west shore; near it are the defences of *Charles Fort* and *Brinestone Hill*; the fortifications on the latter are very imposing, being situated on a huge rock, 750 feet high, precipitous on all sides, backed by the mountains, and fronted by the coast-level and the western sea. There are several pretty fishing-places in various localities.

GEOLOGY.—Formation igneous,—immense layers of volcanic ashes are found in every parish; and the soil is chiefly of a dark grey loam, extremely porous. At Sandy Point, St. Ann's Parish, there are alternate layers of this loam, and ashes, to the depth of seventy-five feet, on a substratum of gravel. This compost is considered one of the best in the West Indies for the cultivation of sugar. Brimstone Hill consists of granite, limestone, primary rock, schistus, volcanic ashes and madrepores, with a very small proportion of alluvial deposit on a few spots. Clay is found in considerable quantities in the high or mountain land, but rarely in the low land. Among the central mountains, one contains mines of sulphur; and not far from Fort Charles traces of silver ore have been discovered.

CLIMATE.—From the smallness of the isle and its elevation above the sea, St. Kitt's is extremely dry and healthy; the mean temperature on the coast is 80, but the mornings and evenings of the hottest days are agreeably cool. The coldest month is February—the warmest, August. The winds for the greater part of the year are from the north-east and south-east. The rains that fall are more frequent than heavy, and the bracing atmosphere is evidenced by the ruddy complexions and physical strength of the inhabitants.

* The *coccoloba uvifera* bears a fruit which, when cooked, has the flavour of gooseberries.

POPULATION.—The white inhabitants were formerly numerous; in 1673 there were 496 men able to bear arms, and 352 negroes in the island. Since then the numbers have been as follows:—

Year.	Whites.	Free Coloured.	Slaves, or Blacks.	Total.
1707	1,545	—	3,570	5,115
1720	1,688	—	3,772	5,460
1724	1,000	—	4,400	5,400
1729	1,545	—	5,616	7,161
1756	1,300	—	10,000	11,300
1774	1,912	1,908	8,853	12,673
1805 ¹	1,800	—	26,000	—
1812	1,610	1,996	19,885	23,491
1834	1,200	2,500	19,780	23,480
1844	—	—	—	23,177
1851	—	—	—	—

Note.—¹ No return of the free coloured population for 1805. In 1844 there were 10,523 males and 12,654 females. There was no census in 1851; births in that year, 945; deaths, 650; not including the Roman Catholics, who are less than 200 in number.

The president (Robert Claxton) administering the Government, reports—16th of April, 1847,—“I continue to afford my testimony to the good conduct and industrious habits of the labouring population. The independent villages which are continually starting up and increasing in extent in every parish of the island, afford a regular and healthy supply of labour to the adjacent estates.” The implemental husbandry introduced originally into St. Kitt's, under the charge of Europeans, is now being worked by “native labourers, whose emulation was excited, and has been rewarded by the additional wages which their skill has enabled them to earn.” Lieutenant-governor Drummond Hay, in 1851-'2, corroborates this testimony by stating that churches and other public buildings have been repaired; a large (comparative) amount expended on the public roads; that the schools are respectably conducted, and manifest a large numerical increase of the numbers attending them. The chief justice in the same year bears witness to the “advancement amongst the lower orders in industrial habits, and increased respect for the rights of individual property.”—(*Blue Book for 1851*, pp. 135, 136.)

GOVERNMENT.—A representative assembly, legislative and executive council, and lieutenant-governor.

RELIGION.—Chiefly Protestant; there are nine clergymen of the Church of England, also eight Wesleyan, and four Moravian chapels.

EDUCATION.—Advancing. In 1851 the public schools were—

Denomination.	Schools.	Scholars.		
		Male.	Female.	Total.
Church of England	12	369	347	796
Wesleyan . . .	8	442	443	885
Moravian . . .	4	390	368	758
Total . . .	24	1,201	1,158	2,439

CRIME.—Commitments in 1851, 193. The chief justice, in his address to the grand jury at the commencement of 1852, congratulated them “on the vast diminution of crime,” which had taken place since they last met; and the lieutenant-governor states,

that the state of the population in this respect is "favourable."—(*Blue Book* for 1851, p. 136).

FINANCE.—Revenue in 1834, £3,638; in 1851, £17,902; of this £11,327 were derived from import duties. Lieutenant-governor, salary of, £1,300, paid by England. Disbursements from commissariat chest in 1851, £8,791. Governor Mackintosh reported, in May 1851, that the financial condition of the colony was sound, and stated a fact, creditable to the community, viz., that, notwithstanding the pressure on its means, occasioned by bad crops for several years, "the Island Treasury has just paid off its last instalment of debt."

Coin in circulation, from £10,000 to £20,000. Paper-money in value, about 20,000 dollars.

Wages.—Agricultural, 6d. per day; domestic, 12s. 6d. to 20s. per month.

COMMERCE.—Value of imports :—

Year.	Value.	Year.	Value.
1833	£44,497	1850	£92,418
1834	63,018	1851	112,748
Total . .	107,515	Total . .	205,166

Note.—Shipping inwards, 1834, tons 16,964; 1851, tons 22,066. Value of exports, in 1833, £105,267; in 1851, £126,610.

There are no returns given of the quantity of sugar made during the three years preceding the abolition of slavery in 1834; the average for the six years between 1822 and 1829, was 7,060 hogsheads; the export for 1851 was 7,270 hogsheads; and here, as in other islands, the size of the hogshead has, I believe, been recently increased.

The best estates belong to absentees; nearly all are mortgaged, and from that cause subject to heavy charges. In 1850, the cost of producing sugar was the same as at Barbados; it might be brought to market ready for shipment, including charges of every kind for 12s. 6d. per cwt.; some estimated the cost at 14s.; freight to England 2s. 6d. to 3s. per cwt., except when the properties were mortgaged, when the consignees charged 4s.* The few resident planters are doing well, and here, as in Jamaica and other islands, persons who were formerly agents for absentees are buying up good properties as fast as their means will allow, and obtaining a fair profit from their cultivation. One proprietor recently purchased some land adjoining his estate at the rate of £20 per acre. The planters are wisely economizing labour, by the introduction and use of improved agricultural implements. The peasantry are anxious to buy waste land, or to lease it; but an enormous price or rental is demanded, under the idea that the labourers will thus be kept dependent on scanty and precarious wages, and prevented having homes of their own. In some cases they are working on the *métayer* or share system.

ANGUILLA, OR SNAKE ISLAND,—

so named either from its tortuous form or the various descriptions of serpents with which it is infested, is situated in 18° 15' N. lat., and 63° 0' W. long. It is the most northern of the Caribbee islands, lies forty-five miles to the north-west of St. Kitt's, and is separated from St. Martin's by a channel, of which the least

* *British West Indies* in 1850; by J. Candler and G. W. Alexander. *Anti-Slavery Reporter*; Feb. 1851.

width is four miles, and the depth from thirteen to twenty fathoms. The length is about twenty miles, the breadth varies, becoming very narrow towards the southward; the area is estimated at thirty-five square miles.

HISTORY.—Anguilla was settled by the English in 1650, and was early subject to harassing incursions from the French; but in 1745 they made a more serious attack, and 600 men were landed, under M. de la Touche; but governor Hodge, with 150 militia, defended a breastwork at a narrow pass with such success, that the enemy speedily retired, after a heavy loss in killed and captured, La Touche himself having received two wounds. The Anguillians were, however, destined to suffer severely from a subsequent assault made by order of Victor Hugues, who having, it would appear, conceived an especial dislike to the people of this petty and comparatively undefended island, despatched 300 or 400 picked men, in 1796, who having, without difficulty, made good their landing, set the town on fire, pulled down the church, seized on all private property, including the wearing apparel of the women, massacred many defenceless individuals, not sparing even children, and were preparing to carry out their inhuman orders of utter extermination, when intelligence arrived of approaching succour from St. Kitt's. The marauders hastily re-embarked, to the indescribable relief of the terrified colonists, and on the following morning encountered Captain Barton in the *Lapwing*; a sharp engagement ensued, in which the *Vuliant*, manned by 135 men, ran on shore at St. Martin's, and was destroyed with the greater part of her crew—and the second French ship-of-war, the *Decius*, which was crowded with troops, after sustaining the terrible loss of eighty killed and forty wounded, became so shattered, that Captain Barton, on the appearance of two more of the enemy's frigates, took out his prisoners and set it on fire. By a signal act of retributive justice nearly every man engaged in this iniquitous expedition was killed or captured. Since this period Anguilla has remained in peace, under the British flag.

PHYSICAL FEATURES.—The pastoral aspect of Anguilla is very unlike that of most West Indian islands. The surface is flat, without mountains or rivers, and with a deep, chalky soil. A cliffy wall, some forty feet in height, rises at the northern end, the country then slopes inward in a concave form, and towards the south is only just above the level of the sea. There are several adjacent islets, of which the largest, lying to the north-eastward, is named *Anguillita*. There are two harbours for small vessels. In the centre of the northern part of the island is a large salt lake, which is public property; in favourable years no less than 300,000 bushels have been exported, chiefly to the United States. Although both fertile and level, only a very inconsiderable portion of the surface, two or three-tenths perhaps, at the utmost, is now under cultivation. The ground provisions raised here, especially yams, are excellent; fine tobacco, millet, cotton, maize, and sugar, have all thriven, and cattle find abundant pasturage. There is no town, the houses and cottages of the scanty population are scattered in different directions, and the roads consist of level grassy tracks, pleasant to the eye and agreeable to equestrians.

The **CLIMATE** is salubrious.

POPULATION.—In 1673, Anguilla is said to have possessed 500 men capable of bearing arms; in 1724, the first trustworthy return stated the inhabitants at 360 whites and 900 negroes; in 1819, there were 360

whites, 320 free coloured, and 2,226 slaves = 2,906; in 1834, the whites and free coloured numbered 674, the slaves 2,226 = 2,920; in 1844, the population was stated at 982 males, 1,197 females = 2,179, but were not classified as to colour, the diminution being occasioned by the emigration of able-bodied labourers to islands where they could find more remunerative employment. The proprietary class, previous to the abolition of slavery, had become impoverished and indebted, the same causes having produced the same effects here as elsewhere; since then a change for the better appears to have taken place. "The native inhabitants," says Governor Higginson, "are a superior race, and particularly correct in their deportment. They are in comfortable circumstances, raise stock and provisions for their own consumption, and occasionally for exportation. Crime is almost unknown."—(Annual Report on *Blue Book* for 1846, p. 44.)

The RELIGION professed is Protestant; there is one Church of England place of worship and school-house, and a Wesleyan chapel.

Anguilla is a dependency of St. Kitt's, and sends a representative to the Assembly. The officials, including the rector, are all paid by the Home Government. A free port would probably conduce to the progress of the colony, which, notwithstanding its out-of-the-way position, has useful characteristics.

THE VIRGIN ISLANDS—

were discovered by Columbus in 1493, and thus named in honour of St. Ursula and the eleven thousand maidens famous in Romish legends. They lie to the north-westward of the Caribbee Islands, and appear to consist of the more elevated heights connected with the eastern extremity of the Cuban chain, which extends from 64° to 85° W. long., a distance of about 1,400 miles. Of this space the Virgin Islands occupy a very inconsiderable portion, though comprising about fifty isles and islets, called *Cuys*; they stretch over twenty-four leagues east and west, and sixteen north and south. The Danes possess the islands of *St. Thomas*,* which has a good harbour, *Saint Croix* or *Santa Cruz*, which is cultivated like a garden, *St. John*, and some inconsiderable islets; the remainder, and more easterly, are British: the chief are *Tortola*, *Virgin Gorda*, *Anegada*, *Jost*

* During the last war, *St. Thomas* (which had been occupied by the Danes in 1671), *St. John*, and *St. Croix*, (which they had purchased from the French), were taken possession of by England, but on its termination these islands, and their dependencies, were restored to Denmark.

† Of the manner in which the slaves were treated in the Virgin Islands, appalling evidence was given in the case of Arthur Hodge, a planter of *Tortola*, who was a member of Council; and is represented as having been a man of liberal education and polished manners, but possessed with a spirit of the most diabolical cruelty. By various barbarities, of which even a brief record would fill several pages, he was declared by a witness, upon oath, to have destroyed sixty slaves (including women and children) in about three years. He appears to have experimented upon human life much in the same manner as a chemist might have tried the effects of poison on animals, only with no other motive than the horrible one of inflicting the greatest possible amount of agony on his wretched victims. His fellow-planters (unacquainted with the full extent of his atrocities) do not appear to have regarded him with the detestation he merited; or, at least, his character as a notorious duellist protected him from any manifestation of such a feeling, until he quarrelled with and threat-

van Dykes, Peter, Guana (so called from its abounding in that species of lizards), *Normand, Beef, the Camanos, Ginger, Coopers, Salt*, and others of no importance. The total area is estimated at 58,649 acres.

HISTORY.—This group attracted little attention at the period of its discovery, in 1493; it was visited by Sir Francis Drake, in 1580, and in 1596 by the Earl of Cumberland, when on his way to attack the neighbouring island of Porto Rico; in the records of this last voyage it is mentioned as "wholly uninhabited, sandy, barren, and craggy." The islands now belonging to Great Britain were first colonized by a party of Dutch buccaneers, who established themselves at *Tortola*, about the year 1648, and built a fort, but were subsequently driven out by a stronger body of British adventurers of the same class; soon afterwards, *Tortola* and its dependencies were annexed to the Leeward Island government, in a commission granted by Charles the Second to Sir W. Stapleton. In 1680 some English planters† emigrated from *Anguilla*, and, undeterred by the craggy mountains, laboured with great zeal, and soon raised cotton, ginger, sugar, and indigo, in no inconsiderable quantities. The earliest representative assembly met in February, 1774, and by their first act agreed to subject themselves to an impost of 4½ per cent., similar to that paid by the Barbadians, and this tax continued to be levied until 1838.

PHYSICAL FEATURES AND TOPOGRAPHY.—The prevailing characteristics are rugged heights and precipitous coast-lines, with numerous bays, havens, and creeks. There are tracts of waste land, covered with luxuriant guinea grass, and affording excellent pasturage for cows, sheep, and goats, of which the emancipated blacks are the chief proprietors.

TORTOLA, in 18° 24' N. lat., and 64° 32' W. long., is of an irregular shape, about twelve miles in length and three or four at its greatest breadth; its peaked and picturesque summits are loftier than any other portion of the Virgin Islands—attaining the height of 1,758 feet. *Road Town*, the chief place, and a free port, consists of one large street, extending along the western shores of a fine and well-sheltered harbour. *VIRGIN GORDA* (sometimes called *Spanish-town*, a corruption of *Penniston*) is about nine miles in length, and, in some parts, four in breadth; its central eminence rises to the height of 1,376 feet. It has many ened to challenge a former friend, who, being a magistrate, thereupon preferred a charge against him for several murders committed some years before, especially for that of a negro named Prosper. The counsel for Hodge, boldly asserted that "a slave being property, it was no greater offence in law for his master to kill him than it would be to kill a dog;" and the criminal himself admitted that he had been guilty with regard to many of his slaves, but was innocent in respect to Prosper. The evidence was so abundant and conclusive, that even a planter jury were compelled to bring in a verdict of guilty, accompanied, however, by a recommendation to mercy, to which Governor Elliott indignantly refused to listen. Such was the state of excitement occasioned in the colony by the fact of this monster being adjudged to suffer death—the sole plea in his favour being his having a white skin, and his wretched victims black ones—that the governor was obliged to proceed in person to *Tortola*, proclaim martial law, and avail himself of the presence and protection of a frigate then in the harbour, before he could venture to carry out the sentence of the law, which was fulfilled by the execution of Hodge on the 8th of May, 1811.—(Vide Continuation to Bryan Edwards, 1819; vol. iv., p. 458; and Southey, vol. iii., p. 501.)

inlets affording anchorage. ANEGADA, about ten miles in length and four in breadth, is a bed of coral rock, raised but a few feet above the surface of the ocean. It produces some ground provisions and fruits. The islanders from time immemorial have looked to "wrecking" for their main subsistence; between 1811 and 1838-'9, no less than sixty-seven vessels have been lost on a dangerous reef, which extends for a distance of ten miles, from this island to the south-eastward, towards Virgin Gorda. The remaining isles are all small and unimportant; villages and cottages are scattered in various localities. A Sanitary Act, induced by the ravages of cholera in Jamaica, has been recently passed, and will probably improve the moral, as well as physical, health of the population.

The GEOLOGY resembles that of Cuba, Jamaica, Hayti, and Porto Rico. Granite of a fine quality predominates, and milky quartz abounds.

MINERALOGY.—As gold, silver, copper, platina, arsenic, and other minerals, have been found in the Cuban chain of islands, it is most probable they also exist here. The buccaneers are said to have worked both gold and silver mines, and coined dollars in imitation of the Spanish mints. On Virgin Gorda there are several shallow shafts sunk, it is supposed, by the Spaniards. A few years since several enterprising gentlemen expended £40,000 in mining operations here. They purchased a mining tract at the south-eastern end of Virgin Gorda, erected buildings, made roads and wharfs, set up a steam-engine, sunk three shafts (one to the depth of thirty fathoms), and drove several levels (one fifty fathoms), north and south. During the sinking, driving, and excavating, 210 tons of rich ore were raised, and yielded upwards of 20 per cent of pure copper. Some was exceedingly rich, and produced £31:10s. per ton, dry weight, at Swansea. The lode is composed of yellow pyrites, green carbonate, and grey ores, in a matrix of white spar, carrying with it the rare metal termed Molybdenum. Black copper was found in a large vein, and native copper in "strings." The working ceased from the want, or rather the mismanagement, of capital, owing to a misapprehension of the local agent, just when its value was ascertained, and will probably be resumed.

POPULATION.—The first precise account was given in 1717. Virgin Gorda had then 317 white inha-

bitants and 308 negroes; Tortola, 156 whites, and 176 negroes. The proportions since then are shown in the annexed table:—

Year.	Whites.	Free Coloured.	Slaves, or Blacks.	Total.
1720	1,122	—	1,509	2,631
1756	1,263	—	6,121	7,384
1787	1,200	180	9,000	10,380
1805	1,300	220	7,000	8,520
1834	800	600	5,135	6,535
1841	—	—	—	6,689

The last census was taken in 1841, there were then 3,130 males, and 3,559 females; the registered births 253, and the deaths 47. The area, in acres, and number of inhabitants in each of the principal isles was;—Tortola, 13,300 acres, 4,027 population; Jost Van Dyke, 3,200 a., 1,158 p.; Virgin Gorda, 9,500 a., 764 p.; Anegada, 31,200 a., 345 p.; Beef Island, 1,560 a., 68 p.; Guana, 1,120 a., 36 p.; Caymanas, 65 p.; Peter's Island, 143 p.; Salt, 83 p. The present number of inhabitants is about 7,000.

GOVERNMENT.—A lieutenant-governor, council, and assembly.

RELIGION.—One Church of England, and four chapels, but (in 1852) only one clergyman; eight Wesleyan chapels, and two other places of worship.

EDUCATION.—Five Church of England and three Wesleyan schools: scholars, 944; Sunday-school pupils, 401.

CRIME.—Commitments in 1851, number 54.

FINANCE.—Revenue in 1836, £2,796; in 1851, £1,471.

COMMERCE.—The soil being considered worn out, sugar cultivation has diminished from about 1,000 hogsheads, at the period of the abolition of slavery, to 329 in 1851. Cotton is grown in small patches all over the island, and, like other native produce, is generally shipped in fishing-boats to St. Thomas. Value of imports, £4,417; exports, £6,095. Wages of labour, 6d. to 9d. a-day. Abundance of green turtle, and fish of various kinds, is obtainable; and 200 men are engaged in catching and curing it.

The conduct of the emancipated slaves has been orderly and industrious.

CHAPTER XII.—BAHAMAS, TURK'S ISLAND, AND THE CAICOS.

THE Archipelago, called Bahama, or *Lucayos*,* consists of a large number of small, irregularly-shaped, but generally long and narrow isles, situated on two banks of sand and coral, and surrounded by countless reefs, rocks, and shoals, stretching between Hayti and East Florida, in a diagonal line, for about 550 miles; being the Cays of Grand Bahama, in 27° 31' N. lat., 79° 5' W. long., and the islands of Mariguana and Inagua, in 20° 55' N. lat., 72° 40' W. long. The total area is 3,521 square miles.

HISTORY.—The discovery of these isles, the first to give assurance to Columbus of the reward which

* "*Lucayos*" was the native name for these islands, most of which are small and sandy; probably the term Cay or Key, commonly applied to small sandy islets throughout the West Indies, is simply a corruption of the original

awaited his patient research, has been already described (see p. 4). The numerous and gentle race, who so kindly welcomed the toil-worn adventurers, soon fell victims to Spanish avarice, being deluded or forced from their homes, to work the mines in Hayti, or act as divers in the pearl fishery of Cumaná. From that period, up to about the year 1629, the Bahamas were left uninhabited; New Providence was then settled by the English, who held it until 1641, when they were attacked and expelled by the Spaniards, who after murdering the governor in a very barbarous manner, burned the habitations, and term. The Spanish word Cayos signifies Keys; but it is difficult to conjecture why the early navigators should have applied this name, unless, indeed, it were in allusion to the strange shape of the scattered isles.

departed. The island was re-colonised by the British in 1666; it continued in their possession until 1703, when the French and Spaniards again drove out the settlers, and destroyed the plantations. The Bahamas next became a rendezvous for pirates, whose sanguinary marauding expeditions in the West Indian seas became so alarming, as to induce the British government to re-settle the colony, as the best means for their suppression. An active and intrepid governor (Captain Woodes Rogers, R.N.) was appointed in 1718; and being well supported by a naval force, eventually succeeded in repressing these outrages; some of the leading pirates were slain, and the rest, by judicious lenity, brought to submission. Shortly after this, several of the other islands were settled.

In 1776, at the beginning of the American war, Commodore Hopkins, with a small squadron, attacked and plundered New Providence, and carried away the governor; in 1781, the island capitulated to a Spanish force of 1,500 men, under Don Galvez, but was recaptured by the daring enterprise of a young officer, named Colonel Devereux, and confirmed to England by the peace of 1783. When the independence of the United States was acknowledged, many loyalist families emigrated with their remaining property to these islands.

PHYSICAL FEATURES AND TOPOGRAPHY.—All the Bahamas, seen from a ship, are low, flat, and verdant.

NEW PROVIDENCE—on whose northern shores *Nassau*, the seat of government, is situated, is about nineteen miles in length and seven in breadth; mostly flat, and covered with brushwood and extensive lagoons, but by no means deficient in timber. *Lake Killarney*, in the interior, is three miles long, with a somewhat lesser breadth; it has numerous mangrove islets. A ridge of hilly rocks runs in an east and west direction; and upon them many of the buildings of Nassau are constructed, including an excellent government-house, spacious barracks, and Fort Charlotte. The streets are wide and airy, and the houses well built. The harbour is secure, but small, not admitting vessels drawing above fifteen feet water: it is sheltered on the north by *Hog Island*, which is little more than a reef of rocks.

ANDROS ISLANDS lie to the westward of New Providence, from which they are divided by a "tongue of ocean," as it is here called; they extend about thirty-three leagues in length. The northernmost is of considerable width, and contains much valuable timber (cedar); but the coast alone is inhabited, the interior being filled with swamps, jungle, and musquitos, sufficiently formidable, it appears, to forbid the approach of settlers, whether white or black.

HARBOUR ISLAND—is about five miles in length and one and a-half in breadth; the inhabitants are chiefly employed in ship-building and wrecking, as are also those of the large island, called **GREAT ABACO** (on the Little Bahama Bank), which is long and very narrow, and has four settlements; on the neighbouring Cays there are two villages.

ELEUTHERA—the principal fruit-growing island, is extensive, and of very irregular shape. Its east and north-east shores are washed by the Atlantic Ocean; while, on the westward, is the shallow and smooth water of the Great Bahama Bank. The port of entry is at *Governor's Harbour*. There are also settlements, named *Rock Sound*, the *Cove*, and the *Current*, on the western shore. At **CROOKED ISLAND**, **LONG CAY**, and **NUM CAY**, the people are chiefly engaged in procuring salt—"salt-raking," as it is

termed; but in the last-named island there is some stock raised and ground cultivated. **SAN SALVADOR**, **GUANAHANI**, or **CAT ISLAND**, has good anchorage, and is generally believed to be the first land seen by Columbus. There are two settlements upon it. The population of **GREAT** and **LITTLE EXUMA**, and the **EXUMA CAYS**, are engaged in agriculture, cotton-growing, and salt-raking, which last is their mainstay. The port of entry is at Little Exuma.

There are four *light-houses*: 1. a fixed light on Hog Island, entrance of Nassau harbour; 2. a revolving light, 160 feet above the sea, on the south-east point of Abaco; 3. do., 80 feet above the sea, at Gun Cay; and, 4. a fixed do., 100 feet do. at Cay Sal.

LONG ISLAND—is seventy miles in length and only three or four in width; has an anchorage on its east side, called *Great Harbour*, and exports salt, sponges, conch-shells, and turtles. **RAGGED ISLAND** exports salt largely to the United States. In **GRAND BAHAMA ISLAND**, Indian corn is raised, and other agricultural pursuits are followed. The **BERRY** group, of which the chief is *Stirrup's Cay*, has a scanty population, chiefly employed in the melancholy business of wreckers. The **BIMINIS** are small, but afford good anchorage on the south-west, and have each a well of fresh water. **INAGUA** and **MARICUANA**, the most eastward or windward of the Bahamas, though little known, are reported to exceed all the others in fertility. The former has several prairies, and an enormous salt pond, covering an area of about 1,600 acres, which a joint-stock company are now profitably working.

GEOLOGY.—No rocks of primitive formation have been found; the base is coral reefs. The surface stratum consists of the debris of coral, shells, madrepores, marine deposits, and decayed vegetable matter. Here and there strata of argillaceous earth may be seen, and marl occasionally on some of the outer islets. Porous limestone is quarried for building purposes; it is also used for drip-stones. Meteoric stones have been found rudely sculptured with human features by the aborigines; and at Turk's Island a great number of calcareous balls were discovered, all bearing an indentation, as though a pedicle had been attached to them. There are no traces of minerals, but, at Inagua, the water of several wells blackens silver as if it had been in contact with sulphur.

SOIL AND PRODUCTIONS.—The calcareous masses of which the Bahamas are formed, would, to an inexperienced eye, convey an idea of hopeless sterility; yet, owing to the porous quality of the stone, and its consequent power of retaining moisture, many of the isles (even those most covered with rock) produce increasing quantities of Indian and Guinea corn, grass, vegetables, and fruit of all kinds, the latter in great abundance, particularly the pine-apple, the orange, and the lemon, all of which seem to flourish, to an extraordinary degree, in the midst of huge blocks, which retain the moisture. There is excellent pasturage for cattle, which not only obtain their food from natural grasses, but browse on the branches of the *lignum-vitæ* and other small native trees. There is some excellent timber for ship-building on the larger islands, where varieties of mahogany, brazilletto, satin-wood, cedar, pimento, wild cinnamon, &c., are to be found. Crops on the small islands are frequently damaged by the spray driven from the sea during violent gales of wind.

THE CLIMATE is equable, but, although for the

greater part, the archipelago is situated without the tropics, the heat of summer is considerable. From May to September the thermometrical range is from 73° to 93°, July, August, and September being the hottest months. The prevailing winds, from October to March, are north-east and north-west; during the remainder of the year it blows from the south-east. From the 1st of November to the 1st of May, the temperature is very grateful; the north-east, north, and north-west winds from the continent of America, impart an invigorating coolness to the atmosphere, and render it well adapted for invalids, especially for persons with bronchial affections; for this advantage, Nassau is resorted to by American citizens, who are subject to pulmonary disease. The salubrity of the climate is attested by the healthy appearance and robust forms of the creoles. Cholera has never visited the Bahamas. The vernal and autumnal seasons are distinctly marked by deciduous vegetation. The early and the late rains are abundant. The annual fall is from 43 to 45 inches; exceeding October, November, and December, it is

pretty equally distributed over the other months. Hurricanes occasionally occur; a very severe one was felt on the 3rd of October, 1796, which, in one night, destroyed all the vessels in Nassau harbour but three. On the 21st of July, 1801, another hurricane did much damage on the land, and 120 sail of vessels were counted as wrecks on the shore. A tornado of some violence took place in 1850.

POPULATION.

Year.	Whites.	Free coloured.	Blacks, or slaves.	Total.
1722	830	—	310	1,140
1731	935	—	453	1,388
1773	2,052	77	2,241	4,370
1812	3,872	1,600	11,000	16,472
1826	4,570	2,259	9,186	16,015
1834	4,240	2,991	10,086	17,317
1841	6,062	—	18,649	24,711
1844	—	—	—	25,292
1851	6,243	—	21,276	27,519

Note.—No classified returns in the year 1844.

Population of the Bahamas, in 1851.

Islands.	Area in square miles.	Whites.		Coloured.		Total.		Total Male and Female.	Mouths to square mile.
		Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.		
New Providence and Cays	80½	713	821	3,106	3,519	3,819	4,340	8,159	100
Harbour Island	8	484	469	451	436	935	905	1,840	230
Eleuthera and Cays	100	605	606	1,715	1,684	2,320	2,290	4,610	46
Rum Cay	36	19	18	419	402	438	420	858	21
Crooked Island	160	10	2	544	536	554	538	1,092	6
St. Salvador	101	15	12	897	901	915	913	1,828	18
Exuma and Cays	75	74	70	958	925	1,032	915	1,947	27
Long Island	135	100	94	649	634	749	728	1,477	10
Abaco and Cays	225	280	598	418	415	998	1,013	2,011	8
Ragged Island	6	8	8	175	156	183	164	347	5
Andros Island	1,656	1	—	519	510	520	510	1,030	0½
Grand Bahama	210	1	—	491	430	492	430	922	4
Berry Island	8	4	3	133	196	137	99	236	20
Biminis and Gun Cay	3	49	40	33	28	82	68	150	50
Walting's Island	60	8	5	184	187	192	192	384	6
Inagua and Maricuana	657	32	22	333	136	372	158	530	0½
Green Cay	1	2	5	—	—	2	5	7	7
Cay Sal	1½	7	4	—	—	7	4	11	176
Total	3,521	2,722	2,777	11,025	10,995	13,747	13,772	27,519	—

Note.—Births, in 1851, 1,206, deaths, 576.

There is an extensive building in New Providence for the reception of poor and infirm persons from all the islands: the total number of inmates during 1851 was, *poor and infirm*, males, 22, females, 22; *lunatics*, males, 777; *lepers*, males, 3, female 1, = 62. The average cost of each inmate was 9d. per day; the charge for the year, £1,054. A public dispensary supplies the poor with medicine and medical advice.

Droghing, fishing, and wrecking, give employment to no inconsiderable portion of the population. The last-named business is carried on under the provisions of a colonial law. Many vessels are annually lost here. The wreckers go in search of them in well-built fast-sailing schooners, whose nardy crews are skilled in diving in deep water, whereby much valuable property and many lives are saved. Until the local legislature passed an enactment on the subject, the men who saved passengers had no lien on the cargo or ship for remuneration; and it

was advantageous that no living beings should be found on board the ill-fated vessel. Now, the saving of life is made to some extent consistent with the remunerative preservation of property. When the crew are all drowned, or abandon the ship, the wreckers obtain salvage, amounting mostly to 75, but sometimes to 95, per cent out of the *nett* amount realised, after payment of the charges of the Vice-Admiralty Court. The value of the wrecked goods brought into the custom-house of the Bahamas during the years 1848-'49-'50 was, £90,413. The whole property is subjected to a duty of 15 per cent on its value, as ascertained by the auctioneer's hammer at the "Vendue House," erected on the wharf at Nassau, where cases and packages, whose contents are little more than guessed at, are almost daily put up for auction.

The deep-rooted prejudice against the coloured race, is combated by the personal efforts of the present excellent governor (Gregory); but it is still pain-

fully conspicuous in some of the smaller islands. At Nassau, however, a better spirit is manifested, and white, coloured, and black jurors walk indiscriminately into the jury-box, and perform their important functions on a footing of the most perfect equality. Three of H.M. justices of the peace are pure negroes; two of them were formerly slaves; and they recently sat on the bench with the governor and other white magistrates, and showed themselves well-qualified for the judicial office.

The emancipated population generally appear to be favourably distinguished by habits of sobriety, order, and decency. The administration of the Holy Sacrament in Nassau is rendered very striking, by the numbers, respectable appearance, and devout fervour of the former slaves, as they kneel before the Communion table beside their white fellow-subjects. The fruit of the persevering exertions of the ministers of religion is daily visible in the tranquillity of the streets, the strict observance of the Sabbath, and the rarity of heinous crime. Concubinage (one of the many legacies of slavery) is being gradually superseded by the marriage contract; and religious instruction has also had the effect of raising up a spirit of brotherly love among the negroes.—(Despatch of Governor Gregory, 15th May, 1850).

GOVERNMENT.—A governor, council, and representative Assembly of seventeen members. The salary of the governor is £2,000 per annum, of which £1,200 is paid by England, and £800 by the colonists. He has also one of the best government residences in the West Indies.

RELIGION.—The Bahamas are included in the diocese of Jamaica. Provision is made by law for clerical duty in the thirteen parishes of the colony; but their insularity prevents effective visitation. Connected with the Church of England, there are nine churches and eleven chapels, with 4,078 members, of whom 988 are communicants. There is a Presbyterian church at Nassau, endowed by the local legislature. The Wesleyans have two capacious chapels at New Providence, and places of worship at several of the other islands. The Baptists and Anabaptists have also several chapels. The Church of England has an archdeacon and twelve clergymen; the Presbyterians, one minister; the Wesleyans, five; the Baptists, several missionaries in connexion with England, and others of African descent. The legislature, in 1851, voted £300 towards the erection of three Methodist chapels.

EDUCATION.—In 1833, there were seven public free-schools, with 227 males, and 231 female scholars; now there are twenty-two public schools, supported by funds voted by the colonial legislature, and entrusted to the disbursement of an education board. The system adopted is that of the British and Foreign Society. Number of scholars, males, 1,022; females, 835 = 1857; teachers, thirty-seven, besides stipendiary pupil teachers, and paid monitors. The Church of England have 858 children in daily, and 1,999 in Sunday schools. Governor Gregory, who recently inspected all the schools, says—

“The general intelligence of the negro children, and the quickness with which they answered the numerous questions of myself and others upon a variety of subjects, struck me very forcibly;” * * * “in no part of the world have I ever seen greater proofs of anxiety on the part of parents (most of whom, a few years ago, were in the abject condition of slaves) to have their offspring educated. Children of tender age are to be seen, in almost every island, walking four or five miles a-day, through rocky and rugged paths, to and from school.

In 1851, out of 27,619 inhabitants, 8,126 were able to read.

There is a reading-room, library, and museum at Nassau, including a working-man's library, with suitable books, and a low scale of subscription adapted to their means.—(*Blue Book* for 1851, by Lieutenant-governor Nesbitt.)

CRIME.—Inconsiderable and diminishing. There is an excellent stone gaol at Nassau, and small prisons in the principal islands; but they are generally untenanted.

PRESS.—Three semi-weekly newspapers, and one or two almanacks.

FINANCE.—Revenue in 1833, £10,201; in 1851, £26,105; independent of £1,701 local taxes. The rent received from the salt-ponds in three years, ending 1850, was £2,194, which was expended on the ponds in their keep and improvement. There is a colonial debt of £18,787, after deducting the liability of the Turk's Island government; interest, at the rate of 5 per cent., is paid quarterly. It was commenced about the year 1830, when the Assembly (in their fierce opposition to the humane measures of Governor Smyth for the prevention of the flogging of women, and the better treatment of the slaves), stopped the supplies for four years. The public bank at Nassau (of which the profits are appropriated in aid of the local revenue) issues paper-money to the amount of about £16,000. Coin in circulation, about £20,000; specie in Nassau bank, gold, £8,000; silver, £18,000.

Wages.—Domestics, males, 40s., females, 20s. per month; labourers, males, 18. 6d., females, 1s. per day; trades, 4s. **Prices.**—Beef and mutton, 7½d. to 9d.; turtle, 2½d.; wheaten bread, 3d.; butter, 1s. 6d. to 2s. per lb. Price of land 6s. to 10s. per acre.

COMMERCE.	1833.	1851.
Imports . . value	£123,735	£117,318
Exports . . .	75,875	75,552

Note.—Tonnage inwards, in 1833, 28,377; in 1851, 36,038. The returns for 1833 include, and for 1851 exclude, Turk's Island and Caicos.

The principal trade is with the United States. Formerly, cotton was extensively cultivated; in 1791 the export from the Bahamas amounted to 1,392,348 lbs.; attention is again being given to this useful product.

The consumption of salt is very large in the United States; it is said to average 40 lbs. annually per head; owing to the extensive use of the article in the curing of meat and fish. In 1841, six million bushels were made in the States, and seven million imported = thirteen million bushels. In 1837, about seventeen million bushels were consumed, of which ten were imported. The demand has continued increasing; but the domestic manufacture has not been proportionately augmented, owing to the disappearance of the forests before advancing civilisation. Salt, obtained by solar evaporation, is found to be more effective for the preservation of fish (for which purpose it is ground in mills) than mineral salt. The Bahama Salines are therefore extremely valuable. Other items are being added to the brief export list of these isles; sponge was exported in 1850 to the value of £5,700; in 1851 it rose to £14,000; fruit (pine apples, oranges, &c.) increased, in the same time, from £8,000, to £12,600. Hard and dye woods, and turtle are also exported. The value of salt shipped in 1851 was, £16,600; the number of

bushels furnished for export was, from Rum Cay, 249,909; Exuma, 115,356; Crooked Island, 112,878; Ragged Island, 100,500; the other isles contributed smaller quantities.

The average cost of the salt put on board ship is 3d. per bushel; an export duty is levied at the rate of 5 per cent. *ad valorem*, generally at one farthing per bushel; the price obtained in the United States is 5d. to 6d. per bushel. A rent is paid by the lessees of the salt ponds, amounting, upon an average, to 30s. per acre. The leases, for the term of twenty-one years, are sold by the government, by public auction.

The number of acres of land granted to individuals is, 277,824; the remainder still belonging to the crown, is estimated at 911,841. Inagua has 366,382; St. Salvador, 26,690; Crooked Island, 79,891; and Long Island, 27,660 acres of ungranted land; with valuable salines or salt-pans, and turtle-ponds for breeding. The sale of crown land (which, during the three years ending 1851, amounted to £1,053) "exhibits the increasing ability of the population to purchase their own homestead, and field for cultivation; neat cottages and other more substantial buildings may be seen springing up at various points of the colony, in proof of an increasing successful industry, and corresponding comfort."—(*Blue Book*, report for 1851).

TURK'S ISLAND AND THE CAICOS.

THIS portion of the Bahama Archipelago, situated between the parallel of 21° and 22° N., in consequence of the reiterated entreaties of the inhabitants, has been recently separated, by an order of her majesty in council, from the Bahama government, and erected into a presidency, under the control of the governor of Jamaica. Turk's Island* and its Cays have an area of twenty-one square miles, and the N,W,E, and Grand Caicos, together with *Providen-*

ciales, *Ambergris*, and other cays, extend over about 450 square miles. The bank on which this group is placed, is about sixty miles long, by fifty broad, with not more than six to twelve feet of water. Turk's Island, &c., are also on a narrow bank, of about thirty-five miles in length. It is estimated that there are on the Caicos 55,905 acres of waste land, of which 8,000 are under water, 19,000 barren and unfit for cultivation, 10,648 remaining of escheats that have been cleared, and 18,257 under grant and uncleared. In Turk's Island there are 5,000 acres waste. The aspect is for the greater part that of a moderately elevated platform, about 400 feet above the sea, very sterile and rocky, almost incapable of yielding any vegetable food, and without springs; rain-water is preserved in tanks. The number of the inhabitants is about 3,000, of whom but a small proportion are white, and these are generally wealthy, being the proprietors of salt-pans; in which, however, some of the blacks have a limited share. They are a cheerful, industrious people, remarkably free from crime, and in religious fellowship under clergymen of the Church of England, Wesleyan, and Baptist denominations. Their government is administered by a president, appointed by the Crown, aided by a council of eight, four of whom are elected by a majority of such of the tax-payers as are able to read and write English; the other four are nominated by the Crown.

The settlement is prosperous; according to a despatch from Mr. President Forth, dated 31st of January, 1853, it appears that the total revenue is about £8,000 per annum; the value of the imports in 1852, £29,467; of the exports, £24,826;—the tonnage inwards; vessels, 383; tons, 39,796. The quantity of salt exported, was, in 1851, 766,422* bushels, value £17,245; in 1852, 1,061,177, £22,035. All the trade is carried on with the Americans, who frequently send their new vessels here for a cargo of salt, as it preserves the timbers from dry rot.

CHAPTER XIII.—THE BERMUDA, OR SOMER ISLES.

THIS low and isolated archipelago, the still-vexed Bermoothes "of Shakspeare," situated in the North Atlantic, in 32° 20' N. lat., 64° 50' W. long, is 600 miles from Cape Hatteras, in North Carolina, the nearest point of land. The isles are said to be as numerous as the days of the year, but the majority are mere nameless specks, scarcely elevated above the ocean; an elliptical belt of coral reefs surrounds them, measuring about twenty-seven miles at the largest axis of its inner circumference, and fourteen at the smallest. The area is stated at 12,000 acres.

HISTORY.—In 1527, a Spaniard, named Bermudez, sighted these shores during a voyage across the Atlantic. In 1593, Henry May, and twenty-five other survivors of a shipwrecked crew, were cast upon the north-western coast. They found the remains of Spanish, Dutch, and French vessels; and after sojourning five months on these desert isles, subsisting chiefly on turtle and bread, prepared from the palmetto berry, engaged meanwhile in building a bark of eighty tons, from the valuable native timber, they managed to fit it out with stores saved from the wreck, and sailed for England, whither they arrived in safety. In 1609, Sir George Somers being wrecked here, on his way to Virginia, of which

colony he had been appointed deputy-governor, took possession of the islands for the Crown of England; all his crew, 150 in number, were saved, and, following the example of their predecessors, set to work in the construction of two small cedar vessels, in which there was not any iron, except a bolt in the keel. At the end of ten months, their labours being completed, they succeeded in reaching Virginia; they probably left live-stock behind them, as Somers, on his arrival, was sent back to Bermuda to procure a supply, and died there, exhausted by fatigue.†

A settlement was formed in 1611, by the brother of Sir George Somers, who brought with him about

* So-called, it is said, from the abundance of a beautiful species of cactus, resembling a turban cushion or "Turk's Cap."

† In the parish church of St. George's there is a monument, with an inscription setting forth that,

"In the year 1611,

Noble Sir George Somers went hence to heaven."

And adds, in allusion to his request, that, though his mortal remains should be carried to England for sepulture, his heart should be left in Bermuda:—

"At last his soul and body being to part,
He here bequeathed his entrails and his heart."

sixty persons. The first governor, named Moore, selected a plain in St. George's Island on which to erect his palmetto hut, and the rest of the adventurers establishing themselves near him, it soon became a place of some importance. In 1614, the Spaniards formed a plan for the capture of the islands, which being defeated, they appear to have relinquished the idea. A regular form of government was soon afterwards established, a militia organised, and defences constructed. The civil wars which terminated the reign and life of Charles the First, occasioned a large accession of inhabitants. Among the exiles was the celebrated royalist poet, Waller; but on the Restoration, many of them returned to England, vaunting loudly the soft beauty and salubrity of the lonely isles which had afforded them a safe and peaceful asylum. During the War of Independence, the Bermudas became the seat of a regular court of admiralty, and the prize ships carried into its harbours made the fortunes of several individuals.* Washington well knew the value of these isles, and desired to annex them to the republic, that they might become "a nest of hornets to annoy the British trade;" but his politic desire was rendered fruitless by the precautions taken by the home government to fortify these possessions, and render them a great naval station, for which their situation peculiarly fitted them, affording (during the war with America) a near and safe retreat to the fleet, and at all times a convenient resting-place for West Indian vessels, being in fact the key to our transatlantic territories. Their strong natural defences have been recently rendered almost impregnable by costly and skilful fortifications. In these isles slavery long shed abroad its pestilential influence; the early laws and general treatment of the slaves appear to have been harsh and sanguinary, and, up to the termination of the last century, the ordinances of religion were almost totally disregarded. In 1798 there were, throughout the nine parishes, into which the colony was divided, only three clergymen, of whom one was a man of bad character, and another incapacitated for duty by age and infirmity. At this period the Wesleyans, at the request of certain colonists, sent out a zealous missionary named Stephenson, of tried piety and discretion. A small society (white and coloured) was soon formed, but the more bigoted planters strongly opposed the extension of religious instruction to their slaves, and, in 1800, procured the enactment of a law, declaring "that no man is to preach, exhort, lecture, write, or speak, or in any wise propagate, any doctrine to any collected audience, public or private, who is not ordained according to the rites and ceremonies of the church of England or Scotland, under a penalty of £50 and six months

* It was here that the poet Moore, through the interest of his patron, Lord Moira, was sent as registrar; being soon wearied with the monotonous and uncongenial nature of his occupation, he returned to England, leaving a deputy, who committed extensive malversations, and thereby involved his principal in heavy liabilities, which long oppressed him, but which he eventually fully and honourably discharged.

† Dr. Coke's *West Indies*, vol. iii., p. 253.

‡ When Mr. Stephenson had been imprisoned five weeks, the governor volunteered to liberate him, on condition of his quitting the Bermudas within sixty days; this offer he refused to accept, lest he should thereby injure the cause for which he suffered, but proposed, if liberated, to find bail for not repeating his offence, so long as the law which declared it such, should continue in force; but these terms were refused.

imprisonment for every offence." Mr. Stephenson having rendered himself liable under this arbitrary measure, was committed to trial, found guilty, and sentenced to the above-named punishments, as well as to pay the heavy costs of the court, the severity of the sentence being probably aggravated by the strong feeling displayed by parties in power; the attorney-general, for instance, asserting "that the Methodists were the cause of the rebellion in America, the revolution in France, and the disturbances in Ireland;"† ergo, they would excite a slave insurrection in the Bermudas. After six weary months,‡ spent in a loathsome jail, where, in addition to other wrongs, and injuries, the unfortunate prisoner was at an expense of no less than fifteen shillings a-day, he was at length discharged, and the law against non-conformists being still unrepealed, soon afterwards quitted the colony, almost worn out with sufferings, which his advanced age (being more than sixty years old) had rendered peculiarly trying. Even when the repeal of the persecuting law was proclaimed, the spirit in which it had originated was still so strong, that no minister was found to attempt the re-establishment of the mission until 1808, when a Mr. Marsden arrived, with his wife, and after much opposition and privation, succeeded in obtaining a firm footing. Since then, steady improvement has taken place in the character of all classes of the population, of which marked proofs were given by the more humane behaviour of masters, and the growing honesty of the slaves, so that, in 1834, the one party was ready to grant cheerfully, the other to accept with full advantage, the great boon of immediate freedom; the apprenticeship system here, as in Antigua, being dispensed with as cumbrous and unnecessary.

PHYSICAL FEATURES AND TOPOGRAPHY.—The four chief islands (which are separated from each other by narrow channels) form a chain extending north-east and south-west, in the shape of a shepherd's crook, for a distance of fifteen to twenty miles in a straight line, though considerably longer, if measured round the curve. *St. George's* is three miles and-a-half in length, *Bermuda* fifteen, *Somerset* three, and *Ireland* three. The breadth of the widest portion (Devonshire tribe or parish, in Bermuda) is two miles; and of the narrowest about one-eighth of a mile. The minor islands of *St. David*, *Cooper*, *Smith*, *Long Bird*, *Nonsuch*, &c., form numerous picturesque creeks and bays, several of which are very large and deep—such are the *Great Sound*, *Castle Harbour*, *Harrington Sound*, and others; the larger of which are from seven to fifteen miles in circumference, and being nearly land-locked, have somewhat the appearance of lake scenery without mountains, there being no eminence in the whole Archipelago of above 250

§ *Castle Harbour*, a noble piece of water, encircled by *St. David's*, *Bermuda*, *Long Bird*, and various isles and islets, is of very unequal depth, and dangerous for large vessels, by reason of its numerous banks and shoals of coral which are indicated by the different tints of the water, ranging from the deepest azure to the lightest hue of the chrysoprase. Through its clear waves, the soft, calcareous bottom looks like a flower garden, blooming with the more delicate descriptions of coral, the graceful lilac-coloured sea-fan (*Gorgonia Flabellum*), which is used for sieves, egg-whisks, &c.; the sea-rod, which resembles ebony, and being very flexible, is much esteemed for riding whips; the sea-feather; and brain stones without number. The large and fine oysters found adhering to the rocks or the coral, frequently contain pearls of very clear water.—(See an interesting work, published in 1835, by Miss Lloyd, entitled *Sketches in Bermuda*.)

feet. The northern coast, except at the dangerous passage by the north rock, which lies at the edge of the Bermuda Bank, opposite the northern coast of St. George's, is rendered inaccessible by a heavy surf, and a broad line of breakers extending above ten miles from the shore.

There is no large spring in the islands, and though wells may be obtained at a moderate depth beneath the surface, the water is generally brackish; that which falls from the heavens is therefore carefully preserved in stone tanks, and is usually sufficient to prevent any painful drought among the inhabitants; but it seriously detracts from the pastoral capabilities of these isles, and horned cattle thrive but poorly. Goats are very plentiful, they browse among the rocks, and supply the inhabitants with milk. Salted provisions are imported largely from the United States.

ST. GEORGE'S ISLE, the military station of the colony, and formerly the seat of government, commands the entrance of the only passage for large vessels, and has a land-locked harbour, with a narrow and intricate channel, defended by strong batteries; but, once entered, it is extremely spacious and commodious. The town has a pleasing appearance; the low houses, with their gay verandahs, extend along the water side, and are well built of the dazzling, snow-white Bermuda stone, which contrasts forcibly with the soft verdure of the neighbouring cedar groves and pasture; on a hill to the eastward, large and convenient barracks have been erected. BERMUDA, sometimes styled the *Continent*, from comprising by far the largest portion of connected land, is divided into several tribes or parishes; the seat of government, *Hamilton*, is situated on *Hamilton Harbour*, an inlet of the extensive natural basin, *Great Sound*; it is little more than an inconsiderable village; the back-ground is formed by barren, dreary-looking hills, on one of which stands the court-house. It is, however, convenient for trade, as the largest vessels unlade their merchandise at the very doors. The government house is well situated. Small hamlets or fishing villages dot the shores in every direction. IRELAND ISLAND, the most westerly of the group, is the chief naval and convict station; an extensive breakwater has been formed here by convict labour. A large and commodious hospital is situated in the highest part of the island; and the officers' residences are comfortable, and built in the English style. The dock-yard is kept in admirable order; in fact, ship-building has always been the forte of the inhabitants; and they still possess a good supply of suitable timber. Their chief communication is, from the strange shape of the isles* and the large and numerous lagoons, almost as necessarily by water as that of the people of Venice; and their cedar boats are very agreeable objects, seen sailing beneath an unclouded sky of the deepest blue, and on the bosom of waters so clear that the rocky depths below, the coral, the exquisitely-coloured shells, and the many varieties of excellent fish, in which these shores everywhere abound, are distinctly perceptible.

GEOLOGY.—The basis of the whole group is the work of the industrious coral zoophytes. Above it are layers of calcareous sand and limestone, formed from comminuted shells and corals, closely cemented together, and associated without any definite order of position, the harder limestone occasionally resting upon loose sand; the arrangement of the beds is often dome-shaped; but, in many instances, the

strata are singularly waved; and the dip varies much in the direction it takes, and the angle it forms with the horizon. The so-called Bermuda rock is too porous to be suitable for filtering-stones; it is easily wrought with axes and saws; is naturally friable, but becomes harder when exposed to the atmosphere, and changes in time from white to blueish-grey in hue: when covered with cement or lime, it is impervious to rain or damp. At the bottom of the basin, within the zone of coral reefs, there is a soft calcareous mud, resembling chalk, which is supposed to be derived from the decomposition of zoophytes. The hilly parts of the islands are composed of a calcareous sand, cemented by the action of water, so as to form a hard incrustation of carbonate of lime, about half an inch in thickness.

SOIL—of three kinds—light sandy, deep red, and, in marshy situations, peaty or decayed vegetable matter: all three yield profitable crops: the light sandy is specially adapted for Irish potatoes and onions: the average produce of the latter is not less than 24,000 lbs. per acre, valued at 5s. per 100 lbs. = £600: the red, which is also calcareous, contains a much larger proportion of clay and vegetable deposit, and, apparently, oxide of iron, it grows arrow-root in great perfection: the peat soil unites in its range of product nearly all the vegetables of temperate and of tropical climes. Colonel Reid, an officer of high scientific attainments, and an excellent ruler, effected great improvements while governor of Bermuda, and showed that the tops of the apparently barren and rugged hills, where stunted cedar and sage bush could barely exist, would, when brought under cultivation, furnish table vegetables, fruit, forest and ornamental trees—the ash of the northern regions, the old English oak, the mahogany, India rubber, and green heart of South America.

CLIMATE—is described as resembling that of Persia, with the advantage of a constant sea-breeze; there is a perpetual seed-time, for in winter the seeds of Europe germinate, and in summer those of the tropics. In December, January, February, and March, forming the cold season, the thermometer ranges from 60° to 66°; in June, the hottest month, from 83° to 86°; in April, May, July, August, September, from 75° to 79° Fahrenheit. The dew point ranges high, and the air is therefore moist and favourable to vegetation at all seasons. Frost is unknown; the warm gulf stream which flows from Florida towards Newfoundland, between Bermuda and the American continent, causes, especially in the winter months, an ameliorated temperature, and preserves the heat of the ocean so as to enable the coralline insect to build its rocky structures in this, the most remote point from the equator, where its living work is now found. Captain Page ascertained the main temperature of the sea to range from 61° in March, to 83° in August; mean for the year, 72° Fahrenheit.

DISEASES.—The Bermudas are usually healthy. During two centuries only four epidemics are recorded; one an influenza, with fever, in 1842, raged with violence among the convicts, troops, and white inhabitants, and killed many; but the coloured population were very slightly, if at all, affected by the malady. Rheumatism, in various forms of fever, and of violent tooth-ache, occasionally prevail; the worst is that apparently resulting from the humid exhalations of the marshes after heavy and continued rains: it is here termed the *dandy* or *broken-bone fever*, from the stiff and constrained positions involuntarily assumed by the sufferer.

* See Map in Division 7, vol. iv.

POPULATION.

Year.	Whites.	Free Coloured.	Blacks or Slaves.	Total.
1698	3,615	—	2,247	5,862
1721	4,850	—	3,514	8,364
1756	6,402	—	4,900	11,302
1774	5,632	—	5,023	10,655
1783	5,462	—	4,919	10,381
1805	4,500	—	5,800	10,300
1810	4,755	451	4,794	10,000
1834	3,900	740	4,203	8,843
1843	4,428		5,502	9,930
1851	4,669		6,423	11,092

Note.—Much of the data of the early population of our Western Slave Colonies are derived from a report of the Lords' Committee of the Privy Council, on the Slave Trade, submitted for H.M. consideration in 1789; there is little other reliable information.

Census of 1851.

Parishes, or tribes.	Whites.		Coloured.		Total.
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	
St. George . .	365	436	431	659	1,891
Hamilton . .	177	200	330	387	1,094
Smith's . .	103	135	128	148	514
Devonshire . .	129	217	208	230	784
Pembroke . .	431	606	495	703	2,235
Paget . .	195	293	233	317	1,038
Warwick . .	189	270	241	283	983
Southampton .	145	218	246	308	917
Sandys . .	231	329	520	556	1,636
Total . .	1,965	2,704	2,832	3,591	11,092

Note.—Houses inhabited, 1,796; uninhabited, 90; building, 26. This is exclusive of troops, of persons in the service of the Crown, or of the convicts sent from England to labour in the fortifications and dockyard, whose number, in 1851, was 1,535. Deaths of convicts during the year, 39.

The increase of population since 1843, has been at the rate, among the whites, of one-eighth; coloured, two-eighths per cent. per annum; in 1851, births, 344; deaths, 134. The females, on the whole population, are nearly one-seventh in excess of the males. In the census of 1843—births to deaths—whites, 12 to 10; in 1851, 22 to 10; coloured, 18 to 10, and 26 to 10. The emigration of young white men accounts for the increased proportion of white females to males; but the governor thinks that the increasing ratio of births to deaths in the coloured population must be ascribed altogether to their improved comfort, intelligence, and morality. It is gratifying to remark, that while there has been a large increase since the abolition of slavery in the consumption of articles of food and raiment, there has been an extensive diminution in the importation of rum.”—(*Blue Book for 1850. Report dated 4th June, 1851, p. 27.*)

GOVERNMENT.—A governor, council of nine, and house of assembly, of thirty-six members.

RELIGION.—The Church of England establishment

* The Bermuda arrow-root possesses one great advantage over the West Indian, in being less subject to adulteration; for cassava is scarce, and flour expensive. That grown on St. George's and St. David's is the finest; the limestone soil being best adapted to its culture. The stalk, which, from its resemblance to an arrow, has given its name to the plant, rises, in a single shaft, to the height of two or three feet; and is surmounted by a tuft of

is included in the diocese of Newfoundland. There are four Church of England clergymen, including one chaplain for the dockyard and one for the military. There are also one Presbyterian, one Wesleyan, and one Roman Catholic minister. The religious denominations are—Church of England, 9,322; Wesleyan, 1,018; Presbyterian, 579; others, 113.

EDUCATION.—Twelve free schools, containing 271 male, and 300 female pupils, = 571. Legislative grant for these establishments, £509. There are nine private schools.

CRIME.—Commitments in 1851, number 95, chiefly for petty offences. The convicts sent from the United Kingdom have hitherto been confined in five prison hulks: barracks, I believe, are now constructing on shore for their custody.

PRESS.—A newspaper and almanack.

FINANCE.—Revenue in 1833, about £10,000; in 1851, £11,376. The local or municipal revenue amounts to £2,168. Commissariat payments for military purposes in 1851, £36,713: ordnance department, £12,309: naval storekeeper, agent, victualler, and hospital, £18,695. Charge for the convicts in 1851, £33,910. An annual grant of £4,049 is voted by the Imperial Parliament in aid of the civil disbursements of the colony; of this, £2,199 goes towards the governor's salary of £2,800 a-year. There have been expended in the islands, on roads and public undertakings, irrespective of military works, £43,083. A large expenditure has been incurred by the British government for fortifications and naval works. The yearly sum was reduced from £96,000, in 1846, to £78,000 in 1849. The maintenance of the convicts costs about £23 annually per head.

COMMERCE.—Imports, exports, shipping, and produce:—

Details.	1833.	1851.
Imports	£79,740	£123,710
Exports	£29,954	£22,753
Shipping inwards . . tons .	14,675	32,693
<i>Produce</i> —		
Arrowroot lbs. .	44,651	854,329
Onions	291,550	838,070
Potatoes	46,959	49,268
Garden vegetables . lbs. .	206,520	256,136

Maize, barley, carrots, turnips, and tomatoes have been added to the list of products since 1833, and the area of cultivation has been largely increased. The potato disease, which appeared here in March, 1850, after unusually heavy rains, checked the production of that valuable esculent, which was exported in 1851 to the value of £3,880; also onions to the amount of £1,906, and arrowroot, £10,334. An acre of land capable of producing arrowroot,* gives an annual return to the value of £35; but the number of acres under tillage, including gardens, is only 1,227; in grass for cattle fodder, 33; in wood or natural pasture, 10,339. The live stock in 1851, consisted of horses, 259; mules, 5; asses, 31; neat cattle, 1,643; sheep, 227. Farming implements—

pale green flowers, which are succeeded by small berries. The light green leaves, not unlike those of the lily of the valley, grow each separately from the root, the ripeness of which is denoted by their decay; it is then taken out of the ground, and the end broken off and reserved for the next planting; the remainder being dried and prepared (either by hand-sieves, which is a very tedious process, or mills) in the form of a pure light starch.

carts, 186; ploughs, 104. The rowing boats number 445, and the sailing 123. The shores of the islands abound with fish, which contribute largely to the food of the inhabitants. There is a small coast whale fishery, yielding in the season about twenty whales, which furnish nearly 1,000 barrels of oil.* Excellent vessels, of a small size, are built at Bermuda; the number belonging to the colony is

thirty-nine, with a tonnage of 2,595, manned by 227 seamen. The Bermuda craft are very durable, dry carriers, and cheaply navigated; they are principally employed in conveying sugar and rum from the French West Indies to the United States. Governor Elliott reported, in August, 1852, that the progress of the settlement "continued to be satisfactory, particularly in the rural industry of the people."

CHAPTER XV.—HONDURAS, THE BAY ISLANDS, MOSQUITO TERRITORY, AND THE CAYMANS.

(DEPENDENCIES OF JAMAICA.)

THE British settlement at Honduras is situated in Central America, between the parallels of 15° and 19° N. lat., and 88° and 90° west long. The eastern boundary is formed by the Gulf of Honduras, the north-eastern by the State of Yucatan, and the west and south by that of Guatemala. The length is about 200, and the breadth 100 miles, but the boundaries are imperfectly defined; it is, therefore, impossible to state the area correctly, but it has been loosely estimated at 62,000 square miles. The materials for an historical sketch of British occupation and relations on this coast are very scanty. The more authentic records have been destroyed in times of war, fire, and hurricane—and their loss is much to be regretted, since the subject upon which they have an important bearing may unhappily become matter of national controversy. The following information, the best I have been able to obtain, is given in small type, since it would otherwise occupy space that could be ill-spared:—

DISCOVERY AND HISTORY.—In 1502, Columbus, during his fourth and last voyage, sighted a small, but elevated island, which, from the number and description of its lofty trees, he named the Isle of Pines; it has, however, retained its Indian appellation—being generally known as Guanaja (though sometimes called Bonacca); and this term has been extended to the smaller adjacent isles. While landing at Guanaja, which lies some leagues to the eastward of the Gulf of Honduras, a great canoe arrived as from a distant country. It was eight feet wide, and as long as a galley, though formed of the trunk of a single tree; in the centre was an awning of palm leaves, under which, protected alike from sun and rain, sat a cacique, with his wives and children, with twenty-five Indian rowers. The canoe contained specimens of the various manufactures and productions of the neighbouring continent. According to Herrera (book v., c. 5.), there were blankets and carpets of plaited cotton and palm-leaves, worked and dyed with various colours; wooden swords, with channels on each side the blade, in which sharp flints were fixed by cords made of the intestines of fishes; agate knives, copper hatchets, bells and medals, together with great quantities of cacao, a berry as yet unknown to the Spaniards, but which the natives held in great estimation, using it both as food and money. They made a description of bread from maize, as also a kind of beer. The women wore mantles, in which they wrapped themselves,

like the female Moors of Granada; the men had cotton cloths about their loins. Persuading or compelling an old man to accompany him as an interpreter, Columbus stood southwardly, until he reached the point of land at present known as Cape Honduras, but which he named *Cazinas*, from its being covered with trees bearing a fruit resembling the apple, so called by the aborigines. The fertile land was everywhere verdant and beautiful; the pine, the chesnut, and the palm, afforded deep shade from the fervour of a tropical sun, which was further mitigated by constant but gentle ocean breezes. The people appeared numerous, and were well supplied with corn, fish, and fruit; they were finely formed in person, and conciliating in manners, but spoke different languages. The Spaniards unhesitatingly set aside their rights, took nominal possession of the territory in the name of their sovereign, and then proceeded to examine a few other parts of the coast.

In 1509, the province of Honduras was granted to Nicuesa (see *History of Jamaica*, p. 19), whose territory extended from the Gulf d'Uraba to Cape Gracias a Dios: a bishop's see was formed here, and several towns (of which Truxillo was the chief), but the majority of these were deserted before they were finished. The mines of Honduras were soon exhausted or forsaken for more promising tracts, not, however, until they had been the tombs of, it is asserted, no less than a million enslaved Indians. The land became almost depopulated, and would probably have been left utterly desolate, but for its unrivalled stores of mahogany and logwood. The pirates, who swarmed around the greater Antilles, frequently sought fresh prey upon the shores of Honduras and Yucatan; and, in the latter part of the sixteenth century, Truxillo was taken, pillaged and inhabited by an Englishman of the name of Barker, who built a vessel there, and retired with it before the Spaniards had recovered from their astonishment. Some time afterwards, Newport, another British adventurer, succeeded him—captured four caravels laden with quicksilver, silk, and pearls, and returned to England through the Bahama passage. Gage visited these shores in 1630, and described the chief place as being inconsiderable, and having less than 500 inhabitants; the kindness of the remaining aborigines he spoke highly of, declaring that "the poor Indians thought neither their personal attendance nor anything that they enjoyed, too good for the strangers." At this time, hides, *canna fistula*, logwood, and sarsaparilla, were the chief articles of export.—(*Gage's Survey of the West Indies*, p. 159.)

In 1638 Willis, the notorious buccaneer,† settled on the

* The catching of a whale is a season of great rejoicing among the poorer classes, who, from the scarcity of live stock, rarely taste fresh meat from one year's end to another; many white people also, think a slice of young whale, fried, a dainty dish; and the more delicate parts are often passed off upon strangers as beefsteaks or cutlets. They eat monkeys in Trinidad, crapands (described by

Coleridge as "enormous frogs, of the colour and size of about ten fat toads") in Dominica; snakes, guanias, and other lizards in various islands; and why should whales be considered less edible?

† Buccaneer is derived from *boucan*, a word signifying a sort of wooden gridiron, on which these rough marauders used to broil whole, or "barbacue," the wild hogs they

banks of the river which bears his name. The Spaniards called it *Walis*, and it has since been corrupted into *Balise* or *Belize*. Another English colony was subsequently formed near Cape Cotoche, upon the coast of Yucatan, but the scarcity of logwood soon induced the settlers to migrate to the Laguna de Terminos, in the deep and sheltered bay of Campeche. The Spaniards actively opposed the new settlements, but the Indians of the Mosquito shore, who hated the very name of Spain, and would never suffer any one of that nation to enter their country, took part with the British immigrants. On the arrival of the Duke of Albemarle in Jamaica, in 1687, the Mosquito Indians sought the protection of his sovereign. They represented that, in the reign of Charles the First, the Earl of Warwick, on taking possession of Providence Island, near their own shores, had been very desirous of entering into a friendly correspondence, and had prevailed on them to let him take to England the son of their king, leaving as an hostage his own friend and companion-in-arms, Colonel Morris. The Indian prince, on his return after three years' absence, was so favourably impressed by what he had seen and heard of the power and justice of England, that he voluntarily declared himself her vassal, and, with all his tribe, professed allegiance. Sir Hans Sloane witnessed the Indians present a memorial to the governor to the above effect, and has recorded it in his *History of Jamaica*.—(Vol. i., p. 46.) They have ever since maintained an uninterrupted allegiance with England, and though often exposed to cruel injuries by the bad faith of the people of the neighbouring colonies, both Spanish and English, who captured and carried away many of them as slaves, they have sought redress only by appealing to the local government, or, that failing, to the higher powers at home.

English occupation was recognised by Spain in the treaty of 1670, which "confirmed to Great Britain a right to the Laguna de Terminos, and the parts adjacent, in the province of Yucatan; those places having been actually in possession of British subjects, through right of sufferance or indulgence."—(Reports of Board of Trade and Plantations, for 1717.) The same right or liberty was explicitly confirmed by the treaty of Utrecht, in 1713, and the settlements prospered, the exports of logwood, in 1716, being no less than 5,863 tons. In the following year the jealous Spaniards broke through every engagement, by making a sudden descent upon Campeche, destroying the town and capturing sixty-two sail of merchantmen, which had discharged their cargoes, and were loading with logwood as a return freight. The settlers took refuge at Belize, where their numbers were recruited by swarms of adventurers, who united with them in keeping up a desultory warfare with the Spanish inhabitants of the neighbouring shores and settlements, which lasted about forty years.

In 1742, a British military settlement was planted on the island of Ruan, or Rattan, in the Gulf of Honduras. The Mosquito Indians gladly assisted; a small town was built between two streams of fresh water, a fortress erected at the mouth of *New Port Royal Harbour*, and a governor appointed. A mutiny broke out among the troops, which was, however, speedily quelled, and several logwood-cutters migrated thither. In 1754, a Spanish force of about 1,500 men, from Peten, a town 200 miles to the westward, advanced upon Belize, but were gallantly repulsed by the "Baymen" (as the people inhabiting the shores and isles of the Bay or Gulf of Honduras are familiarly termed), and their slaves.

In 1763, by the treaty of Paris, the king of Spain agreed to guarantee their protection from molestation, in their occupation of wood-cutters; but obtained in return the unwise and unjust concession, that all fortifications erected by British subjects should be demolished, not only in the Gulf of Honduras, but also those which had been erected on the Mosquito shore (where a regular establishment of troops had been placed, in compliance with the wishes

took in hunting. They were, says Du Tertre, "*une sorte de gens ramassez*," that is, a mixed assemblage of men of all nations, who, from various offences, had been banished from civilized society. From this commencement sprang

of the natives). This unsatisfactory and unjustifiable arrangement, adopted by both parties as a matter of expediency, could not stop the strife attendant on national rivalry. Piratical expeditions were undertaken by both Spaniards and English, and these affrays had some share in the renewal of hostilities between the respective states in Europe. The Spaniards took advantage of an early knowledge of the proclamation of war, and with 500 or 600 men attacked the island, formerly known as St. George's Cay, which the Baymen occasionally inhabited as a refuge against the prevailing diseases of the main, and after a brief conflict, carried off many captives of both sexes, put them in irons, and then marched them blind-fold to Merida, the capital of Yucatan, from whence they were again countermarched to the sea-side, and shipped to the Havanna to be imprisoned in solitary cells. While the Spaniards were proceeding to complete the devastation of the island, three English vessels, under Commodore Luttrell, arrived upon the coast, collected the remainder of the scattered Baymen, and drove away the invaders with great precipitation. Captain Dalrymple, with a detachment of the "Loyal Irish," and a body of Indians, immediately afterwards joined the commodore; uniting their forces, and assisted by the Baymen, they formed a body of 500 men; and retaliated upon the enemy, by making a successful attack upon St. Fernando de Omoa, where they spared the lives of the garrison, on condition of the restoration of the captives taken at St. George's Cay. Omoa was soon afterwards retaken by the Spaniards, who continued to harass the settlers, until, in 1783, when the British government having resolved not to relinquish the settlement, obtained a somewhat more explicit understanding, in reliance upon which, the colonists, with their slaves, returned to Belize (having, it would appear, taken refuge in the Mosquito territory), and the boundaries of the settlement were extended by the express permission of the Spanish monarch, from the mouth of the Belize to that of the Siboon. This accession of territory and importance excited the deadly jealousy of the Spanish colonists of Yucatan; and the wily governor silently prepared a formidable armament of 2,000 troops, assisted by 500 seamen, whom, in 1796, he embarked on board a flotilla of thirty-one vessels. The settlers at Belize were on their guard, and after watching the gathering storm, until it was ready to burst over their heads, they pursued a desperate but effectual method of defence, by burning to the ground their valuable possessions on St. George's Cay: they also removed the beacons which would have directed the enemy through the shoals, and, bravely and faithfully aided by their slaves, met the formidable armada with a little fleet, hastily collected, but resolutely manned. After an engagement of three hours' duration, the enemy was completely defeated, and retreated in confusion; the majority of their vessels were soon afterwards lost in a violent tempest by which they were assailed.

Encouraged by this triumph, the Baymen extended their operations; and forts were erected to protect them from further molestation. At the peace of Amiens, Honduras was, by some strange oversight, not even mentioned; and the settlers and merchants connected with the trade became seriously alarmed by the disposition manifested by the Spaniards (prompted by the French) to take advantage of this omission. The war, however, which speedily ensued, terminated the discussion; and Honduras has since remained undisturbed under British authority.

PHYSICAL FEATURES AND TOPOGRAPHY.—The shores of the bay are low, and thickly bordered with small verdant islands or cays, so numerous and so much alike, as to puzzle the most experienced sailor, and render navigation extremely difficult; receding from the coast, the country rises with a gradual ascent into bold highlands, interspersed with rivers

many of the daring, hardy, but cruel and unscrupulous marauders, whose piratical exploits were, for so long a period, the dread and terror of merchant vessels in the western seas.—(See *Jamaica*, p. 23.)

and lagoons, and covered with magnificent forests. *Belize*, the capital of the Honduras settlement, in 17° 29' N. lat., 88° 8' W. long., is situated at the southern mouth of a river of the same name, which divides the town into two parts, and is crossed by a substantial wooden bridge, 220 feet long, by 20 wide. That portion of Belize which stands on the south or right bank, extends along the eastern edge of a point of land, and is completely insulated by a canal on its western side, which runs across from a small arm of the sea forming the southern boundary. The court, government, and council houses are good buildings; there is also a Gothic-looking church, several chapels and schools. Of the private dwellings, constructed of the durable native woods, many are commodious and even elegant; they have upper and lower piazzas, and are generally raised eight or ten feet from the ground (which has been, in great measure, redeemed from the sea) on pillars of mahogany. —(See drawing of Belize in map of Central America.) The streets are shaded by groves and avenues of fine cocoa-nut and tamarind trees. The river, which has generally a north-east course, is alleged to be navigable 200 miles inland, for canoes or "pit-pans;" it receives numerous tributaries, and is connected with many lagoons; off its mouth there is safe anchorage for small vessels, with quays and wharfs; the channel of entrance, though intricate, is deep, and there is a good lighthouse, erected in 1821, on *Half Moon Cay*, about forty-three miles from the harbour. *Port George*, a substantial structure, is situated about half-a-mile from the mouth of the river, on a small, low isle, principally formed by the ballast from the shipping, every vessel being obliged to deposit here an amount proportioned to its tonnage. The seaboard of Belize is almost its only point of attack; to the north lie the barracks, behind which and all round, within the circumference of three or four miles, the country is hemmed in by wooded heights and marshes, and the more distant mountains form an impenetrable barrier, with only one pass, which is easily defensible by a small force.

The *Hondo*, which forms the northern boundary of British settlement, is a fine stream. *New River*, a few miles to the south of it, is of much less importance; it flows from an extensive inland lake or lagoon. Of the other water-courses little is known, save from the report of the wood-cutters, who, from the nature of their occupation, are little inclined to communicate any information calculated to lead others to intrude on the hidden spots where the finest timber is found. Some of the scenery is rendered extremely picturesque by waterfalls; one near the river and lagoon of *Manatee*, about thirty miles south of Belize, is described as peculiarly striking. A large sheet of water stretches northerly for several leagues; lofty hills, in many places ascend abruptly from its margin, forming wooded valleys, in whose deep recesses the tiger (here so called, though little resembling its terrible namesake in Bengal), the armadillo, opossum, antelope, and several species of deer, range securely; quails, plovers, pheasants, wild turkeys, and many varieties of the feathered tribe, also abound. Nor are the waters less amply furnished than the earth and air, the large marshes or shallow ponds, during the greatest part of the year, are filled with many kinds of fish, and their banks are frequented by wild ducks and other aquatic birds. During seasons of drought, the sea-fowl flock hither to prey upon the putrid fish destroyed by the evaporation of the waters; even the alligator

has not unfrequently been seen many miles in the interior, wandering over these trackless wilds, from one pond to another, in search of fish, timidly and warily pursuing his way, and evidently feeling towards man even a stronger terror than that which his formidable appearance and great strength inspires. The *Manatee* lagoon is supplied in the wet season by innumerable rivulets, but during the dry months by three streams only; viz., *Corn* and *Plantation Creeks*, and the *Main River*; the two first, though called creeks, extend so far inland that their sources are, or, at least, have been until very recently, unknown to the British settlers. The banks of the *Manatee* present several striking features; the rapids commence about eight or ten miles from the lagoon; a little further on is a remarkable cataract, a quarter of a mile in length, and of considerable acclivity, succeeded by a series of arched caverns or tunnels, which, during the floods, are impassable for days together. The country generally is technically spoken of under two heads, the *Pine* and *Cahoon ridges*, the pine trees extending over immense park-like tracts; while the latter term denotes a richly fertile soil, producing the wild cotton and other giants of the forest, interspersed with dense underwood.

Of the islands immediately off Belize, the only one of any importance is that formerly known as *St. George's Cay*, now called *Turneffe*, an agreeable and healthy spot, about three leagues distant, to which the colonists resort during the hot months.

GEOLOGY.—The structure of the high lands beyond the alluvial coast-line appears to be still unnoted. Alabaster and fine marble are said to exist in large quantities; valuable crystals have been found within 180 miles of Belize, and pieces of transparent felspar, which are used in ornamental stucco-work, are obtained at different parts of the river banks. Quantities of lava and volcanic substances are scattered in different situations. *Labouring Creek*, about 100 miles inland, is remarkable for the petrifying properties of its waters, which, when taken by strangers, have a cathartic effect; and a healing quality, when applied externally to ulcerations. Gold has been occasionally found in the *Roaring Creek*, a branch of the Belize river.

SOIL.—On the banks of rivers and creeks, a stiff loam, deposited from the waters during their frequent overflowings: on the *Cahoon* ridges, decayed vegetable matter, two to three feet in depth, and of unsurpassed fertility; the *Pine* ridge land has a substratum of loose reddish sand, and its indigenous products consist of those varieties of the vegetable kingdom, whose assimilative powers are strong and perennial.

CLIMATE.—Hot and moist in the neighbourhood of Belize, except during the dry and most healthy season, from the beginning of March to the end of May, when the mercury ranges from 75° to 86° Fahrenheit. In June, July, August, and September, there are frequent and heavy falls of rain, engendering marsh miasm by the decomposition of animal and vegetable matter in the adjacent lowlands and swamps, which is diffused over the town by night land-winds, and gives rise to remittent and other fevers; but of late years the partial clearing of the ground of both underwood and swamps around Belize, has had the natural effect of diminishing disease. During the remainder of the year there are occasional showers more or less heavy; and in October, November, and December, strong north and north-west winds, particularly when accompanied by rain,

cause at night a fall of the thermometer from 80° at noon to 60° Fahrenheit. The sea-breezes almost constantly prevail during the day from north-east, south-east, and east. Temperance and regular habits, here as in other tropical regions, often insure immunity from disease. The elevated inland region has a climate more congenial to the European constitution than that of the coast.

POPULATION.—There has never been a complete census of the settlement; this important duty being neglected, on the plea that the inhabitants were very much scattered, and it would require some time to make the enumeration. The number of slaves emancipated and paid for, in 1834, was, 1,901; at which period the inhabitants of Belize were stated to be, whites, 223; free coloured, 1,788. The present colonists are vaguely estimated at 10,000, of whom about 5,000 reside in and around the town of Belize. The population is of a miscellaneous character, consisting of Europeans, both English and Spaniards, and their descendants, Africans, Mosquito natives, and other Indians. The Honduras blacks are said to be little inferior to the whites in vigour of intellect; the Mosquito men are remarkable for fine muscular forms, but are said to be of slow intelligence; the Indians are a timid, inoffensive race in a low moral state.

GOVERNMENT.—A superintendent, acting under the governor of Jamaica, from whom he receives his commission—an executive council of nine, appointed by the same authority, and an assembly, or “public meeting,” elected by voters possessed of £60 each, which they are required to prove every three years. The qualification of a representative is the possession of £300, after payment of his just debts; and if twenty-five votes are recorded in his favour he is elected for life. There were, in 1848, sixty-four members of the “public meeting,” and fifty-nine voters; only thirty-three of the members were qualified to vote. Any British-born subject can require the provost-marshal to open a poll for seven days; and if the necessary twenty-five votes be recorded, the candidate is elected for life. No adverse votes are received. This singular system had its origin in the circumstance, that, for a long period the “Public Meeting” was the assembly of all the inhabitants, whereby their wishes were expressed; to which a qualification for electors and elected was subsequently annexed.

RELIGION.—Two ministers of the Church of England; one for the southern portion of Belize, with a salary of £600, and the other for the northern part of the town, with £300; both are subject to the diocesan of Jamaica. There is a flourishing Wesleyan Mission at Belize, and at Stan Creek, a Carib settlement, forty miles to the southward, where very praiseworthy exertions have been made. — (Superintendent Fancourt's report in 1848.) The Baptists have two chapels at Belize. A dispensary for the relief of the poor, combined with an asylum for the reception of lunatics, was established in 1847.

EDUCATION.—Six seminaries, with 467 pupils, including a grammar school, towards which £400 is paid out of the £900 voted annually by the colonial legislature for education.

* This does not include goods shipped from the Clyde, which were exported to the British West Indies in 1851, to the extent of 1,001,426 yards; of which, most probably, some went to Honduras.

† Its introduction is said to have originated from the circumstance of a West India captain having brought

PRESS.—One newspaper.

CRIME.—Comparatively small; an effective police force and firebrigade was organized in 1846.

FINANCE.—From 1807 to 1826, the revenue averaged £6,869 per annum; in 1851, it amounted to £17,964. Salary of superintendent, £1,650 per annum. Payments by Great Britain from commissariat chest for 1851, £12,378. A savings' bank was established in 1845; but on this and other matters there is no information in the annual reports of the superintendent.

COMMERCE.—fluctuates, according to the demand in the adjacent provinces of central America; the imports, exports, shipping, and products are thus shown in:—

Details.	1833.	1851.
Imports . . . value £	235,156	289,810
Exports	242,330	153,777
Ships Inwards . . . tons . .	14,018	22,582
Mahogany ¹ . . . feet . .	4,565,034	5,659,552
Cedar	—	7,773
Logwood	1,776	4,665
Sarsaparilla . . . lbs. . .	—	672,456
Tortoise-shell	—	1,505
Cocoa nuts . . . number .	—	386,600

Note.—¹ The quantity of mahogany cut depends upon the state of the foreign demand; in 1846, the export was 9,567,570 feet.

Among the other articles exported at present may be named cochineal, aniseed, balsams, Yucatan hemp, green turtle, rosewood, fustic, Brazilleto, horns, and skins. The mere official values now afford but a very imperfect criterion of the extent of the existing trade. The imports of cotton goods into Honduras from England* during the four years ending with 1852, has been, plain calicoes, 18,538,838 yards; and of printed or dyed, 8,466,442 = 27,005,280. In one year alone (1851) the import was nearly 9,000,000 yards. A large part of these calicoes pay for the cochineal, sarsaparilla, Yucatan hemp, and other articles, which are brought hither from the neighbouring states, in small coasters. Agriculture is entirely neglected, attention being almost exclusively directed to the cutting of mahogany and logwood, and preparing it for exportation, which employs about 2,000 men. The plough is never used, and the labouring classes, when they have diminished the productiveness of the land by successive crops of maize, yams, and plantains, abandon the spot, and make a fresh forest clearance with the axe and hoe. The entire line of coast between the Hondo and Sarstoon rivers is available for agricultural pursuits. Lately, some Spaniards, who have taken refuge in our territory from Yucatan, have commenced the cultivation of sugar and tobacco. The mahogany trade employs a large capital, and is very lucrative; the first trial of the wood was made in 1595 by a carpenter on board one of Sir W. Raleigh's vessels, then lying off Trinidad: its use commenced in England about the beginning of the eighteenth century.†

home some planks as ballast, which he sent to his brother, Dr. Gibbon (an eminent physician), who was then building a house; but it was rejected, as impracticable for working, from its extreme hardness. Some of it being subsequently made into a candle-box, and next into a bureau, which, from its variegated appearance and fine polish, soon became an

THE BAY ISLANDS.

RUATAN,* Bonacea, Utila, Barberet, and other islets in the eastern part of the Gulf of Honduras, occupied during the last century by England, are now chiefly tenanted by emigrants from the Caymans, who, finding it difficult to procure a livelihood, have migrated hither. The aggregate population is estimated at 1,500 to 2,000 souls, of whom about 200 are whites, including nearly 100 Spaniards, who resort to some of the islands from Yucatan. The majority are descended from the old English Buccaneers, by African mothers, and are an athletic race, of industrious habits, and good moral character. They have erected comfortable habitations, are cultivators of the soil and fishermen, and export coconut oil, pine-apples, and other fruit to Belize, New Orleans, and Truxillo, in exchange for manufactures and other necessities. Their exports amount in annual value to £5,000, and their imports to £4,000. They have formed for themselves a Legislative Assembly. The islanders have recently memorialized H.M. government that a resident magistrate should be appointed to dwell among them, for the management of local affairs, the settlement (along with their own justices of the peace) of civil disputes, and the trial of criminal offenders, under the decision of a jury of twelve inhabitants. They have also asked that the Legislative Assembly be convened, prorogued, and subject to the guidance of H.M. superintendent at Honduras, and propose to raise a fund of £300 to £400 a-year for the payment of the stipendiary magistrate to be sent from England.

object of curiosity; the Duchess of Buckingham asked the doctor for sufficient wood for a bureau; and mahogany furniture soon became in general request. The annual exportation for many years has ranged from five to six million feet. The tree is of immense size, and has a magnificent appearance, from the spread of the branches; it is said to require 200 years to arrive at full growth, and be fit for cutting. The trunk is most valuable on account of its dimensions, but the branches or limbs are preferred for ornamental purposes, the grain being closer, and the veins more variegated. The trunk is sawn into logs, which are subsequently roughly squared, for the convenience of ship stowage. The largest log known to have been cut in Honduras was 17 feet long, 5 feet 4 inches deep, and measured 5,168 cubic feet = 15 tons weight. The wholesale prices vary, at Liverpool, from 5*d.* to 9*d.* per foot. Messrs. Broadwood, the pianoforte-makers, are stated to have given £3,000 for three logs of mahogany, the produce of a single tree: they were each about 15 feet long by 38 inches square; and were cut into veneers of eight to an inch. The grain of this tree was particularly beautiful. When highly polished, it reflected the light like the surface of a crystal; and, from the wavy form of the pores, presented a different figure, in whatever direction it was viewed. A log, costing at Liverpool, £378, is calculated to yield about £1,000 when cut into veneers (thin slabs), of which £500 is assumed to be paid as wages to the English mechanics. While the mahogany delights in a comparatively dry and rich deep soil, the *logwood*, which is a low, crooked, prickly tree, thrives in swampy grounds, contiguous to fresh-water creeks and lakes, towards the edges of which, the roots (which are the most valuable part) extend. The wood is very dense, and so heavy as to sink in water: it admits of a fine polish; is of a deep red colour, which it yields to both alcoholic and aqueous menstrua; alkalies deepen the colour to that of purple or violet; acids turn it yellow: it is, therefore, much used for various dyes. There are several other trees; one, called the *pinus occidentalis*, grows to a height of sixty feet, with irregular branches and serrated leaves: owing to the quantity of turpentine and tar which it con-

Her Majesty's government have complied with these laudable requests, and the *Bay Islands* are now a dependency of the British province of Honduras. Measures are being taken to provide the colonists with a minister of religion and schoolmaster, for which they are very desirous. There was a remarkable immunity of crime among this young community, but the Spaniards, who have recently come among them, carry long knives, or stilettos, which have been used with deadly effects; it will therefore be necessary to establish a criminal jurisdiction.

THE MOSQUITO, MOSQUITIA, OR MOSCOS TERRITORY—

is situated on the Atlantic coast, to the eastward of the British settlement at Belize, and stretches to the southward, some say, only to the *San Juan River*, which communicates with Lake Nicaragua;† others assert its extension to the Chirique Lagoon, in the 9th degree of latitude.‡ The inland boundary is also undefined, but is claimed to a distance of from one to two hundred miles from the Atlantic. This fine region is still inhabited by the aboriginal Indians, who have maintained an independent position since the downfall of Montezuma, and cherish a hostile feeling towards the Spaniards, whose former cruelties have imbued the Mosquito race with a traditional hatred, which is continued to the present descendants of the Spaniards in America. For more than two hundred years (see page 166) the Mosquito chiefs and people, have continued in intimate relation and friendship with England; their territory has, on vari-

ties, the wood will sink in water when felled, and is of course highly inflammable; a torch, when stuck in the ground, forming an immense flambeau, around which the negroes collect at night in their dark forests. It is very durable; and even as posts, resists for years the decaying influence of damp ground. The *cahoun* or *co-hoon* yields an almost colourless vegetable oil, which emits an inodorous, pale flame, with little or no smoke. The affinity for oxygen is so great, that iron smeared with the oil very soon rusts; and its caloric is so easily abstracted, that, at the temperature of 60° Fahrenheit, it condenses into a wax-like substance, but resumes its original appearance on the application of heat. The *iron*, *clay*, and *rose woods*; the *palamaletia*, which is dark and beautifully figured; the *Santa Maria*, which possesses the properties of Indian teak; the *caoutchouc*, *sapodilla*, and many others abound, and might be applied to various useful purposes.

* Ruatan is about thirty miles long by eight miles broad; the surface is moderately elevated, and well wooded, but to the westward it consists of grassy plains. Near the southern extremity is the good harbour called Port Royal. The shores abound with turtle and fish: 5,000 Caribs were transported here from St. Vincent's in 1796 (see p. 128). Bonacea is the next to Ruatan in point of size, though greatly inferior.

† Nicaragua Lake is about 90 miles long by 30 broad; circuit, 465 miles; depth, 5 to 40 fathoms; height above the level of the Pacific, 128 feet: water pure. Its communication with the Atlantic by the San Juan River, is unobstructed by cataracts. Lake Leon, through which an extension of navigation might be made to the Pacific, is 48 miles long by 23 broad, and deep enough to receive the largest vessels.

‡ See Maps and Official Correspondence respecting the Mosquito Territory, presented to the House of Commons, 3rd July, 1848. H.M. government "are of opinion that the right of the King of Mosquito (who is under the protection of the British crown) should be maintained, as extending from Cape Honduras down to the mouth of the river San Juan."—(Despatch of Viscount Palmerston to H.M. Consuls and Charge d'Affaires in Central America, of June and July, 1847.)

ous occasions, been recognised and protected, and in 1847-'8, when the Nicaraguan republic attempted to take possession of the San Juan River, H.M. naval forces successfully interfered for the preservation of the river to the Mosquitoes.

The government is an hereditary monarchy, and exhibits the only regularly organized constitution among the aborigines, in any portion of the American continent. The king of Mosquito is assisted in his council by a British resident, and there are many Englishmen dwelling in his dominions. The country affords almost inexhaustible supplies of mahogany, cedar, rosewood, and other ship and cabinet timber; logwood, dyes, drugs, gums, and tortoiseshell abound; and it probably contains mineral wealth. Large herds of cattle depasture on the savannas, and the soil and climate are well adapted for the cultivation of sugar, coffee, cocoa, cotton, tobacco, rice, maize, indigo, and all the productions of tropical regions. Some parts of the coast-line are unhealthy, but there are dry and airy spots, such as Blewfields and Valiente, where Europeans enjoy almost uninterrupted health; while in the interior mountain ridges, and plateaux, every variety of climate may be obtained.

The Mosquito sovereigns adopt English names, and are introducing Christianity among the bold and hardy race, who freely yield them a manly allegiance. In February 1840, "R. C. Frederick, king of the Mosquito nation," made his will at Belize, and devised, that in the event of his death, during the minority of the heir to the throne, the superintendent of the Queen of England at Belize should, with certain commissioners, nominated by the superintendent and appointed by the king, form a regency for conducting the affairs of the Mosquito kingdom, and should cause the royal children (Princes George, William, Clarence, and Alexander, and Princesses Agnes and Victoria) "to be educated in the doctrine and discipline of the united church of England and Ireland, and that the expenses of their support and education be defrayed out of the revenues of the Mosquito nation."*

It is to be hoped that the increasing importance of central America will attract British capitalists to this valuable territory, which England is bound by good faith, and by motives of Christian polity, to preserve in the possession of its aboriginal inhabitants, who have, on various occasions, for more than two centuries, proved their strong attachment to us,

and their implicit reliance on our disinterested and abiding protection.

THE CAYMANS,—

are three small isles between 19° and 20° N. lat., about 130 miles south-west of Cuba, and north-west of Jamaica; the *Grand Cayman* being the most remote, and thirty-four miles distant from *Cayman brague*, and *Little Cayman* (see map of West Indies), which are within five miles of each other, and about one and-a-half mile long, by one mile broad. Grand Cayman contains 1,000 acres, and is so low as to be visible from the quarter-deck of a ship at no greater distance than twelve or fourteen miles, when some lofty trees appear like masts of shipping.

It has no harbour, but has tolerable anchorage on the south-west coast; on the opposite, or north-east side, it is bordered by a reef of rocks, between which and the shore, in smooth water, the inhabitants have their *craals*, or turtle pens. The soil towards the middle of the island is fertile, producing corn and vegetables, while hogs and poultry find ample provender. Columbus discovered these isles on his return from Porto Bello to Hispaniola, and observing the coast swarming with turtle, called them *Las Tortugas*. They were never occupied by the Spaniards, but became the general resort of adventurers or rovers, (chiefly French,) for the sake of the turtle.

In 1655, when Jamaica was taken by England, the Caymans were still untenanted. Mr. Long states them in 1774 to have been inhabited by 106 white men, women, and children. The bishop of Jamaica, in 1827, estimated the population at 1 600. The number of slaves in 1834 were 1,920. These, on the payment of the compensation money, were immediately set free, without the intervention of the apprenticeship system.

The present race of inhabitants are said to be descended from English Buccaneers, and, being inured to the sea, form excellent pilots and seamen: they have a chief or government officer of their own choosing, and they frame their own regulations; justices of the peace are appointed from Jamaica. A large number of them have recently migrated (as before stated) to Ruatan and the Bay islands; the present population cannot be given with any certainty; but it does not exceed a very few hundreds.

CHAPTER XVI.—BRITISH GUIANA, COMPRISING DEMERARA, ESSEQUIBO, AND BERBICE.

GUIANA, or Guayana,* is that part of the South American Main, which lies between the Amazon and Orinoco rivers, extending from 8° 40' N. lat., to 3° 30' S., and from 50° to 68° W. long. The area, of 800,000 or 900,000 square miles, is possessed by several powers. The north-western port-

tion, known as *Spanish Guayana*, belongs to the republic of Venezuela; the south-western portion, called *Portuguese Guayana*, to the Emperor of Brazil. Between these two divisions, which embrace by far the larger part of the country, are the colonies of *British Guiana*, *Dutch Guiana*, or *Surinam*, and *French Guiana*, or *Cuyenne*, belonging respectively to the nations whose name they bear.

British Guiana includes the three former colonies of Demerara, Essequibo, and Berbice; the union of the first and second took place in 1785, the third was joined with them in 1831. The Atlantic forms the north boundary for a distance of about 300

* Correspondence laid before Parliament, 3rd July, 1848, respecting the Mosquito Territory. Appendix C, p. ix.

† Guayana is the Spanish name; Guayana, the Portuguese: the earliest Dutch settlers gave it the designation of Guiana, or the wild coast; and the British portion is so called in official documents.

miles; the Corentyn River, from its mouth to its source the eastern (separating British from Dutch Guiana); the southern and western are still unsettled, and remain to be decided with the Venezuelan and Brazilian governments. The superficies cannot, of course, be correctly stated; but they are loosely estimated at 100,000 square miles; the settlements at present are confined to the vicinity of the coast, and the banks of the rivers and creeks in the lower part of their courses.

HISTORY.—About the year 1576, two Jesuits landed on the coast of Guiana, and for three years preached the Gospel to the natives with some success. At the expiration of that time they are said to have been driven away by the Dutch, who commenced cruising along the coast, between the Amazon and Orinoco rivers, as traders, and established a post near the river Pomeroon, which they called New Zealand, and another at the mouth of the Abary Creek, where there was a large Indian village. Soon afterwards they formed a station on the west coast of the Essequibo; but being driven thence by a party of Spaniards and Indians, they fell back upon a small island at the junction of the Cayuni and Mazaruni rivers, where they found the ruins of a fort, built of hewn stone, with the arms of Portugal over the gate-way; but when or by whom erected they could not discover. The capital of the Essequibo colony was subsequently established on Fort Island, about fifteen miles from the mouth of the river, near its eastern bank.

In 1621, the Dutch West Indian Company was formed, and invested with exclusive control over all the Dutch settlements on the coast of Guiana, and the trade thither; by the concession of the company, an enterprising Dutchman, named Van Peere, was allowed to colonise, for his own benefit, on the bank of the Berbice, Fort Nassau was built some thirty miles up the river, and long remained the capital of the colony.* In 1720 a company called the Berbice Association was formed for the purpose of extending the cultivation of sugar, cocoa, and indigo, and raising money for the purchase of slaves. In 1732,

* The English settled on the Surinam River about 1630; the river was then called the Great Coma.

† Dr. Pinckard relates, that he visited an estate in Berbice, termed *Garden-Eden*, belonging to Mr. T. Cumings, where he saw a mulatto man, twenty-eight years of age, who was said to have been born with all his bones broken, in consequence of his mother having been present at the infliction of this horrible punishment. This statement was confirmed by the mother, who informed the Doctor that when pregnant she had unfortunately witnessed the torture, and was so horror-struck as to be taken extremely ill; her sensations were indescribably distressing. It was expected that abortion would follow; but it was not so; and she was delivered at the usual period of this mis-shapen offspring, having previously borne her husband (a Dutch soldier) four children, who were then athletic mulattoes, remarkable for symmetry of person. The conformation of the deformed son was most extraordinary:—"His person appeared as if it had been composed by throwing the materials into a bag with a loose congeries of broken bones, and shaking the whole together until they assumed a shape approaching to that of a human being. It was not the tortuous construction usually occurring from scrofula or the rickets; he had not the crooked, twisted bones of disease; they appeared as if they had been literally broken, and some of them badly united, some not united at all. The common marks of a sickly constitution were absent, and he enjoyed a state of general health, fully proportioned to the structure of his frame." His head was the only part that was well formed:

Berbice received a constitution from the States General; a governor, assisted by a council of six, was to be appointed by the Directors of the Association, and courts of criminal and civil justice established. Hitherto the settlements, in what is now termed British Guiana, had been small and insignificant, and made along the river's banks: but the greatly increasing demand for tropical produce gave a powerful stimulus to colonial industry, the cultivation of coffee was commenced, and soon afterwards of cotton; and the people of Essequibo discovering the superior fertility of the low lands on the coast, began to remove there in 1741. The long neglected alluvial lands of the Demerara at length attracted attention; and, in 1745, one Andrew Pieters obtained permission to form plantations on the "uninhabited river Demerary," where a separate colony was to be founded. The growing commerce of Berbice received a severe check, in 1763, from an extensive slave insurrection; several thousand negroes united, and in a few days made themselves masters of all the plantations. The whites, many of whom were slain at the commencement of the outbreak, fled to Fort Nassau; but the Governor, considering it indefensible, retired with the inhabitants on board the ships, blew up the Fort, sailed to the entrance of the river, and there awaited assistance. The inhabitants of Essequibo and Demerara were thrown into extreme consternation by the condition of their neighbours. Succour was sent from Barbados (by Admiral Douglas), Surinam, Curaçoa, and St. Eustatia; but it was not until the expiration of eleven months, that the insurrection was finally quelled, by the aid of a squadron despatched from the Netherlands. Several hundreds of the wretched slaves were burnt, or broken alive upon the wheel.†

Upon the restoration of tranquillity, or at least as much of it as could exist in a colony where a handful of whites had been newly enabled, by military force, to regain the power of coercing the labour of more than thirty times as many blacks, a return was given which stated the population at 116 whites and 3,370 slaves. In 1773 the settlements on the Deme-

when sitting upright, the height from the seat to the crown of the head was not quite equal to the length of Dr. Pinckard's fore-arm, from the elbow to the extremities of the fingers. "Every rib and every limb seemed as if it had been fractured; the long bones of the arms being divided in their middles, were loosely held together by membranous or ligamentous unions. Those of the legs appeared as if they had been broken, and the two parts (of the tibia and fibula) afterwards placed together in direct parallel with each other, and thus united into one broad flat bone, the end of which projected forward in the middle of the leg, thinly covered with integuments, while the lower part of the limb was thrown backwards, with the heel up, towards the thigh. He had not the power of moving from his seat without assistance; with some difficulty he could make the lower arm reach the head, the direct motion of the shoulder-joint being extremely limited from the want of the fulcrum commonly afforded to the muscles by the bone of the arm." The poor broken mulatto answered the questions which were put to him expertly, and was considered, in point of intellect, to be quite equal to the generality of the people of colour.—(*Notes on the West Indies*. London: 1816: vol. ii., pp. 218—223.) This incident is quoted here, less from its being a physiological fact of great interest, than from the extraordinary illustration it affords of a peculiar class of dangers attendant on displaying before the public eye, scenes which nature shudders at, but which experience proves to have a strange attraction for the very minds on which they are calculated to produce the most injury.

rara had become so greatly extended, that a Court of Policy, and courts of civil and criminal justice were established at Borselen, an island about twenty miles up the river, but removed, in the following year, to Stabroek, which was then first laid out, and formed the nucleus of what is now George Town. For the next ten years, the people were constantly complaining of the small number and high price of the slaves brought to the colony. In 1781, during the American war, in which Holland had joined France against Britain, Lord Rodney captured Demerara and Essequibo; these colonies were subsequently taken possession of by the French (who compelled the planters to supply slave labour for the erection of forts), but restored to the Dutch at the Peace of Paris.

In 1784, the West India Company published certain regulations against compelling slaves to work on Sundays, or punishing them with more than twenty-five lashes, but these rules were entirely disregarded.* In 1796, Demerara, Essequibo, and Berbice, were captured by England, but restored in 1802, and recaptured in 1803, since which time they have remained British possessions.

As late as 1808, there were but two churches in British Guiana, one (Lutheran) at Berbice, the other (Reformed Dutch) on Fort Island; the London Society, compassionating the spiritual destitution of the people, sent out missionaries in this year; in 1810, the first episcopal church was opened at St. George. In 1823, Mr. Canning's resolutions for "ameliorating the condition of the slave population, and preparing them for freedom," were forwarded to the lieutenant-governor (Major-general Murray). No official communication was made to the slaves on the subject, but they soon learned that steps had been taken in England on their behalf, and were persuaded

by some designing persons that their "freedom had come out," but was wrongfully withheld by the governor and planters. Infuriated by this supposed aggravation of the long course of cruelty and injustice to which they had been subjected, they conspired together, and the rising was so general on the East Coast, that on most of the estates the managers and white people were overpowered and put in the stocks, where they remained until relieved by the troops. Where no resistance was made, no blood was shed; on one or two plantations, fire-arms being used, the assailants likewise resorted to them, and thus one or two white persons were killed, and a few wounded. Among the strange and suspicious circumstances connected with the outbreak, which occurred in the afternoon of Monday, the 18th of August, is the fact that, early in the morning, information of the plot was communicated to a Mr. Simpson by his coloured servant, who, it appeared by the evidence adduced on the subsequent trials, had been one of the very persons in whose reports of "freedom having come out," the whole business had originated. Lieutenant-governor Murray, on learning the intentions of the slaves, mustered a body of mounted militia, and proceeded to the coast; but, apparently, considering his force inadequate, hastily returned to the town, and sent off fresh troops at midnight to the scene of the disturbances. Next day martial law was proclaimed, all the free adult males put under arms, and the united detachments of regulars and militia, marched to a plantation (*Bachelor's Adventure*) where a large body of insurgents had assembled; some few of them had fire-arms, which they scarcely knew how to use, others cutlasses, or bayonets fixed to poles. They refused to lay down their arms, declaring they wanted their

* The treatment of the slaves in Guiana during both the Dutch and English rule, was terrible. One instance, related by Dr. Pinckard, deputy inspector-general of hospitals to H.M. forces, who was sent officially to Berbice in 1796, will illustrate the character of the system pursued, the colony being then under English dominion. During his visit, two slaves, a man and a woman, absconded from the plantation *Lancaster*, at Mahaica: "the manager, whose inhuman severity had caused them to fly from his government, dealt out to them his avenging despotism with more than savage brutality." The victims were taken early in the morning to a remote part of the estate, too distant for the British officers to hear their cries; "two of the strongest drivers, armed with heavy whips," inflicted on the man, who was tied down to the ground, "many hundred lashes;" on releasing him, it was discovered that he was nearly exhausted; in this state the manager struck him on the head with the butt-end of a large whip, and felled him again to the earth, where he soon expired at the feet of his murderer. But not satiated with blood, this savage tyrant next tied down the naked woman on the spot by the dead body of her husband, and with the whips, already purple with gore, compelled the drivers to inflict a punishment of several hundred lashes, which had nearly released her also from a life of toil and torture." Dr. Pinckard, on returning from the hospital, immediately after the transaction, proceeded to the "sick house" on the plantation to satisfy himself by "ocular testimony." He says:—"I found the almost murdered woman lying stark naked on her belly upon the dirty boards, without any covering to the horrid wounds which had been cut by the whips, and with the still warm and bloody corpse of the man extended at her side, upon the neck of which was an iron collar and a long heavy chain, which the now murdered negro had been made to wear from the time of his return to the estate. The flesh of the woman was so torn as to exhibit one extensive sore,

from her loins almost down to her hams: nor had humanity administered even a drop of oil to soften her wounds: the only relief she knew was that of extending her feeble arm to beat off the tormenting flies with a small green bough which had been put into her hand for that purpose, by the sympathizing kindness of a fellow-slave. A more horrid and distressing spectacle can scarcely be conceived. The dead man and the almost expiring woman had been brought home from the place of punishment, and thrown into the negro hospital, amidst the crowd of sick, with cruel unconcern. Lying on the opposite side of the corpse was a fellow-sufferer, in a similar condition to the poor woman: his buttocks, thighs, and part of his back had been flogged into one large sore, which was still raw, although he had been punished a fortnight before." The remaining portion of the description of the unhappy woman is too shocking to be recorded here. It excited deep loathing in the minds of the officers; and a few days after the transaction, the attorney of the estate, happening to call at Lancaster, to visit the officers stationed there, they asked him what punishment the laws of the colony had provided for such horrid barbarity; when, says Dr. Pinckard, to our great surprise, the attorney smiled, and treated our remarks as the dreams of men unpractised in the ways of slavery. To the question, whether the manager would not be dismissed from the estate, he replied, "certainly not;" adding, that "if the negro had been treated as he deserved, he would have been flogged to death long before." Dr. Pinckard concludes by observing, that cruelty had become contagious upon the estate. A former proprietor, not content with severely flogging his slaves, would beat them on the head with the butt-end of his whip between each of the strokes given by the drivers; and he would sometimes order the teeth of the slave to be torn out with a pair of iron pincers, and would himself stand by to see the torture inflicted."—(*Notes on the West Indies*, vol. ii., pp. 45 to 53.)

liberty; or at least two or three days in the week for their own use. After some further parley, the troops were ordered to fire, and the insurgents were dispersed with terrific slaughter. From the 20th to the 30th of August, Colonel Leahy, the officer in command, appears to have employed his entire force in searching the plantations, and apprehending real or suspected ringleaders, some of whom were taken prisoners, and others shot upon the spot. A court martial was assembled in George Town for the trial of the remaining prisoners, who amounted to nearly 200, and Chief Justice Wray sat as a member, in the character of lieutenant-colonel of militia. Many persons were sentenced to death, others to receive from 200 to 1,000 lashes, and to be worked in chains. Several were hung in chains along the East Coast, and others decapitated, and their heads stuck on poles.* On the 24th of May, there still remained fifty prisoners under sentence of death; but these sanguinary proceedings had excited the horror of the British public, and further executions were arrested by orders from home. Here, as in Jamaica, the insurrection of the slaves, though directly provoked by years of the most cruel oppression, was attributed to the influence of the missionaries; they had been for years vilified in the local papers, as agents of the anti-slavery party, engaged in promoting disaffection, and the government paper abounded in the most disgraceful calumnies. All the missionaries were at first seized and imprisoned, but the chief fury of the storm was vented upon the Rev. J. Smith, who was connected with the London mission, and in whose chapel, or its vicinity, the plan of the rising was alleged to have been formed. On the 21st of August Mr. Smith and his wife were made prisoners, and confined in a very small room; they were not even allowed to have a change of linen, or anything but food brought to them, and here they were imprisoned

fourteen weeks, Mr. Smith himself being known to be labouring under a pulmonary complaint. On the 13th of October, the prisoner was tried by court-martial, by which several ends were gained, the evidence of slaves was introduced, while the assistance of an advocate to speak on his behalf, and the means of appealing from an unjust sentence, were precluded. All these proceedings were by the special order of lieutenant-governor Murray, himself a planter. The trial lasted from October the 13th to November the 24th; it was conducted with scarcely veiled malignity,† and it terminated in a sentence of death, accompanied by a recommendation to mercy. The victim (for such he was), in bitter mockery of the palliatory part of his sentence, was removed to a very low room, where the floor consisted of rotten planks, with stagnant water visible between the wide crevices; no executioner was needed, and the mercy, or rather the scanty and partial justice extended by the home government, arrived too late, the meek and holy spirit‡ of the persecuted man had gone to a better country, where his heart would never more be doomed, in his own words, to "flutter at the dreadful sound of the crack of the cart whip." His life, however, was not sacrificed in vain (even to human understanding); in the House of Commons this sad catastrophe raised a long and useful discussion, while throughout the United Kingdom it produced a deep impression of the evils of a system which could so debase and corrupt whole societies. Lieutenant-governor Murray was recalled, but the colonists, in token of their approbation of his conduct, voted him a piece of plate of the value of 350 guineas, and presented testimonials of a similar nature to Colonel Leahy and other militia officers, conspicuous for their "vigorous measures"§. The insurrection was estimated to have cost \$200,000.

Major-general Sir Benjamin D'Urban succeeded

* The actual number of slaves slaughtered during and after the insurrection, was never acknowledged. Mr. (now Lord) Brougham, in introducing the subject to the British parliament, commented on the scrupulous forbearance from bloodshedding evinced by the negroes, who, in avowed accordance with the teaching of their minister (Smith), spared life; not daring to take that which they could not give: and he compared their conduct, during their brief hour of strength, with the unsparing vengeance of the colonists. "Considerably above a hundred," he stated, fell in the field, where they did not succeed in putting one soldier to death. A number of the prisoners, also, it is said, were hastily drawn out, at the close of the affray, and instantly shot. How many, in the whole, have since perished by sentences of the Court does not appear: but up to a day in September, as I learn from the Gazette which I hold in my hand, forty-seven had been executed. A more horrid tale of blood remains to be told. Within the short space of a week, it appears by the same document, ten had been torn in pieces by the lash: some of these had been condemned to 600 or 700 lashes; five to 1,000 each; of which inhuman torture one had received the whole, and two almost the whole at once."—(Debate, House of Commons, June, 1824.)

† Some of the chief evidence was obtained from entries in a private journal, in which the missionary had described in simple, but pathetic language, his anguish at witnessing the sufferings of the slaves, and his fears that they would be driven into rebellion, by the shameless manner in which the laws regarding them were daily set at naught.

‡ While suffering a lingering death, in a place emphatically described by Mr. Brougham as only suited to purposes of torture, the missionary was compelled by his persecutors to draw a bill upon the London Society to defray the expenses of his so-called trial. Many years

afterwards, the secretary of the Society, in arranging some old papers, met with this bill, and noticed in one corner, written in a minute hand, "2 Cor. iv., 8. 9;" a solemn and affecting testimony of the peaceful frame of mind enjoyed by the Christian under his afflictions. Besides his faithful helpmate, and Mrs. Elliot (the wife of his brother missionary, who had gone to England to represent his condition), an unexpected friend was raised up, in the person of the Rev. Mr. Austin, the colonial chaplain, who, having been at first prepossessed against him, was so deeply impressed by the revelations made in the course of the long and tedious investigation, in which he took part, as to sacrifice all his hopes of progress in the colony, and oppose the prejudices of the governor and colonists by stating his conviction that "nothing but those principles of peace which he (Mr. Smith) had been proclaiming, could have prevented a dreadful effusion of blood here, and saved the lives of those very persons who are now, I shudder to write it, seeking his life!"—(Extract from Speech of Sir J. Mackintosh. House of Commons, 11th June, 1824.) Mr. Austin constantly visited Mr. Smith in prison; and performed the last melancholy office of reading the funeral service over his body; when, by the order of the governor, it was ignominiously hurried into a felon's grave. The wretched widow, and Mrs. Elliot (in defiance of the direct prohibition of the governor), accompanied by a free black man, who carried a lantern, for it was before sunrise, left the gaol, and not being permitted to follow the corpse, went another way, but arrived in time to witness the last scene of this tragedy.

§ On the 24th of February, 1824, three weeks after the death of Mr. Smith, a public meeting was held at George Town, and attended by nearly all the leading persons in the colony; and a resolution passed to petition the Court of Policy "to expel all missionaries from the colony."

to the government, and arrived, in April, 1824, to a most difficult office, for the British Parliament had at length resolved upon the amelioration of the condition of the slaves; and the planters were equally determined to oppose it to the utmost. In 1825, as a step towards a better order of things, Demerara and Essequibo were divided into parishes, and arrangements made for the erection of churches, and the maintenance of clergymen. In 1833 Sir James Carmichael Smyth was appointed lieutenant-governor. The prestige attached to his name, as a soldier of unblemished character, might have ensured for him the short-lived popularity, then the usual lot of colonial rulers; but that his reputation for humanity, earned during his previous administration at the Bahamas, where his strenuous efforts had been directed to the abolition of the flogging of women, and, in various ways, to the mitigation of the severity of the slave code, raised up at once a host of enemies against him in Guiana. One of his first measures was, nevertheless, exceedingly popular; for he restored the liberty of the press,* which was immediately availed of, to give vent to the most lavish abuse of him and his proceedings. In August, 1834, the apprenticeship system commenced, the masters entered upon it in much the same spirit as did the Jamaicans (see p. 58), and the labourers did not understand how slavery could terminate, except in entire freedom. This feeling was chiefly manifested on the Arabian (a corruption of Caribbean) coast; 700 or 800 men collected in Trinity church-yard, hoisted a flag, declared that the king had made them free, and when ordered to disperse, refused. The colonists vainly endeavoured to force the governor into declaring martial-law; he proceeded to the coast, explained to the people their error, and advised them to return to their homes, which they immediately did. A large number of persons were tried, and many were found guilty; one was sentenced to death, and executed; thirty-one others, condemned to imprisonment and flogging, were at once pardoned by the governor, who, for his refusal to proclaim martial law, was bitterly assailed in the pages of the *Guiana Chronicle*; and when a suit was instituted, which failed, on the ground of his previous recognition of the liberty of the press, the proprietor received, by subscription, a present of \$3,000; and the lawyer who had defended him a piece of plate of the value of 150 guineas. This liberality was far from being extended to the government officials, for when it became necessary to establish a civil list, in consequence of the abolition of the slave capitation tax; the Combined Court could not be induced to come to any satisfactory decision, until Sir Lionel Smith, the governor of the Windward Islands, came over, and succeeded in negotiating an

arrangement for the term of five years. In token of his sovereign's approbation of his conduct, Sir J. C. Smyth, who had been heretofore lieutenant-governor only, received a commission as governor, in December, 1837. His quiet persistence, in a right course, at length produced a change in public opinion; the insolent tone of the *Guiana Chronicle* was discountenanced as discreditable to the colony, and the apprentices began to reap the benefits of his untiring efforts.† The governor would not suffer the sentences of the Magistrates and District Courts to be carried into effect without his sanction; and by this active superintendence he gradually, at the cost of much personal odium, bitter, though short-lived, procured the abolition of corporal punishment by whipping, except in cases of theft, and prohibited females being sent to the treadmill; undeniably beneficial results speedily ensued, and in addressing the Court of Policy, 3rd February, 1838, his Excellency said:—

"I offer to you my sincere congratulations on the happy, contented, and prosperous state of this province. I challenge comparison with any county of Great Britain; and I affirm that fewer crimes and fewer breaches of the peace will be found to have been committed in British Guiana, during the year 1837, than in any part of H.M. dominions of the same extent, possessing two sea-ports, and containing an equal population." The governor then adverted to the good conduct of the apprenticed labourers; to their anxiety for religious and moral instruction, and to the churches and chapels and school-rooms rising rapidly in every district throughout the province.

By one of those mysterious dispensations, whose wisdom our faith can trust in, though our reason cannot understand, Sir James was suddenly attacked with illness, and died in a few days, leaving the community, who had newly learned his tried judgment and integrity,‡ to appreciate his value by the blank created at a most important crisis; for never surely could a colony more need an experienced pilot at the helm, than in weathering the unknown dangers (of which the real ones were overlooked, and bugbears held up instead), of the great change which took place on the 1st of August, 1838. The planters, no longer restrained by the presence and growing influence of Sir James Smyth, had endeavoured to prepare for it after their old fashion, by passing a vagrant law, which was to give extraordinary powers to the local justices of the peace, and abolish the stipendiary magistracy; this and six other ordinances, framed for the evident purpose of keeping the coloured population serfs, in all but the name, were disallowed in England. The conduct of the emancipated slaves, as described by the new governor (Light), afforded a triumphant answer to the fears (real or pretended) of riot and disturbance, against which the planters were so

* Sir B. d'Urban had suppressed the *Guiana Colonist*, and stopped the publication of the *Chronicle* three times.

† A volume, published in 1850, by Mr. Higgins (a Guiana planter), under the signature of *Barton Premium*, is in direct contradiction to this assertion; and also to the facts as developed in the present condition of the colony. The work is written in the usual graphic and humorous style of the author (the *Jacob Omnium* of "The Times"), who, notwithstanding his bitter complaints of depreciated property, mentions having sold 100 acres of land to the negroes (whose idleness is a leading theme) for the sum of 20,000 dollars.

‡ Governor Smyth was ably seconded in carrying out his humane and just policy by the Colonial Secretary, Mr. (now Sir) H. E. F. Young, the present governor of South

Australia, by whom a useful work, entitled the *Local Guide of British Guiana*, was prepared and published, in 1843.

§ H.M. ministers expressed, in the strongest terms, their esteem for the late governor; in officially acknowledging the melancholy intelligence of his death, Lord Glenelg (then secretary of state) declared that there was "no public functionary in the colonial empire, at the present time, whose continued services would have been of higher importance to the prospects of that portion of the empire, which is now placed in circumstances at once so novel and so interesting to humanity." His lordship also adverted to the proof of "the wisdom of the spirit by which the governor had been guided," afforded by the fact that it had at length been recognized even by the planters; for that "all parties appear to have become equally sensible of the gratitude which was owing to him."

desirous of being fore-armed:—"That day [1st Aug.] was passed in thanksgiving and in prayer in every part of this extensive colony; not one instance of disorderly or offensive conduct can be adduced to throw any slur on the character of the new race of freemen.* The infatuated colonists here, as in Jamaica, were blinded by prejudice to the opportunity then afforded of forming connexions with the labourers based on kind and just principles. The provision grounds, plaintain walks, and fruit-trees, cultivated and reared by the peasantry while in bondage, were destroyed on many estates, in order to compel their dependence on plantation work; and but few owners of the soil could be prevailed on to sell or lease small portions of land sufficient for the sustenance of families. This impolitic conduct had the very opposite effect from that which it was intended to produce; the negroes became increasingly alienated from their late masters, and the estates to which, if encouraged, they might have become permanently attached: they combined, and sedulously hoarded their means, until they were enabled to purchase, generally through the agency of the clergy, some large estates that had been abandoned, or were in the market for sale; then divided them into allotments, built neat habitations, and formed numerous free villages. Up to the end of 1848, no less than 446 estates had thus been acquired, on which 10,541 houses were built and occupied by 44,443 persons, or, on an average, four to each dwelling. These small freeholders raise a large part of their food, and nearly all employ a portion of their time in field-labour when they can obtain fair remuneration, regularly paid.† Among the free villages may be mentioned Victoria (a large settlement), Plaisance, Buxton, Friendship, and Naboclish. The *Good Hope* estate, on the east coast, was bought by a limited number of negroes for \$50,000. *Golden Grove* was bought by a single labourer for \$5,000. It is strange enough, that the idleness of the blacks should be asserted as the cause of the sale of these and other estates which the savings of their industry have purchased. Governor Sir Henry Light furnished the parliamentary committee, 13th March, 1849, with a better reason, when he said—"not a few of the nominal possessors of property are ground to the earth by the debts accumulated annually from the enormous interest which the habits of West India dealing have introduced."

PHYSICAL FEATURES.—The cultivated portion of British Guiana, is an alluvial flat, scarcely elevated above the surface of the sea, drained like Holland or Denmark by canals and sluices, with lofty dikes or mounds of mud of considerable thickness embanking each estate, and together with the numerous bridges kept in repair by the proprietors of the land in which they are situated.‡ Against the incursions of the sea or rivers during the spring-tides, the front line of estates are protected by a dam, inside of which, parallel with the sea shore, or river banks, runs the public road. A back dam wards off the inundation which would otherwise overwhelm

* *West India Papers*, Part I. Jamaica and British Guiana, 17th March, 1839; p. 271.

† Endeavours were made, in 1842, to reduce wages in Demerara and Berbice, and to introduce an arbitrary code of "Rules and Regulations," without any previous consultation with the labourers. A general strike ensued, which lasted about six weeks, and ended in the abandonment of the obnoxious measures; but a mischievous effect had already been produced.

‡ The aborigines in Raleigh's time, during the wet

the plantations from behind, by what is called the bush-water. The low alluvial tract above described extends from ten to twenty, and in some instances (as between the rivers Berbice and Corentyn) even to forty miles inland, and is terminated by a range of sand hills from 30 to 120 feet high, whose pure white cliffs glitter in the sun; they approach the sea within two miles of the Arabisi coast of the Essequibo, thence taking first a south-east by south, and then a south-east direction, traverse the whole colony. Almost parallel with this sandy ridge, lie several detached chains of hillocks, seldom attaining an altitude of more than 200 feet, which cross the Essequibo at Osterbecke Point, in 6° 15', the Demerara at Arobaya, in 6° 5', the Berbice in 5° N. lat. In the last named-parallel, a mountain chain occurs, an offset of the Orinoco mountains; it may be considered the central ridge of the colony, which it traverses in a south-eastern direction, forming majestic cataracts in the river channels, namely, those of *Twasiniki* and *Ouopocari* in the Essequibo, *Itabrou* and *Christmas* in the Berbice, and giving rise to the great waterfalls of the Corentyn. The highest peaks appear to be the *Mountains of St. George*, at the Mazaruni, the *Twasiniki* and *Maccari*, the latter rising about 1,100 feet above the river. The *Itabrou* mountains, on the Berbice river, are considered by Sir Robert Schomburgk to be the old boundary of the Atlantic. The *Pacaraima* mountains, which approach the Essequibo in 4° N. lat., are an offset of the *Sierra Parima*; they extend in an east and west direction, and appear to be exclusively of primitive formation. The culminating point is an extensive sandstone group, rising 5,000 feet above the table-land, or 7,500 above the sea, called by the natives *Roraima*; the upper 1,500 feet present a remarkable mural precipice, from whose summit the highest known cascades descend. These mountains separate the waters connected with the basins of the three great rivers that drain the northern half of South America, the Orinoco and Essequibo on the north, from the Amazon on the south, and are therefore of great importance with regard to the settlement of the boundaries of British Guiana. The *Makarapan* mountain approaches the river Rupununi in 3° 50' N. lat., and attains an altitude of about 3,500 feet above the sea. The *Cannucu* or *Conocoon* mountains in 3° N. lat. connect the Pacaraima mountains with the *Sierra Acurai*, in which the Essequibo, the largest river of Guiana, and the Corentyn, which forms the southern boundary of British dominion have their sources. Their extreme height is estimated at 4,000 feet, and they display the vigorous and luxuriant vegetation which characterises the country. The *Ouangouwai* or *Mountains of the Sun*, form the connecting link between the Acurai and *Carawaimi* mountains; the *Tarapona* between the latter and the Cannucu and Pacaraima mountains.

The interior of the colony is, for the most, thickly wooded with valuable timber, with the exception of the swamps of the river Berbice, and the open tracts called Savannas. Those which extend between season, dwelt in huts built on trees: the narrator adds, that they were "a bold and hardy race, who knew the value of liberty and had the courage to defend it."—(*Curious Collection of Voyages*, fourth edition, 1781; vol. iv., p. 63.)

§ Description of British Guiana. London: 1840.

|| The name is derived from the resemblance which several of the eminences bear to the form of an Indian basket called *Pacara*. On a small hillock at the outskirts of these mountains is a remarkable basaltic column, about fifty feet high, known as *Pouré piapa*.

the Demerara and Corentyn rivers, and approach the sea-shore at the Berbice, are divided by the second ridge of mountains from the Great Savannas of the Rupununi, which occupy about 14,400 square miles, and have an average height of 350 to 400 feet above the sea. They are encompassed by the Sierra Pacaraima to the north, the Cannucu, Taripona and Carawaimi mountains to the south, the thick forests of the Essequibo, and isolated eminences to the east, and the Mocajahi heights, and offsets of the Sierra Parima to the west. The winding courses of the rivers are generally bordered with trees; and clumps of timber occasionally vary the monotonous appearance of the plains, which are otherwise wholly covered with grasses, interspersed with a few stunted trees. The geological structure of this region indicates its having been formerly the bed of an immense inland lake; and traditions of a long past era, related by the natives to Raleigh and his contemporaries, at the close of the sixteenth century, aided by an imperfect comprehension of the language, are supposed, by Sir R. Schomburgk, to have given rise to the reports of its being the site of the famous El Dorado,* a country of matchless riches, variously described; but always retaining certain leading features, such as auriferous mountains, whose rocks were so visibly impregnated with gold as to shine with dazzling splendour, encompassing a vast inland lake named Parima, or the White Sea, upon which stood a city called Manoa, whose houses were covered with plates of gold. In 1599, in a map published by Hondius after the return of Raleigh, this imaginary lake was resented as covering a space of 200 leagues long, and forty broad; and it continued an open question among geographers whether to omit or insert it, until the untiring research of Humboldt at length proved the White Sea, and its gorgeous accompaniments to be entirely an illusion. There is, however, a lake (*Amucu*) in the savannas which, in the dry season, is small and overgrown with rushes; but in time of heavy rains inundates the neighbouring tracts. A native village named Pirara is situated on the banks of the lake.

RIVERS.—The extraordinary facilities for inland navigation which distinguish British Guiana, present the best guarantee for the development of the resources afforded by its prolific soil and humid climate. The *Essequibo*, which Keymis† relates was called by the Indians the brother of the Orinoco, is the largest river in British Guiana, through which it flows from south to north. Its length is estimated at 640 miles; its entire basin, i.e., those regions from which it receives tributaries, covers an area of 42,800 geographical square miles.‡ During the first sixty miles from its source (in the Acarai mountains, forty-one miles north of the equator), it flows through a rich

mountain valley, meandering gently in dry weather, but rising from twenty-five to thirty feet above its banks in heavy rains. After receiving a considerable tributary on either side, and passing the Ouangou mountains, which rise on its eastern shore to a height of 3,000 feet, its course is north and north-east, until it receives in 2° 16' N. lat. the *Cuyuvini*; thence, for the next seventy miles, its channel is so impeded by rapids as to be impracticable even for small canoes. In 3° 15' it forms *William the Fourth's cataract*; being hemmed in by mountains in a width of about fifty yards, the water precipitates itself with great force over two rocky ledges about twenty-four feet high. In 4° N. lat. it is joined by the *Rupununi*, a large river having a course of 220 miles, mostly through savannas. Fifty miles from the mouth of the Essequibo the last rapids occur, and prevent the further ascent of sailing vessels or tidal influences; about six miles from Point Saccaro, it receives the united waters of the *Mazaruni* (400 miles in length), and *Cuyuni*§ (330) whose junction takes place about eight miles to the westward; it still continues its northern course, becoming wider until it expands into an estuary from fifteen to twenty miles wide. In this broad basin there are several islands, some of which are of considerable extent. *Wakenaam Island*, which is about fifteen miles long, and *Leguan* about twelve, are in a high state of cultivation. *Hogg Island* is fifteen miles in length, but only its northern point is cultivated; and *Tiger Island*, the most western in the mouth of the Essequibo, is only partially occupied. The entrance to the river is rendered dangerous by shoals and sand-banks extending to seaward; the best and safest of the four channels formed by the above-named islands, lies between Leguan and the east shore, and has a depth of from two to four fathoms.

The *Demerara*, which receives no tributaries of any magnitude, is situated east of the Essequibo, and parallel to it, having its sources probably in the mountain cluster, called Maccari, in 4° 28' N. lat. Its upper course is known only to the Indians. The last rapids (*Kaicoutshi*) occur about eighty-five miles in a straight line from George Town, to which point it is navigable for vessels of a small size. A square-rigged vessel has been known to load timber at Lucky Spot, in 5° 57' N. lat., about seventy-five miles (the windings included) from the river's mouth, where it is more than a mile and a half across. A bar of mud extends about four miles to seaward, with only nine feet of water at half-flood, but the channel along the eastern shore has nineteen feet of water at high tide.

The *Berbice* enters the Atlantic about fifty-seven miles to the east of the Demerara, which, at an early period of its course, in 3° 55' N. lat., it approaches

charged, but an hour afterwards he was found dead, a long knife having completed the destruction which the bullet, though it had broken one of his ribs, had failed to do.

‡ On the banks of the Guidaru, one of the tributaries of the Essequibo, in 2° 55' N. lat., there is an isolated eminence, with a wooded base about 350 feet high, from which rises a bare granitic mass in the form of a pyramid, 550 feet high, making the entire elevation 900 feet above the river. There are, also, on the west banks of the Essequibo, two gigantic piles of granite about 140 or 150 feet in height, of singular shape.

§ These rivers have been ascended to a considerable distance by Mr. Hillhouse, but both are much impeded by rapids and cataracts. The Mazaruni is only navigable for small sailing vessels to the island of Cairá.

* The first rumours of this golden land reached Europe in 1535, the mountains of New Granada being the reputed locality; and when, after much fruitless search, the honour was transferred to Guiana, numerous expeditions were despatched thither, the last of which was sent by Don Manuel Centurion, governor of Spanish Guiana, so late as 1770.

† Captain Keymis accompanied Raleigh in his voyages to Guiana: during the last, being sent in search of a gold mine, he had a conflict with the Spaniards, in which young Raleigh was killed; his father, enraged at the loss of his son, and the failure of the expedition, bitterly upbraided Keymis, who retired in discontent to his cabin. Hearing the report of a pistol soon afterwards, Sir Walter called out to know the reason; Captain Keymis replied that it had been let off on account of its having been long

within nine miles. From thence it takes a north-west course, sometimes narrowing to thirty feet, at others spreading into lake-like expansions, and occasionally studded with boulders; its banks are low and often marshy. The cataracts and rapids, which for fifty miles impede navigation, terminate in 4° 50' N. lat., leaving the channel free for boats. Vessels not drawing more than twelve feet water can proceed upwards of 100 miles, according to the river windings; and those of seven feet draught, sixty miles further; the influence of the tide being perceptible nearly the whole distance.

The *Corentyn* has its source in about 1° N. lat.; being impeded by the same line of boulders, which traverses the Berbice and Essequibo, it forms in 4° 20' a series of cataracts of great majesty. It receives the river *Cubalaba* from the south, and then becomes navigable for boats drawing seven feet water, to its mouth, a distance of 150 miles, by its windings, which are very tortuous, especially in one instance, from the mouth of the river *Paruru*, to the river *Maipuri*, where it describes almost a circle; it enters at *Oreala* (forty-five miles in a direct line from the sea), the low, alluvial coast plain; at Baboon Island, it turns for fifteen miles north-west, assuming afterwards an almost due northern course, to its embouchure, during which distance it has a breadth of four miles, and forms in 5° 55' N. lat., an estuary impeded by sand and mud banks, with navigable channels between, of which the windward and deepest has eight feet and a-half, at low water, and the tide rises eight feet and a-half at springs, and three at neap. The breadth of the estuary between Plantation Mary's Hope and Nickeri, is ten miles in a north-west and south-east direction; but, if Gordon's Point and Plantation Alness be considered the extremities of the mouth of the *Corentyn*, the distance across is upwards of eighteen geographical miles. The river *Nickeri* flows into the eastern shore of the *Corentyn*; at its entrance is the Dutch fortified settlement of the same name. Between the *Essequibo* and the *Orinoco* are the rivers *Pomeroon*, *Marocco*, and *Wai-ina* or *Guayma*; and although these outlets are comparatively of small size, they are of considerable commercial and political importance from the means of water communication afforded by their branches and tributaries with the mighty *Orinoco* (in the Venezuelan territory), which is navigable for 700 miles from its mouth up to the city of Bolivar, formerly *Angostura*. Between the *Demerara* and *Berbice*, are the small rivers *Mahaica*, *Mahaimoni*, and *Abari*; between the *Berbice* and *Corentyn*, the *Devil's Creek*, was formerly the outlet of the swampy ground behind the sea-coast in that region, but is now blocked up.

All the large streams with which the colony is intersected continually bring down quantities of detritus, and increase the fringe of marshy land, which soon becoming covered with mangroves (*Rhizophora Mangle*) and courida bushes (*Asiennia nitida*), marks the first step of the encroachment of the coast upon the sea. The sandy flat extends from twelve to fifteen miles to seaward, and in proportion as its distance from the shore augments, is covered with three to four feet of water.*

DIVISIONS AND TOPOGRAPHY.—British Guiana consists of the counties of *Demerara*, *Essequibo*, and *Berbice*; the two former have been united, and formed into eleven parishes; the latter into six, named as usual, from the saints' calendar.

* Schomburgk's *British Guiana*, p. 7.

George Town, on the right bank of the *Demerara*, the seat of government, is situated in 6° 49' N. lat., and 58° 11' W. long. The wide streets are traversed by canals; the wooden houses, built in the Dutch style, mostly raised on supports to prevent damp, and seldom above two stories high, are shaded by a projecting roof, have verandahs and porticoes, and are generally surrounded by gardens and lofty trees, and separated from each other by canals or trenches. The most ancient part of the capital (which, until 1812 was called *Stabroek*) runs back from the river to the forest, for about a mile, in two rows of houses, with a broad and shaded road between them, and a canal in the rear of each line, communicating with the river. In consequence of the scarcity of fresh water, the dwellings are provided with large cisterns. The public offices are comprised in a costly brick stuccoed structure, erected opposite the river, at the cost to the colony of £50,000 sterling. There are various places of worship, including a new and handsome brick church of England in the gothic style, a Roman Catholic cathedral, and Wesleyan chapel. There is a colonial and a good naval hospital, and a savings' bank. The shops and stores are numerous and well furnished, and the market abundantly supplied and neatly kept. *Fort William Frederick*, a small fortification, built of mud and facines, is within a mile of the town; to the eastward of it is *Camp House*, the residence of the officer commanding the troops, the commodious *Eve Leary* barracks, two hospitals, the ordnance officers' and the engineers' quarters; the *York* and *Albany* barracks are still further to the eastward. The light-house and telegraph are situated between the *Fort* and *Kingston* district, one of the seven districts into which *George Town* is divided, the superintendence of the whole being vested in a committee, entitled the *Board of Police*. The mayor and town councillors, elected by the inhabitants of the eleven wards of *George Town*, manage the city funds and form a court for the trial of petty offences.

In 1831, *Major Staple*, after unwearied exertions amidst many difficulties and great incredulity, succeeded in forming the first *Artesian well*; at that time government was supplying the poorer classes, in town, with water from the creeks, at the almost incredible rate of nine guilders a puncheon, and the supply for the garrison was obtained at a similar rate.† Now, the whole colony, from *Berbice* to the western coast of the *Essequibo*, is studded with these springs, and in *George Town* alone there were, in 1843, seventeen public or private springs, affording a daily supply of 1,200 puncheons. Two years afterwards, the *Lahama Canal*, a work projected by *Dr. M'Turk*, and carried out under his superintendence, was finished; by it a large body of fresh water (slightly impregnated with iron) is brought a distance of several miles, in a constant stream, for the supply of the capital, and the estates through which it passes.

New Amsterdam, the chief town of *Berbice*, in 6° 15' N. lat., 57° 27' W. long., extends about a mile and a-half along the river, and is intersected by canals; each house has an allotment of half an acre of land, generally insulated by trenches, which are filled and emptied by the change of tide. *Crab Island* is a short distance from the mouth of the river, and occupies the mid-channel. It is low and bushy, and about a mile in circumference; from its northern and southern points, a sandy spit extends, dividing the bed of the river into two navigable channels, of which the eastern has a depth of seven-

† *Local Guide of British Guiana*; 1843.

teen to twenty feet, the western of eight to thirteen at high water. Opposite Crab Island on the eastern bank of the river, is the old Fort St. Andrew, now in ruins. The military barracks, the engineers' and ordnance departments, are erected at the junction of the river Canje, and occupy a square, which is defended by a small battery. There are Episcopalian, Scottish, Lutheran, Wesleyan, and Roman Catholic places of worship; and free and private schools. The court-house is a spacious wooden building. The commercial part of the town, with commodious wharfs and warehouses to land and receive the goods, fronts the river; the tide has free access to the wharfs, which are built on piles. A ferry-boat plies between the town and the opposite bank, and a steamer between George Town and New Amsterdam; there is also a land mail.

There are no other towns in British Guiana; of the villages, *Mahaica*, built on the west bank of the river of that name, is the most thriving. It possesses a church, Wesleyan chapel, and some good stores. The hamlet *Mahaiconi*, on the stream so called, is progressing, and other small settlements are springing up on the road between the capital and New Amsterdam. *Fredericksburg*, on Wakenaam Island, is increasing; *William's Town* and *Catherinesburg*, on the Essequibo, are small hamlets, with Church of England and Wesleyan places of worship. *Victoria*, on the east coast of Demerara, was formed by sixty-three emancipated labourers, who purchased the abandoned estate of Northbrook, chiefly from their savings during their first few years of freedom. There are many others springing up in various directions, under similar circumstances. The present governor (Barklay) is exerting himself with zeal and success for the improvement of the colony. An excellent railway is in course of construction from George Town to Mahaica, along the east coast, a distance of twenty miles; seventeen miles have been completed, at a cost of £262,271, and are in full work. The line runs through sugar estates within a mile to half a mile from the seashore. The total receipts to the end of 1852 have been—from goods' traffic, £14,768; passenger ditto, £23,881 = £38,649; of this, the receipts for 1852, were goods, £4,900; passengers, £7,600 = £12,500. The population along the line (including George Town) is about 60,000; the probable annual traffic from the neighbouring estates is sugar—tons, 14,470; rum, 5,500; sundries, plantains, and supplies for estates, &c., 32,000 = 51,970 tons. The permanent way has cost £100,903; land and compensation, £4,547; stations and buildings, including artesian well, £29,675; engines, carriages, trucks, machinery, &c., £64,686; wages to artificers, workmen, &c., £30,800; law expenses, printing, advertising, &c., £8,122; salaries and management, London and Demerara, £11,443. The line is economically worked; and, judging from what I witnessed recently on railways through sugar plantations in Cuba, will prove an excellent investment.

NATURAL PRODUCTIONS.—Game, chiefly deer, range the upper savannas; there are also tigers, little inferior in size to those of Asia, but very different in character, being rarely known to attack men,* and jaguars,† which prey on the herds of wild cattle and horses that graze on the extensive plains among

the Pacaraima mountains, untouched by the Indians, who do not eat the flesh of cattle.—(Schomburgk's *British Guiana*, p. 114). The maipuri, or tapir, frequents the forests along marshes and rivers; its flesh resembles beef, and is much liked by the Indians. There are various kinds of monkeys, the coatimundi, sloth, ant-bear, &c. Two species of wild hog, the acouri oragouti, the cuba or paca, and many others, are used as food; but space will not permit me to offer any description of them, or of the numerous feathered fowl which abound here, including a species of turkey, pheasant, partridge, the Orinoco goose, and a great number of wild ducks, amongst which is an indigenous Muscovy. The water dog, or Guiana otter, has a soft, fine skin, which has been declared by haters to equal the best beaver. The manati or sea-cow, crocodile, and fresh-water dolphin abound.

The rivers are, at certain seasons, stocked with varieties of fish; that called *pacou* is caught in large numbers, slightly salted, and dried on the rocks. The waters of the Rupununi are remarkable for a fresh-water fish, which occasionally attains a length of twelve feet, and a weight of upwards of 300 lbs.; it is used both fresh and salted. The electric eel has also its habitat in the streams of Guiana, and the armadillo in its woods. The leading characteristic of the country is not, however, its abundance of animal, but of vegetable life; in every form of which it presents new, beautiful, and even marvellous varieties; witness the superb Victoria lily which Sir Robert Schomburgk brought so lately as 1837 from one of the magnificent reaches of the Berbice, as a fitting tribute to the sovereign, in whose honour he had named the gigantic flower.† The timber of the interior is of great worth; the mora and greenheart will bear comparison with the East India teak, and African oak, for ship-building; the forests abound in materials adapted for ornamental work, pre-eminent among which stands the beautiful "letter-wood," and, in trees and plants, valuable for their medicinal properties, or the dyes which they afford, such as ipecacuana, sarsaparilla, caoutchouc, balsam of copaiva, and many gums, arnatto (which covers the banks of the Upper Corentyn), &c. Many pleasant fruits likewise grow in these forests, among them may be named the pine-apple, guava, marmalade fruit, varieties of the anona tribe, the sappodilla, several species of passiflora, Brazil and Souari nuts.

GEOLOGY.—The alluvial soil and clay of the coast-line has been penetrated to the depth of 230 feet, while sinking Artesian wells. In one instance, when the boring was noted, a micaceous substance was reached, at a distance of 140 feet, when water sprung up; at twelve feet below the surface a stratum of semi-carbonized trees was passed through; at forty, blue clay; at fifty, another stratum of decayed wood, twelve feet thick; at seventy, a compact whitish-grey clay; and thence, to the total depth, various coloured clays, the lowest having a smooth, soapy surface. It is supposed that this portion of the continent was formerly habitable at fifty feet below its present elevation, when it was then covered with an immense forest, which was destroyed by conflagration. Water, useful for culinary purposes (except tea) is obtained at depths varying from 100 to 145 feet. After passing the coast-line alluvium, on the Essequibo River, white sandstone, felspar, and in which the Indian women and children caress and conciliate these usually savage animals (p. 11).

† See a series of beautiful views illustrating the Interior of Guiana, with letter-press by Sir R. Schomburgk; 1841.

* Dr. Hancock's *Observations on the Climate, Soil, and Productions of British Guiana*. London: 1840; p. 18.

† The Bishop of Guiana, in his Visitation Tour for 1851, expresses his astonishment at the singular manner

granite are found in successive ridges. On the Demerara River, seventy miles from George Town, a porphyritic sandstone is met with; at ninety-four miles, granitic rocks, with hornblende; at 106 miles, stratified greenstone. The mountain-structure is granite, with a large proportion of ironstone. The ranges, seen on passing from the Essequibo into the Mazaruni (about 5,000 feet high), appear to be white quartz, interspersed with shining particles of mica, which gives them the appearance of gold.

MINERALOGY.—Large quantities of iron and divers coloured ochres are met with. The geological formation indicates the presence of copper and the precious metals. I was informed by Dr. Hancock, who resided many years among the Indians, that gold was frequently seen in their possession.

SOIL.—An alluvium along the sea-belt, extending ten miles inland, then various mixtures of loamy earths, with vegetable moulds, and indurated clays, all capable of yielding vegetable food.

CLIMATE.—On its first occupation by Europeans this coast was extremely unhealthy; but as the country became cleared and drained, and a free circulation of air admitted, the diseases peculiar to a low, hot and marshy region have been mitigated in violence, and the climate is now as good as the peculiar position will permit. There are two rainy seasons in the year; in 1830 there fell at George Town six feet eight inches of rain: the total yearly fall is probably about 100 inches. The wet seasons are—December, January, and February; and June, July, and August, when the land-winds prevail, and the thermometer, which usually ranges from 80° to 82°, becomes lower. The dry seasons are delightful, the air being clear, and invigorated by a strong sea-breeze, which continues from 10, A.M. to 6, P.M., and frequently returns in the night. As the country is ascended, the temperature diminishes, greater vicissitudes are experienced. On the high-lands a climate is found adapted to the European constitution.

POPULATION.—There are no reliable early records. The following table shows the relative number of each class during, and subsequent to, slavery.

Year.	Whites.	Free coloured.	Blacks, or slaves.	Total.
1831	3,529	7,521	89,484	100,526
1834	2,883	7,236	83,824	92,943
1841	—	—	—	98,133
1844	—	—	—	103,959
1851	11,558 ¹	116,137	—	127,695 ²

Note.—¹ Including nearly 8,000 Portuguese labourers from Madeira. ² This does not include the aboriginal Indians, beyond the settled districts, estimated at 7,000: the military, 854; the royal navy, 150; and merchant seamen, 297 = 445.

The number of slaves at the period of emancipation, in 1834, was 83,324, of whom 9,893 were children under six years of age, and 3,852 aged, diseased, and otherwise non-effective. The number of predials attached was 57,807, for whom £3,418,883 was paid; of these, 52,266 were field-labourers, men and women included.

The decrease of slaves, between the year 1817 and 1834, was 18,231. Adverting to this fact, the governor, in 1843, when transmitting Mr. Hadfield's carefully-compiled report on the population of the colony, to H.M. secretary of state, remarked—

"Upon these details the proprietary body ought to be

satisfied that, but for emancipation, there was an annual decrease of their population, which would soon have thrown more estates out of cultivation than their fears have predicted would occur since that happy period. It is now clearly proved, that the Creole population is on a steady increase; that the young and vigorous, in the age most necessary for that increase, are in greater ratio than in any other portion of the population; and that in females—infants under five years—the excess over the same ratio of male infants is considerable; and the excess of both male and female under the same age is greater than in the time of slavery."—(Parl. Papers, 426. June, 1845; p. 27.)

Census of British Guiana in 1851.

Houses, Population, and Race.	Rural Districts.			Urban.	
	Demerara.	Essequibo.	Berbice.	George Town.	New Amsterdam.
Number of houses	5,672	2,254	3,226	4,895	1,103
Population	50,259	24,925	22,370	25,608	4,633
Race—					
European	5,121	1,758	450	3,730	499
Mixed	3,796	1,845	707	6,774	1,632
African	37,383	18,540	19,300	14,133	2,346
East Indies	3,401	2,332	913	871	153
Aborigines	558	442	1,000	—	3

Age.—Under five years, 7,013 males, 7,253 females; five to fifteen, 13,012 males, 12,455 females; fifteen to thirty, 19,926 males, 17,530 females; thirty to fifty, 19,931 males, 15,721 females; over fifty, 7,385 males, 7,469 females.

Native country.—British Guiana, 86,451; Barbados, 4,925; other West India islands, 4,353; African immigrants, 7,168; old Africans, 7,013, Madeirans, 7,528; English, Irish, Scotch, Dutch, and Americans, 2,088; Coolies from Madras, 3,665; ditto from Calcutta, 4,017; not stated, 17.

Occupation.—Public officers, 306; professional men, 187; merchants and shopkeepers, 1,376; clerks, 689; agriculturists, 863; agricultural labourers, 56,505; other labourers, 10,128; mechanics and artisans, 5,987; domestic servants, 5,547; boatmen and mariners, 1,405; others variously employed, 10,922; no stated occupation (including the ladies of the upper class), 12,263; children not employed, being of tender age, 21,517.

The aborigines* (2,003) mentioned in the census, include only those located in or near the cultivated portions of the colony. The Warraus, Caribisi, Accawais, and Arrawaaks, who are located indiscriminately on the Pomeroon, Marocco, Wai-nia, and Barima Rivers, and their tributaries, extending from the Tapacuma Lake to Point Barima, are estimated at 4,160—their respective numbers being 1,896, 832, 315, and 1,117: to these must be added about 3,000 who are scattered among the tributary streams of the Upper Essequibo and Corentyn Rivers. The total number is estimated at 9,000 to 10,000.

Between 1841 and 1848, there were imported into Guiana 46,514 immigrants (the greater number adult males), at a direct cost to the colony of £360,685, which, with incidental charges of hospitals, police, prisons, &c., was increased to not less than £400,000. At the end of 1848, there remained in the settlement—Africans, 5,739; Portuguese, 5,083; East India Coolies, 8,300 = 19,122; of the whole number, about

* The Bishop of Guiana describes them as a gentle and "painfully-interesting" race, desirous of Christian instruction.—(*Visitation Tour*, 1851, p. 31.)

25,000 (more than one-half) had disappeared in fifteen years; some had returned to the countries whence they came; others migrated to different places; and a large proportion perished of disease or destitution. Of the 19,122 who remained, only 12,872 were actually occupied in 1848 as agricultural labourers.*

Recently, more attention has been paid to the health and condition of the labouring classes.

The mortality among 15,200† indentured immigrants who have been working on the plantations during the three years ending 1851, was 364, or rather under 2½ per cent., but the mortality was unequally distributed, the Madeirans losing fully 5, the Africans less than 2, and the East India Coolies very little over 1 per cent. per annum. Chinese labourers are being now introduced into Guiana, and, if well treated, will probably prove excellent agriculturists.

Recently (since the finances of the colony have been restored to a sound footing), considerable sums have been expended on the improvement of the lunatic asylum, the establishment of a leper ward, and the enlargement of the almshouse; an orphan asylum is also in course of erection; and a dépôt has been provided for the accommodation of immigrants.

GOVERNMENT.—When Guiana was under the control of Holland, a constitution was organized which, with some modifications, is still retained; it consists of a governor, appointed by the crown, and a combined court of two chambers, which is thus formed: 1st, *A Court of Policy*, consisting of ten members, five official (the governor, chief justice, colonial secretary, attorney-general, and collector of customs), and five non-official, elected by seven persons, termed the *College of Keizers*, who are chosen for life, or during their residence in the colony, without any property qualification, by the votes of persons contributing direct taxes to the amount of £4:13s. a year, or paying taxes of any sort on an annual income of £140. Absentees vote by proxy. Every second year the senior non-official member retires: the Keizers then send in two names, and one is chosen by the Court of Policy, on whose votes the governor has a casting voice. Local laws, not involving an outlay of money, are made by this court, which has also the power of revising or altering the civil and criminal jurisprudence of the colony, subject to the sanction of the governor and of the Crown. The franchise has been recently lowered.

2nd. *The Financial Representatives*, six in number, are chosen by the same electors that nominate the College of Keizers. The ordinary duration of their sitting is two years; but the governor may dissolve the chamber, which has no legislative power of itself, but meets annually the Court of Policy, to form the Combined Assembly, which discusses, item by item, the estimates of expenditure, and the levy of taxes as framed and proposed by the Court.‡

George Town and New Amsterdam have efficient municipalities. There is now no militia. The regular military forces in the colony, in 1851, consisted of 78th Highlanders, 187; 2nd West India regiment, 369; 3rd ditto, 298 = 854: the last-named corps are composed of negroes.

RELIGION.—Until the first quarter of the present

century had elapsed, the ordinances of religion were almost wholly neglected. In 1827, Guiana was included in the see of Bishop Coleridge, and about this period divided into parishes; in 1838, an archdeaconry was constituted, and there were then thirteen clergymen of the Church of England; in 1842, there were twenty-eight clergymen of the Established Church, and the colony was erected into a bishopric, to which an income of £2,000 per annum was affixed. In 1851, the colony possessed 112 churches and chapels, viz., Church of England, 41; Church of Scotland, 15; London Mission, 19; Wesleyan, 15; Plymouth Brethren, 6; 12 belonging to various dissenting bodies; and Roman Catholic, 3. The average number of persons usually attending divine worship was, Church of England, 10,210; and 22,874 of the other religious denominations = 33,034. When it is considered that 39,716 of the population were between the ages of one and fifteen years; and that there were then about 15,000 East India Coolies and heathen African immigrants interspersed among them, the proportion of habitual attendants on the ordinances of their respective churches is considerable. The total number of each religious persuasion is stated, in the census of 1851, to have been, Church of England, 39,787; Church of Scotland, 11,664; Wesleyans, 8,438; London Mission, 15,502; Dissenters, whose denominations are not known, 13,639; Roman Catholic Church, 9,938; Hindoos and Mahomedans, 7,037; not stated, 21,710. These returns are, however, inaccurate; the Wesleyans, for instance, assert in their published documents that their number is 10,774; the London Mission or Congregational Dissenters are also under-stated. About 3,000 of the aborigines receive religious instruction at various missions carried on by the Church of England, by the Church of Scotland, and by the Roman Catholics.

EDUCATION.—The total number of public schools, in 1851, is not ascertainable, as the Presbyterian, Roman Catholic, and Plymouth Brethren, furnished no returns: the other denominations stood thus:—

Denomination.	Schools.	Average attendance
Church of England . . .	53	4,478
„ Scotland . . .	13	380
London Mission . . .	20	1,781

There are eleven private schools in George Town. Of the entire population, 12,952 can read and write; 11,466 can read only, and the remaining 103,277 are either wholly illiterate, or their state has not been ascertained.

CRIME.—Commitments, in 1851, numbered 2,702; the governor reports a “decrease on the years immediately precedent,” which he considers—

“Attributable, in all probability, to the greater prosperity of the lower orders, arising from cheapened food and enlarged demand for labour, which induces the payment of pecuniary penalties to escape incarceration. * * * In December, 1851, there were, in confinement at the penal settlement and five gaols, only 401 prisoners, though no check had then been applied to the suppression of the petty thefts and trifling assaults which furnish the great bulk of the summary convictions: crime of a deeper dye is so rapidly declining that the records of the Supreme Criminal Court for 1851, show only 68 trials for felony, and 8 for misdemeanours, against 132 and 16 respectively in 1850, and 159 and 18 respectively for 1849. I will only add, that the result of the sessions, to date (April, 1852), is even more satisfactory; and now that the inferior cri-

* Journal of Messrs. Candler and Alexander.

† 3,738 Portuguese, 5,335 Africans, 6,127 East India Coolies.

‡ For fuller details, see Parl. Papers of 1849, on Guiana and Ceylon. Report and Appendix.

minal courts are presided over by the judges. I am encouraged to hope that minor offences may, by a vigorous policy, be also restrained within narrower limits.”—(Governor’s Report, in *Blue Book* for 1851, p. 146.)

There is a well-conducted and nearly self-supporting penal establishment on the Mazaruni river.

FINANCE.—*Revenue* in 1833.—Demerara and Essequibo, £42,273; Berbice, £23,239 = £65,512: in 1851 it was more than doubled, viz., 169,870, of which the custom duties on imports yielded £91,653; rum duties and spirit licenses, £43,460; general revenue, £57,820; tonnage duties, £6,658; export ditto, £3,608. The increase of 1851 beyond 1850 was about £10,000, which afforded a surplus of income over outlay of nearly that amount.—*Expenditure* in 1851.—Civil government (including salary of governor, £5,000) £16,557; judicial, £17,465; ecclesiastical, £14,806; education, £3,212; poor, £7,992; police, £20,924; hospitals, £15,048; penal settlement and prisons, £9,534; roads, £3,746; public buildings, £3,840; immigration, £28,030; public debt interest, £32,884; collection of revenue, £12,503. There is also a municipal revenue of £13,583, of which the local expenditure was, in 1851, at George Town, £10,684; at New Amsterdam, £1,311 = £11,995, (shillings and pence excepted throughout). The expenditure by Great Britain from the commissariat-chest was, in 1851, pay of troops, provisions, &c., £30,304; ordnance, military works, stores, &c., £4,239 = £34,543.

Banks, two—the *British Guiana*, and a branch of the *London Colonial*. Notes in circulation (about)—*British Guiana*, £36,000; *London Colonial*, £26,000 = £62,000, in sums of five dollars and upwards. Coin in use about £80,000.

Monies, Weights and Measures.—English has been recently substituted for the Dutch denominations, formerly employed.

Wages.—Agricultural, 2s.; trades, 4s. per day. Domestic servants, 34s. per month.

Prices in 1851.—Beef, 6d.; pork, 8d.; mutton, 13d. per lb.: all other articles of food proportionately high.

COMMERCE—see p. 183.

Sugar estates in 1851 numbered 171; average of canes, 44,326; number uncut, 31st December, 1851, 8,055 acres; number cut in 1851, 36,271 acres; hogsheads of sugar made in 1851, number 46,325; equal to about 1½ hogshead per acre; probably about 1 ton, taking the hogshead at 1,800 lbs. net: total crop, 82,385,000 lbs. of sugar.*

The landed proprietors are divisible into three classes: the *first* possess estates which yield crops of sugar as large, often larger, than they did during slavery: draining engines of great power, vacuum pans, centrifugal machines, and every description of

* The produce of the colony—including Demerara, Essequibo, and Berbice—in 1834, was 81,085,483 lbs.

† Mr. Stephen Bourne, an intelligent stipendiary magistrate, who resided several years in British Guiana, throws some light on the allegations as to general ruin, in a statement recently furnished me; and at the same time shows the value of well-managed sugar properties in Guiana. I can only give the result. In 1842, when distress was so loudly asserted, five estates in Berbice yielded sugar and rum to the value of £56,795; cost of manual labour, £20,350; and an equal sum for management, interest of capital, &c.; leaving a profit of £16,093; on an average, £3,200 for each estate; the best of which consisted of 500 acres, all in canes, which yielded a net return for the year of £5,900. It should be added, that the labourers were treated with justice and kindness.

machinery found to succeed in the beet-root factories of Belgium and France have been applied with advantage to these properties; with such estates it is no longer a question of abandonment; it is a race of scientific improvement in which, with their immense resources, they must succeed.† The *second* class consists of those who purchased fine plantations, which had declined from the extravagant prices paid for them in 1841-42: this class were generally managers for absentee proprietors, shrewd, possessed of practical skill and local knowledge, but devoid of available capital, which they obtained from the banks at a high rate of interest, on bills renewable from time to time. This extravagant mode of raising money to cultivate could only be sustained by high prices; and the fall in the price of sugar, from £15 to £10 per hogshead, caused the ruin of many: some, however, have weathered the storm; and, with fair seasons and good crops, are now arriving at the condition of the first-named proprietary.‡

The *third* class comprises “the owners of such heavily mortgaged and half-abandoned estates as struggled over the shock of 1847-9, though in so hopelessly encumbered and crippled a state, as to render their retention by their present proprietors possible under no circumstances short of a positive miracle.” The machinery and buildings are completely dilapidated, but the ground has been kept in a state of semi-cultivation at considerable expense to the creditors. It must be evident that no system of protection, no laws to promote immigration, no scheme can save this last class, whose land and dilapidated tenements should, as soon as possible, be brought to sale, in order that persons possessed of capital may endeavour to resuscitate the cultivation either for sugar or for some other product.

Governor Barkly, from whose despatch of the 21st of April, 1852, the foregoing remarks are derived, urges the continuance of immigration on behalf of classes one and two, and adds—“though a trying ordeal is still to be gone through, I entertain no manner of doubt that British Guiana, in the course of a few years, will be able to furnish an unlimited supply of tropical produce, in successful competition with any country in the world.”§ In conclusion, the governor, who is himself a West India proprietor, and had formerly taken a desponding view of our western colonies, thus sums up his elaborate and valuable report on the *Blue Book* for 1851—“it is shown in the authentic records now forwarded, that the revenue has been flourishing, population augmenting, education spreading, crime diminishing, and trade increasing during the year just passed; and there appears as yet no reason, under God’s blessing, to anticipate a less favourable result in any one of those respects in the year now entered upon.”

‡ In support of these observations, the governor cites a return of the cultivated properties sold at execution sale in Guiana in 1851, and says, that two estates on the west sea-coast of Demerara, joining nearly to each other, and of equal value before emancipation, were sold; one for 42,000 dollars, whilst the other, which had been much neglected, brought only 7,400 dollars. Two other adjoining plantations on the Berbice river, both in good cultivation, sold respectively at the rate of 60,000 and 48,000 dollars. His excellency added—“this serves to prove that estates of the first class are not confined to the east coast of Demerara (the most thriving district), but are in fact to be found all over the colony.”

§ Plantains are extensively cultivated in these islands: they form the chief food of fully one half of the population.

CHAPTER XVII.

COMMERCE—SHIPPING—REVENUE—POPULATION, EDUCATION, AND RELIGION, DURING PERIODS OF SLAVERY AND FREEDOM; AND GENERAL RESULTS.

HAVING exceeded the limits allotted to this Division of my work, it is not now possible to do more than advert to the general results attendant on the abolition of slavery in the British West India Colonies. The dates of their European discovery and occupation, are given under their respective heads; and their historical and social progress has been briefly traced up to the year 1851; the latest year in which the records are complete in the department of the secretary of state.

As previously stated, the introduction of slaves into the West Indies from Africa was commenced by several European nations about the beginning of the seventeenth century,* and continued by Englishmen until 1807, when this nefarious traffic was declared unlawful by the British Parliament. At various times during the last five-and-forty years, every Christian state has entered into treaties with England, acknowledging the iniquity of the trade, and professing a desire for its complete abolition. But the maritime or carrying branch of this inhuman commerce is still perpetrated by stealth, under cover of the flags of Spain, Portugal, Brazil, and the United States; while the governments of France and Denmark are the only powers that have followed the steps of England, by putting an end to slavery within their respective territories.

In 1834, the people of England paid twenty million sterling† to the slave-owners in the colonies, in compensation of any loss they might incur; and an apprenticeship system was adopted, which was to continue until 1838 for non-predial, and until 1840

* In 1629, the first African slaves were introduced into Virginia by a Dutch ship, and sold at James Town; the importation was continued under the flag of several nations; and at the period of the Declaration of Independence in 1776 the number of slaves in the young republic was 502,133; their numbers are now about 3,500,000.

† The annexed table gives the number of slaves at the last registration; their average market value between the years 1822 and 1830, and the distribution of the £20,000,000; some alteration took place subsequent to this assignment, but the basis on which the payments were made is shown.

Colony.	Ave. value.	Number.	Compensata.
	£ s. d.		£
Bermuda	27 4 11 ³	4,203	50,584
Bahamas	29 18 9 ³	9,705	128,340
Jamaica	44 15 2 ³	311,692	6,161,927
Honduras	120 4 7 ³	1,920	101,958
Virgin Islands	31 16 1 ³	5,192	72,940
Antigua	32 12 10 ³	29,537	425,866
Montserrat	36 17 10 ³	6,555	103,558
Nevis	39 3 11 ³	8,722	151,007
St. Christophers	36 6 10 ³	20,660	331,630
Dominica	43 8 7 ³	14,384	275,923
Barbados	47 1 3 ³	82,807	1,711,345
Grenada	59 6 0	23,536	616,444
St. Vincent's	58 6 8	22,997	592,508
Tobago	45 12 0 ³	11,621	234,064
St. Lucia	56 18 7	13,348	335,627
Trinidad	105 4 5 ³	22,359	1,039,119
British Guiana	114 11 5 ³	84,915	4,297,117
Cape of Good Hope	73 9 11	38,427	1,247,401
Mauritius	69 14 3	68,613	2,112,632
Total	--	780,993	20,000,000

for predial or agricultural slaves. At Antigua and Bermuda the slaves received unconditional freedom, on 1st August, 1834; as did all children under six years of age in every colony.

In our other West India possessions, the provisions of the Imperial Act were perverted by legal ingenuity, or set at nought by direct breach of faith; few or no measures were taken by the colonists to prepare the slaves for unconditional freedom; on the contrary, local laws were passed to retain them, if possible, in a state of serfdom; flogging, the treadmill, and other barbarous punishments, were still inflicted, on women as well as men; and a system of injustice, and even vengeance was pursued in many places, which would have made the state of apprenticeship unbearable, but for the early prospect of its cessation, which took place in 1838. The treatment which the apprentices had received caused a still greater alienation between the labourer and his master, than had previously existed, and deepened his aversion to sugar cultivation, which, having long proved a grievous and unrequited toil, performed under the stimulus of the lash, by the black man only, was naturally regarded as ignominious, and the new-made freeman earnestly desired to be himself a proprietor of the soil. When these facts (of which illustrations are given in the previous pages) are taken into consideration; when it is remembered that tracts of greater or less extent of waste, but rich land existed in all the colonies, excepting Barbados and Antigua; that the *ci-devant* slave proprietors were, in most instances, impoverished, in many ruined, and dependent on the merchants and others, who made annual advances at exorbitant rates of interest, to enable them to cultivate the estates, in consideration of receiving all the consignments of produce, for which accounts were rendered at their own discretion; that communities thus situated and embarrassed were devoid of the ready money whereby wages could be daily or weekly paid to several hundred thousand labourers; and that in all the colonies, for at least nine or ten months of the year, food and other requisites were obtained from America and England; it is surprising that sugar cultivation was continued at all after emancipation; and still more remarkable, that in the efforts to provide for their daily bread, the negro population should have raised themselves from their former degraded position, and exhibited the gratifying picture which is presented in the preceding pages. The returns from the several colonies are irregular, varying in form and denomination, and, in many instances, imperfect, so that it is difficult to group them together into the general and comparative view, which would suffice to refute the allegations sedulously circulated, that emancipation was a quixotic act, alike injurious to both master and servant, commercially detrimental to the nation, and therefore to be considered as a warning, rather than held forth as a lesson for the guidance of other slave-holding states.

The table in the next page gives a comparative view of the West India colonies during a period of bondage and of freedom, so far as there are official returns:—

Comparative Condition of the British Western Slave Colonies in 1833-4 (at the period of the Abolition of Slavery) and in 1851-2.
(Showing the area, population, revenue, values of imports, sugar, rum, and molasses, and shipping inwards.)

Name of Colony.	Area in square miles. ¹	Population—White, Free coloured, and (in 1833) Slaves.		Revenue. ²		Imports, value. ³		Sugar exported to United Kingdom. ³		Rum exported to United Kingdom.		Molasses exported to United Kingdom. ⁴		Shipping inwards	
		1834.	1851. ²	1833.	1851.	1833.	1851.	1833.	1852.	1833.	1852.	1833.	1852.	1833.	1851.
Antigua	110	34,916	— 37,136	£ 13,833	£ 21,888	£ 69,935	£ 198,425	Cwts. 129,519	Cwts. 185,662	Gals. 34,932	Gals. 65,699	Cwts. 67,181	Cwts. 72,420	Tons. 24,839	Tons. 34,439
Anguilla	32	2,906	— 2,500	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Barbados	166	102,231	133,539	20,915	55,724	461,135	787,977	384,971	743,606	—	716	47,246	144,656	66,178	93,381
Barbuda	60	500	629	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Bahamas	3,373	18,508	27,519	11,661	26,105	104,164	117,318	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Turk's Islands	470	3,000	3,000	—	8,000	—	25,124	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Bermudas	19	8,843	11,092	10,000	11,376	79,740	125,710	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Dominica	275	18,660	22,000	6,120	12,901	53,506	71,828	—	63,593	30,310	25,763	5,473	7,160	14,675	32,693
Grenada and Grenadines	133	28,175	32,671	15,112	16,956	73,846	158,930	204,074	125,008	185,969	184,276	32,608	2,426	7,605	12,046
Guiana	100,000	92,943	130,000	70,512	169,870	674,817	855,419	855,314	846,900	1,241,377	2,723,423	352,079	83,331	116,882	22,532
Honduras	62,000	6,500	10,000	15,175	17,364	235,156	289,819	—	—	—	—	—	—	14,018	500
Bay Islands	30	—	1,500	—	400	—	4,000	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Jamaica	6,400	365,368	465,000	199,523	209,379	765,400	1,129,776	1,256,991	511,263	3,219,783	1,590,927	3,665	553	67,971	105,968
Caymans	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Montserrat	46	7,500	7,053	2,000	3,235	22,802	9,498	15,507	2,427	—	—	1,930	493	5,509	4,441
Nevis	20	9,315	10,200	6,794	3,705	18,567	16,483	42,287	33,489	6,312	5,937	1,524	1,393	8,266	8,700
St. Kitt's	68	23,388	24,500	3,668	17,902	44,497	112,748	80,380	94,280	42,217	50,436	14,592	11,753	17,671	22,066
St. Lucia	178	17,523	24,318	7,403	13,872	47,271	60,538	46,553	73,468	10,774	3,172	4,595	5,973	12,712	10,025
St. Vincent	131	26,500	30,128	9,416	16,936	165,939	158,930	194,889	176,363	89,206	143,687	48,650	26,310	29,210	29,246
Trinidad	1,800	43,613	68,600	35,120	95,733	307,075	547,471	286,303	483,857	225	80,717	91,344	115,097	37,403	62,178
Tobago	97	13,200	15,000	5,320	12,292	75,427	63,884	86,527	68,352	232,622	186,849	15,070	1,181	12,413	8,848
Virgin Isles	90	6,535	7,500	1,227	1,471	6,219	4,417	14,969	161	4,279	—	837	—	3,557	3,534
Total	175,513	827,224	1,069,885	432,999	713,729	3,205,523	4,737,295	3,646,366	3,408,627	5,109,975	5,061,602	686,794	473,296	473,091	651,698

¹ The area here given differs in some respects from the statements in the general table at page 17; this table has been framed from the latest authorities.
² In some instances the census of 1844 is given, or the estimates of the governor where there were no returns for 1851. Seven thousand aborigines are not included in the Guiana population.
³ The import from these colonies in 1807 (the last year of the slave-carrying trade) was 3,337,288 cwts. The import into England for 1853 will, it is expected, be equal to 4,000,000 cwts.
⁴ Import during the three years ending 1833, 1,865,763 cwts.; during the three years ending 1851, 1,567,430 cwts.
⁵ Not sugar producing colonies.
⁶ In a few instances, returns of the revenue or imports were not obtainable for 1833; those of 1832 or 1834 have then been given.

⁷ The value of imports from England, in the year 1851, was £485,980; the value of exports to England, in the year 1851, was £814,288. The governor states, in 1851, that the valuation of the exports is purely hypothetical; a remark which applies to the other West India colonies.
⁸ In 1844, Governor Light estimated the produce at only 1 hoghead per acre; and Dr. Scher, the agricultural chemist of the colony, considers that "three times the present return might be secured, and at little greater cost than at present." Cotton was formerly the staple product of Guiana, and so profitable, that one proprietor of six estates in Berbice realised in one year a profit of £50,000 sterling. The high price obtained for sugar, and the competition of the United States, induced the planters to substitute the cane for cotton. The Berbice coffee has been superseded by a cheaper and better berry from Ceylon and from British India.

A leading feature deserving consideration refers to population, which, during slavery, was diminishing so rapidly, that (unaided by breeding farms, as in the United States), the slaves must all have perished in a given course of years. It was ascertained that the decrease on the eleven years ending 1829-'30, was 52,000; this was owing to over-working, under-feeding, and severity of discipline; their condition being, in the words of Lord Stanley (now Earl of Derby), one of "unredressed injustice, bitter oppression, and hopeless wrong." On the abolition of slavery the natural laws of increase at once resumed their sway, and the population, notwithstanding a diminution of whites, no longer required as slave-drivers, overseers, &c., has increased from 827,224 to at least 1,069,885, the census for 1851 not being given for some islands. The prosperous condition of the mass of the people is shown in their increased ability to bear taxation, and to purchase foreign commodities; the public revenue has risen from £432,999 to £715,729, and the imports from £3,205,523 to 4,624,547, although the value of the commodities usually imported has been of late years diminished. The shipping also has benefited, the tonnage inwards having augmented from 473,091 to 651,698 tons, notwithstanding that the voyage to the West Indies is now shortened by steam navigation. The official value of the exports from the United Kingdom to the former slave colonies, was, in 1833, £3,729,888; in 1851, £5,160,110. The increase on the declared or real value was in about the same proportion. The total export to England of sugar, molasses, and rum in the British West Indies, from 1834 to 1852 inclusive, was—sugar, cwts., 55,783,824; molasses, 9,826,026; rum, gals., 89,627,633. At the average price of 20s. per cwt., the value of the sugar, independent of governmental duty or mercantile charges, amounts to £55,783,824; the molasses, at 10s. per cwt., £4,913,013, and the rum, at 2s. 6d. per gal., £11,203,456: produce of the cane, in the last nineteen years, by means of free labour only, £71,900,293. The cultivation of coffee has diminished of late years in the West Indies, owing to the want of capital to establish new plantations in room of the worn-out trees, and the competition of superior-flavoured and lower-priced coffee from Ceylon and other British territories in the East Indies; but cocoa has largely augmented. In 1833, the quantity of this agreeable and wholesome berry imported from our western slave colonies, was 2,125,641 lbs.; in 1851, there were imported into England, from the same territory, 4,347,195 lbs.; increase, 2,222,554 lbs. It is not practicable to show the quantity of sugar now made in the West Indies as compared with a period of slavery; then all the sugar made was exported to England; now there is a large internal consumption in each colony, and by the abolition of the navigation laws, whereby the West Indians are enabled to buy in the cheapest and sell in the dearest markets, the colonial sugars, &c., find entrance to the United States, and other countries. If the actual production were shown in

one denomination (cwts. or lbs.) of sugars, molasses, and succades, it would be found that there is now (excepting in Jamaica) a larger quantity of saccharine matter prepared than was ever done during slavery, while the quality has been greatly improved, and the price reduced.

The improving material and social condition of the mass of the people is also manifested by the increased importations of clothing, which consist chiefly of plain and printed calicoes. The export of these goods to the British West Indies during the three last years of slavery, and the years 1849, '50, and '51, was—

Years.	Calicoes.		Total.
	Plain.	Coloured.	
	Yards.	Yards.	Yards.
1831-'32-'33.	21,898,436	16,403,494	38,301,930
1849-'50-'51.	58,496,276	51,522,249	110,018,525

Note.—Increase on the three years, 71,716,595 yards.

Lest it should be supposed that this extraordinarily increased consumption of more than *twenty-eight million yards* in favour of freedom is attributable to these colonies being depôts for the supply of the foreign West Indies and South American markets, it may be necessary to observe that the depôt trade, excepting that of Honduras, has ceased. During the year 1851, the export of calicoes from England to the foreign West Indies was upwards of forty-five million yards; a large part of which was for re-export to other places. For example, the little barren island of St. Thomas, which is a free port, received, in 1851, 18,819,363 yards out of the above 45,000,000. The exports from England to Mexico and Central America were, in 1851, 21,924,388 yards; to Colombia, 28,929,940; and to the other South American countries in proportionately large quantities. It is but fair therefore to conclude that the whole of the exports of cottons from Great Britain to our West Indian settlements in 1849-'50-'51, were for domestic use. The imports into Jamaica alone, in 1851, were *plain* cottons, 6,055,242; *printed*, 5,288,451 = 11,343,690 yards; and in the previous year (1850) the total imports of both plain and printed amounted to 15,313,172 yards, which was six million yards more than the *whole* export to all our West India Colonies in 1830.*

The next point deserving of inquiry, is the allegation that the blacks are fast relapsing into a state of barbarism;† and that obeahism, witchcraft, and other devices of Satan, have been resumed. An answer to this is given in the details furnished of each island, showing an increase of churches, chapels, and schools, and a decrease of crime. Unfortunately, there are no general returns by which a tabular view could be presented of the religious and educational state of the population in all the colonies; but some documents

* It is often asserted, that Haiti, also, has been ruined since the violent struggle which ended in emancipation; it may be remarked that the population speaking the Spanish language is now estimated at 125,000, the majority being a mixed or coloured race; and those speaking the French language, 800,000, more than seven-eighths of whom are of pure African blood. All enjoy a degree of comfort adapted to their climate, and equal to that of the peasantry of other countries. Sugar-culture has been destroyed, lest it might tempt the whites to endeavour to

restore slavery. They produce annually about *seventy million pounds* of coffee, and export large quantities of this and other articles. In the year ending June, 1851, the Haitian trade employed 74,671 tons of American shipping, navigated by 3,504 United States' seamen; and also a considerable amount of foreign tonnage. The imports of Haitian produce into the United States, in 1851, was, 1,889,968 dols; and the exports in return, 1,816,298 dols.

† See the valuable *Monthly Colonial Circular* of Mr. R. Burn, of Manchester.

will strengthen the conviction which the details previously given are calculated to produce. A complete comparison of one important and eminently successful religious denomination is furnished in the following exposition of the Wesleyan missions in the West Indies, in 1833 and 1852.

Name of Colony.	Year.	No. of stations.	No. of chapels.	No. of ministers.	Worshippers.	No. of schools.	Scholars.			Year when formed.
							Male.	Female.	Total.	
Antigua	1833	1	—	3	5,234	16	1,029	1,389	2,418	1786
	1852	1	10	4	9,000	15	700	1,006	1,706	
	1833	1	—	1	777	3	—	—	394	
Barbados	1852	1	14	4	9,500	30	761	939	1,800	1789
	1833	1	—	4	2,054	9	317	401	718	
Bahamas	1852	5	19	6	6,280	18	688	751	1,439	1790
	1833	1	—	1	207	2	53	64	117	
Turk's Island . . .	1852	1	2	1	1,250	2	172	183	355	1798
	1833	1	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	
Bermudas	1852	1	5	3	1,150	7	128	149	277	1788
	1833	1	—	2	1,177	3	112	116	228	
Dominica	1852	1	5	2	2,350	5	130	130	260	1820
	1833	1	—	1	624	6	110	190	300	
Montserrat	1852	1	4	1	1,000	6	152	169	321	1788
	1833	1	—	1	1,040	1	75	140	215	
Nevis	1852	1	3	2	5,000	6	400	410	810	1787
	1833	1	—	4	3,491	4	170	376	546	
St. Kitt's	1852	1	9	4	9,250	18	710	1,070	1,786	1788
	1833	1	—	2	2,099	1	117	160	277	
Tortola	1852	1	7	2	3,550	5	144	208	352	1787
	1833	2	—	5	1,538	1	89	93	182	
St. Vincent's . . .	1852	2	10	8	10,600	22	742	568	1,310	1788
	1833	1	—	1	582	1	47	77	124	
Grenada	1852	1	5	1	1,520	7	197	56	253	1788
	1833	1	—	1	236	1	49	40	89	
Trinidad	1852	1	7	2	1,600	6	110	180	290	1816
	1833	1	—	1	156	1	20	41	61	
Tobago	1852	1	6	2	2,200	11	450	400	850	1814
	1833	1	—	3	2,453	4	183	184	367	
Demerara	1852	3	14	6	10,462	29	1,177	1,079	2,256	1789
	1833	11	—	18	9,924	12	—	—	838	
Jamaica	1852	20	70	26	31,088	58	1,458	1,347	2,805	1825
	1833	1	—	1	185	1	35	36	71	
Honduras	1852	1	6	2	1,600	5	175	151	326	—
	1833	28	—	51	31,777	66	2,406	3,307	6,945	
Totals . . .	1852	43	196	96	107,400	250	8,294	8,796	17,196	—

Note.—There are no returns where the dash (—) is inserted. The annual expenditure of the society is now about £15,000. The total sum expended in the West Indies, since the formation of the mission, has been £486,798.

The following document shows the state of the Moravian Missions in the West Indies, in 1833 and 1852.

Name of Colony.	Year.	No. of stations.	No. of chapels.	No. of ministers.	Worshippers.	No. of schools.	Scholars.			Year when formed.
							Male.	Female.	Total.	
Jamaica	1833	8	8	9	7,182	—	—	—	—	1754
	1852	13	13	19	13,321	42	1,684	1,290	2,974	
	1833	5	5	12	13,836	—	—	—	—	
Antigua	1852	7	9	9	8,021	9	624	508	1,132	1756
	1833	3	3	5	4,988	—	—	—	—	
St. Kitt's	1852	4	4	6	4,045	4	229	210	439	1775
	1833	2	2	3	1,970	—	—	—	—	
Barbados	1852	4	4	7	3,198	4	—	—	495	1765
	1833	1	1	2	380	—	—	—	—	
Tobago	1852	2	2	3	2,103	2	339	309	639	1790
	1833	7	7	18	10,227	—	—	—	—	
Danish Islands . . .	1852	8	8	16	10,087	—	—	—	1,000	1732
	1833	26	26	49	38,583	—	—	—	—	
Total . . .	1852	38	40	60	40,765	61	2,876	2,317	6,679	—

Note.—There are no returns where the dash (—) is inserted.

186 CHURCH OF ENGLAND, LONDON, AND BAPTIST W. I. MISSIONS.

The operations of the London Missionary Society in Guiana, at two periods, are thus shown—

Details.	1833.	1851.
Chapels	7	21
Missionaries	5	11
Native catechists	1	11
Attending Divine Worship	3,200	20,000
Church members	650	3,090
Schools	7	20
Scholars	1,350	2,050
Sunday schools	—	21
„ scholars	—	3,660

The other West India sphere of the London Mission is Jamaica—where it had no stations in 1833;—one was established at the close of the first year of freedom. In 1851, the mission exhibited the following gratifying results: chapels, 13; missionaries, 9; in attendance on Divine worship, about 8,000; church members, 1,400; day-schools, 12; scholars, 1,150; Sunday-schools, 12; scholars, 1,450.

The Baptists, can now furnish no comparative returns from the London Society. In one of the colonies, where that association had no mission until 1834, their progress up to 1851 is thus shown:—

Baptist Missionary Society's Stations in the Bahamas, in 1851-’2.

Name of Station.	Persons attending.	Communicants.	Schools.	Pupils.
NEW PROVIDENCE.				
Nassau—	700	593	3	400
Fox Hill	110	65	1	62
Dunmore	20	16	—	—
Carmichael	40	32	2	62
Adelaide	30	20	2	40
Rum Cay	456	189	2	190
Long Island	468	274	4	190
Exuma	—	159	1	58
Ragged Island	—	64	1	79
Long Cay	—	28	—	—
Crooked Island	—	42	1	30
Cat Island	—	290	5	200
Eleuthera	—	109	1	66
Andros Islands	—	145	2	154
Berry Islands	—	15	—	—
Bahama	—	138	1	80
Little Abaco	—	42	—	—
Green Turtle Cay	—	7	—	—
Grand Turk	500	248	3	350
Salt Cay	150	56	1	40
Caicos—				
Lorimer	250	121	2	150
Bottle Creek	50	20	1	10
Kew	120	49	2	58
Whildings	45	10	—	—
Inagua—				
Victoria Point	55	20	} 2	65
Sim's Hill	200	46		
Total	3,194	1,898	37	2,284

Note.—These stations have all been founded since the abolition of slavery. There are a few additional stations, in other parts of the West Indies, which were formed in the following years:—Port of Spain and Savanna Grande, 1843; Jacmel, 1845; Mount Hopeful, Sherring Ville, Mount Elven, and Indian Walk, 1849; Couva and Puerto Plata, 1851.

The Church of England Mission commenced its labours in 1815, at Antigua, St. Vincent's, and Dominica, by the establishment of schools. In 1826, religious instruction was begun at Jamaica; and in 1830, the society had established thirteen stations. On the abolition of slavery, its efforts were increased; nine labourers (four in holy orders) were sent out in 1835; and the cost of the Jamaica Mission in the year 1838-'9, amounted to £12,000, with which 13 clergymen, 23 schoolmasters and catechists, and various schools, containing 6,009 scholars, were maintained. The colonial ecclesiastical establishment being largely increased, the Church Mission reduced its expenditure, in 1842, to £6,000; in 1847, to £1,000; and now to £100, as a maintenance to one of its former agents. A mission was formed at an Indian village in Guiana, where, however, little has yet been accomplished. The total expenditure of the Society in the West Indies has been £122,200, part of which was contributed by government for educational purposes.

The foregoing documents exhibit the religious and educational state of the West Indian population as one of progress. The moral tone of society is necessarily improved:—the coloured girls, who during slavery, were educated to concubinage, now commonly intermarry in their own class, and not unfrequently form legitimate unions with men of European blood. Intemperance, which formerly prevailed among the white inhabitants, has to a great extent passed away.

CONCLUSION.—The facts briefly enumerated in the foregoing pages indicate a few remarkable results of the abolition of slavery in the West Indies.

First.—Internal strife has wholly ceased, and with it the heavy charges upon the revenues of England, caused by the necessity of providing the planters with military aid, to “keep down” the slaves, and to assist in suppressing those struggles for freedom, which in white men, under similar circumstances, would have been deemed heroic, but in black men were termed unprovoked insurrections.

Second.—Revenue, commerce, and shipping, have largely augmented; that is to say, when the state of the islands is considered as a whole, and not viewed, as is frequently the case, simply with respect to some few (Jamaica, for instance), which, by a long persistence in a course of error and improvidence, have been brought to a condition of extreme depression.

Third.—Christian principles and instruction have been diffused, not indeed so widely as might have been hoped, but quite as much as could reasonably have been expected, or as the efforts made for that purpose could warrant; and crime has decidedly diminished.

Fourth.—Population has increased; property has been accumulated by the mass of the people, and the tillage of the soil has been extended.

This is the sunny side of the picture; the reverse is formed by the distress of what is termed the West Indian interest; that is, of a large number of absentee proprietors, who having, with singular pertinacity, persevered to the very verge, and some actually into the abyss of ruin, in a system which

* Sturge, writing in 1837, says, that the dissolute morals of a part of the white and coloured inhabitants of the islands visited by him (excepting Antigua), cannot be described in a work intended for general perusal.—(p. 116.)

common sense might have told them was utterly hollow and unsound, now endeavour to throw the entire blame upon the great and good measure, which afforded them their only chance of righting themselves, which actually saved some, and only, in so far accelerated the crisis with others, as it revealed in broad day-light, the hopeless nature of their involvements. The records of the different local legislatures, and the frequent petitions of the colonists to the home government; the financial embarrassments and heavy public debt of many of the islands; together with the frightfully decreasing population, afford abundant proofs that slavery, in its lowest and most worldly point of view, has never been a profitable arrangement, even to the planter class; and never could have been, though it had been possible for them to have retained the Africans in bondage, and continued to receive from England a costly military establishment wherewith to compel the labour necessary to the production of the sugar, rum, &c., which they afterwards complained proved barely remunerative, though protected by a commercial monopoly. They were then rapidly becoming the merely nominal possessors of estates mortgaged far beyond their real value, and, being devoid of capital for cultivation, were dependent on the annual advances of the merchants for their supplies. Meanwhile the care of the property and slaves was intrusted frequently, or rather generally, to an uneducated and unprincipled class of white men who had risen through the successive grades of slave-drivers, overseers, and book-keepers, until they became managers, or, according to the colloquial term used in some colonies, "Attorneys," from the circumstance of their holding the legal instrument, "a power of attorney." While the absentee proprietors were sinking deeper in debt and difficulty, their representatives were squandering their remaining resources, and keeping up a "Castle Rack-rent" scene, ludicrous, in many points of view, as Miss Edgeworth's well-drawn descriptions, but presenting dark shades of debauchery and crime, to which Ireland, with all her sin and suffering, can happily afford no parallel.

As in Ireland, a new class of proprietors are taking root in the West Indies, freed from past incumbrances, and possessed of capital to make the best of their advantageous position: a large and lucrative field is before them, and, if well tilled, a profitable harvest may be expected. The beautiful Antilles are still the tropical gardens of England, within a fortnight's distance from our shores, and capable of yielding in abundance, sugar, coffee, cocoa, spices, silk, cotton, and other valuable products, to an extent hitherto undreamed of. With climates suited, far better than those of Madeira or the South of France, to the requirements of invalids suffering under the varieties of pulmonary and rheumatic complaints which scourge our population, why, at certain seasons, the West Indies should not be considered as eligible and inviting a tour for Englishmen and Englishwomen, as the hackneyed continental circuit, it is difficult to conceive. The scenery of these lovely islands, which seemed so strangely fair to Columbus, still wraps them like a garment; the "sea-like skies, and sky-like seas," glowingly described by Coleridge, still encompass them, and "glorious stars with lunar beam," irradiate the midnight hours; the forests still display, in wild abundance, the stately trees, reared in the colder north only under careful shelter; our cherished exotics bloom luxuriantly as

common flowers; and the choicest denizens of our aviaries, the brilliantly-coloured parrot, and parrotquet, and the gem-like humming-birds, have here their natural home. There is no drawback now on the enjoyment of the visitor, gazing for the first time on this fairy-land, for the horrid sights and sounds of slavery, the whip and the clanking fetter, dreaded and suspected even when not present to the senses, have passed away with the system fraught with sin and sorrow, of which they formed fitting emblems. That slavery has left no legacy of suffering behind, it would be folly to maintain, but to the Christian principle, which has been blessed to the attainment of the expulsion of that monster evil, we must look hopefully and trustfully for strength to eradicate in time the seeds of moral and physical evil which it has widely sown. The great wants (in a material sense) of the West Indies at the present time appear to be, a resident proprietary, with capital; an increased amount of skilled labour; improved methods of cultivation and manufacture; and a sound monetary system. There is abundant room for small farmers, whether white or black, were it only to raise provisions for home consumption, instead of importing them from the United States, and thus depriving the colonists of the current monies, obtained from Europe in return for produce. With regard to capitalists, whether large or small, an area of 175,000 sq. miles of British territory, in which there are little more than a million inhabitants, or about six mouths to each 640 acres, presents a wide field for commercial enterprise. The products, which experience has proved thrive luxuriantly, are in growing demand. Of sugar, for instance, 8,348,198 cwts. were imported into the United Kingdom, in 1851, of which 5,634,863 came from British possessions, and only 2,713,335 from foreign countries; free grown sugar obtaining the decided superiority over slave-grown, even in the open arena of free trade. The limit of consumption is by no means reached in the United Kingdom: with full and remunerative employment, a population of 28,000,000 would probably take weekly one pound instead of eight ounces of sugar per head, as at present. In the United States the weekly average in 1852 was one pound eleven ounces per head.

Thus, in August, 1846, when the duty levied on British West India and other colonial Muscovado sugars, was 14s. per cwt.; that prepared in foreign slave colonies had its duty lowered from 36s. 1d. to 21s.; and there has been an annual reduction of duty up to July, 1851, when the colonial was 10s., and the slave-grown 15s. 6d. per cwt. Nevertheless, the importations of free labour sugar, from 1846 to 1852, have been as follows (molasses converted at the rate of 3 lbs. to 1 lb. of sugar):—

Years ending 6th of July, 1851.	British Possessions (free labour).		
	West Indies. ¹	Mauritius. ¹	East Indies.
	Cwts.	Cwts.	Cwts.
1846	2,842,655	801,913	1,531,418
1847	2,530,333	1,131,108	1,349,639
1848	3,151,031	881,915	1,432,563
1849	3,086,357	935,935	1,330,294
1850	3,222,869	1,028,440	1,549,733
1851	2,661,513	1,003,033	1,358,228
1852	3,566,394	—	—

Note.—¹ Formerly slave colonies. Where the dash (—) is inserted, the returns are not completed, but exceeding those of 1851.

The entries for consumption in the United Kingdom were—

Year.	Free labour.	Foreign or Slave.
	Cwts.	Cwts.
1847	4,723,232	1,256,421
1850	5,570,461	752,027
1851	5,043,872	1,522,405

The prices in London were, in 1846, per cwt., West India, 35s. 3d.; Havannah, 24s. 8d.; in 1850, 29s. 4d., and 20s. 2d.; in 1851, 27s. 3d., and 24s.; half-year ending January, 1852, 23s. 8d., and 22s.; thus showing that free is as cheap as slave-labour sugar: it will probably soon be cheaper.

It will, perhaps, be answered that increased labour is required for increased production; but the deficiency of the West Indies, in this respect, though the favourite stalking-horse of the colonists is far from being the sole, or even the greatest obstacle. They want the spirit of progress and improvement, which is the characteristic mainstay of England, of her oldest colony—the United States, and of her youngest—Australia. They want improved machinery, economical methods, and a few trustworthy and energetic men to set reforms on foot. In the Spanish, and French, and Danish West Indian Colonies improved machinery has been sedulously introduced; but, excepting on a few estates, comparatively little has been done in our territories. For example, the Woodbrook vertical mill in Trinidad yields 35 per cent. of saccharine liquor from the compressed cane; while by mills in Cuba 75 per cent. is obtained, and at Guadaloupe 83 per cent. out of the ninety contained in the cane. The average yearly loss of sugar in the West Indies, by not extracting from the cane 50 per cent. more than is now done, in consequence of the imperfect means resorted to, is estimated by Mr. Kerr at 70,000 tons; one-third of the crop which has been brought to maturity, at a heavy expense, being therefore wasted.

But there are, happily, indications of a better state of things, in the schemes now put forth for the introduction of efficient modes of tillage and manufacture, and certainly it is no light encouragement to hear, from good authorities, that in the West Indies an acre of land well drained and manured will yield from two and a-half to three hogsheads of sugar, and a proportionate quantity of molasses and rum; so that the proceeds may be estimated at £40 to £50 per acre, on an outlay of £15 to £20. By the use of Fowler's steam-plough, a drainage of three feet is effected, and it has now been ascertained in Guiana, that by thorough drainage an acre of land, which formerly gave only 12 cwts. can be made to furnish 30 cwts.

By means of a new patent cylindrical engine, the aqueous portion of the saccharine matter is rapidly evaporated by the introduction of heated air into a revolving cylinder; within 10 per cent. of the whole of the cane-juice is converted into matter for crystallization; all charring is avoided; there is but little

molasses (which may be converted into bastard sugar) the waste, which for the voyage to England, is estimated at 10 to 12 per cent., is almost nil, leaving the product so dry that it may be packed in boxes like the Havanna clayed sugars; added to these advantages, the whole process is performed in twenty-four hours from the grinding of the canes to the complete crystallisation of the dried sugar, thus avoiding the development of acid by delay; and an estate, which formerly made 800 hogsheads may now turn out at less expense 1,500 or 2,000 hogsheads of an article which will bring, in the London market, a higher price, by 3s. to 4s., than the former manufacture.

In conclusion, it must be reiterated that skill and capital are urgently needed to render the West Indies a remunerative field of production: bring them, and labour will assuredly follow, as it invariably does, wherever men may depend upon obtaining a fair day's wages for a fair day's work. The coloured population are blamed as idle and ungrateful in the extreme, because they will not work for employers, who cannot afford to give them an equal recompense to that which they can earn by tilling their own land, surrounded and assisted by their families. It is a strange fault to bring against the cottiers, that they are too independent, too fond of their small homesteads, too anxious to grow food for their own use, and for the supply of the home markets, to devote themselves exclusively to the cultivation of an article of export, from which they reap but a bare subsistence. Teach them the value of skilled labour; pay them according to their improving performance of the duties allotted to them; and you give them the motive and incitement which is the true spring of progress. The coloured people of the British West Indies, like the fair islands upon which not their will, but the sin of England—doubtless overruled by Providence for ultimate good, has placed them; have great capabilities, which rightly used, may be made instrumental to the production of much benefit to themselves, to the whole British nation, and to the multitudes of their brethren still in captivity. If the rising generation be carefully instructed in Christian principles and practice, and trained to habits of order and industry; if they prove, as to some extent they are already doing, that white and black men have become sufficiently initiated in the spirit of the religion they jointly profess, to live under the same laws; be influenced by the same feelings; and follow, on terms of equality, the same professions and employments; then, indeed, even those who deem it necessary to vindicate England for having ceased to commit what she had learned to recognise as a standing violation of the immutable decrees of justice, will be forced to admit that she has acted wisely, even according to the judgment of this world, in proclaiming that she would not suffer one of her meanest subjects to continue a slave, or to endure the far deeper moral degradation of being a slaveholder; but banished at once, through the length and breadth of her dominions, that accursed source of evil, which had for centuries, like a deadly upas-tree, spread its branches far and wide, blighting everything it touched.

TABULAR INDEX TO VOL. III.—NEW ZEALAND, TASMANIA, ETC.

[CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO DIVISIONS OF THE WORK.]

Islands, &c.	Position and Area.	Acquisition.	History.	Topography.	Geology and Soil.	Climate and Diseases.	Population.	Religion, Education, &c.	Government.	Finance.	Monies, &c.	Commerce.	Products.	Agriculture, &c.
	Pp. 1	Pp. 4	Pages 1—20	Pages 21—53	Pp. 54	Pages 55—6	Pp. 59	Pages 63	Pp. 72	Pp. 74	Pp. 77	Pages 76	Pp. 79	Pages 80
Tasmania, or Van Diemen's Island														
Norfolk Island	105	105	106	105	105	—	106	—	107	—	—	—	106	107
New Zealand Islands	257	138	108—256	318	324	328	338	340	342	343	344	344	345	317—345
Falkland Islands	359	359	360	361	362	364	368	368	368	368	368	368	369	365
Auckland Islands	370	371	371	372	372	372	373	—	—	—	—	—	—	373

INDEX.

- ABORIGINES (Tasmania), keen senses of the, 6; appearance of the, 10; capture and final removal of the, 13.
- Arthur, Colonel, appointed governor of Van Diemen's Island, 14.
- Auckland, seat of government fixed at, 143; account of, 275.
- Auckland Islands, discovery and position of the, 370; physical features of, 371; geology, climate, and soil of, 372; natural productions and population of, 373.
- Bass' Strait, islands in, 27; navigation of, 29.
- Busby, Mr. J., appointed British resident at New Zealand, 127; lands claimed by, 134.
- Bush-rangers in Van Diemen's Island, 7; cannibalism among the, 9.
- Caledonia (New) Island, physical features and population, 379; cannibalism in, 380; natural productions and geology of, 381.
- Canterbury (New) Settlement, establishment of, 249; account of, 310.
- Chatham Islands, discovery and possession of the, 375; natural productions and population of, 376.
- Cook, Captain, visits New Zealand, 110; second visit of, 115; cannibalism witnessed by, 116.
- Declaration of independence by New Zealand chiefs, 129.
- Derwent River, entrance of the, 24; account of, 37.
- Discovery of an antarctic continent, 357.
- East Cape, description of, 264; mission stations and native villages near, 289.
- Falkland Islands, position and occupation of, 359; early history of, 360; physical features of, 361; geology and mineralogy of, 362; climate and vegetation of, 364; zoology of, 365; population, government, and shipping of, 368; state and prospects of, 369.
- Fitzroy, Captain, appointed governor of New Zealand, 193; Lord Stanley's instructions to, 196; arrival of, 207; decides on the Wairau conflict, 208; issue of debentures by, 210; Lord Stanley's vindication of his measures, 221; recall of, 223.
- Fresne, Captain Marion du, expedition to Van Diemen's Island by, 2; visits New Zealand, 113; massacre of, 114.
- Grey, Captain, appointed governor of New Zealand, 224.
- Hebrides (New) Islands, account of, 381; geology, climate, and natural productions of, 382; population of, 383.
- Heké cuts down the British flag (1844), 217.
- Hobart Town, description of, 42; neighbourhood of, 44.
- Hobson, Captain, appointed British consul in New Zealand, 138; makes a treaty with New Zealand chiefs, 140; death of, 192; clamour against a governor, 175.
- Kororarika village, destruction of (1846), 218; harbour of, 260.
- Land Claims' Court, opening of the, in New Zealand, 191.
- Launceston Town, account of, 45; country around, 46; quantity of rain in, 58.
- Leinster (New), or Stewart Island, account of, 316.
- Maories (New Zealand aborigines), cruelties perpetrated on the, 126; tenacity of, 158; dissatisfaction among the, 168; strength of positions selected by, 228; character and appearance of the, 336; condition of, 337.
- Middle Island, topography of, 295; coast-line of, 302; settlements of the, 304; land in cultivation, &c., of, 317; geology of, 320; population of, 330.
- Nelson Settlement, expedition to fix the site of, 180; first arrival of settlers at, 182; quantity of land around, 183; petition from the, 240; account of, 305; soil and climate of, 306.
- New Zealand Association, formation of, 146; proceedings of the, 149; charter offered to, 150; rejected bill of the, 151.
- New Zealand Company, prospectus issued by, 153; constitution of, 154; charter granted to, 172; large sum entrusted to, 174; injustice of, 179; inexcusable policy of, 190; emigrants sent out by, 205; alleged bankruptcy of the, 212; monetary affairs of, 213; "secret committee" of, 222; expenditure of, 237; government loan to, 243; surrender of charter of, 253; present position of (1850), 254.
- New Zealand, discovery of, 108; first Englishman resident in, 118; establishment of Christian missions in, 120; native population of, 131; "land-sharking" in, 133; cost of Christian mission in, 136; state of the island of (1838), 137; British sovereignty established in, 141; first "civil list" of, 144; treaties for land in, 157; French expedition to, 164; land act passed for, 167; explorations of, 180; disputes concerning land in, 186; condition of (1843), 194; sufferings endured by the colonists of, 241; a militia raised in, 219; hostilities with the natives of, 226; abolition of the native protectorate of, 230; proposed constitution for, 232; leading events in the history of, 256; physical aspect of, 257; coast-line of, 259; bays and islands of, 260; districts and towns of, 277; geology of, 318; fossil bones of gigantic birds of, 321; mineralogy of, 322; climate of, 324; prevalent diseases in, 327; population of, 328; state of religion in, 338; education and crime in, 340; revenue and expenditure of, 342; commerce and shipping of, 344; natural productions, vegetation, &c., of, 345; animal kingdom of, 350; present state and prospects of, 356.
- New Plymouth Settlement, formation of, 169; first settlers arrive at, 171; account of, 286.
- Norfolk Island, account of, 105; advantages of, as a penal settlement, 107.
- Otago Settlement, selection of site for, 244; first settlers sail for, 245; account of, 312.
- Penal discipline, changes in, 91; Lord John Russell on, 93.
- Port Nicholson, Captain Fitzroy's description of, 176.
- Sorell, Lieutenant-colonel, appointed lieutenant-governor of Van Diemen's Island, 5; retirement of, 7.
- Southern Ocean, islands in the, 374.
- Tamar, first settlements on the, 5; account of, 38.
- Tasmania, or Van Diemen's Island, discovery of, by Tasman (1642), 1; insularity of, ascertained (1797-'8), 3; voyages of Flinders and Bass round, 4; high price of

- land in, 15; petitions against transportation to, 16; convicts sent to (1817—'48), 19; military pensioners sent to, 20; physical features and coast-line of, 21; mountain ranges of, 34; rivers and streams of, 37; division of, 41; cattle-hunting in, 47; county and district towns in, 49; magnificent vegetation in, 52; newly discovered country in, 53; geology of, 54; mineralogy of, 55; climate of, 56; population of, 59; state of religion in, 64; educational establishments in, 68; state of crime in, 70; government of, 72; revenue and customs of, 74; imports and exports of, 76; banks and moneys in, 77; fisheries and agriculture in, 79; vegetation of, 83; zoology of, 85; transportation to, 88; probation gangs in, 94; routine of convict labour in, 98; number of convicts in, 100.
- Te Rauperaha, conduct of, before the Wairau conflict, 199; seizure of 229
- Transportation, Commons' committee on, 90; system of, proposed by Lord Howick, 92; benefits of, 103.
- Ulster, New, coast-line of, 259; mountains of, 272; lakes of, 273; geology of, 319; population of, 332.
- Wairau District, examination of the, 185; natives deny the sale of, 186; Captain Wakefield and party proceed to the, 200; purchase of the (1847), 241.
- Wairau Conflict, account of, 200; fatal issue of the, 203; Lord Stanley's opinion on the, 209.
- Wakefield, Colonel, arrives in New Zealand, 156; presents to, 159.
- Wellington Settlement, arrival of settlers at, 162; illegal proceedings at, 163; position of the settlers, 239; account of, 290; hamlets connected with 293; earthquake at (1847), 326.
- Western Pacific, islands in the, 384.

ILLUSTRATIONS.

	PAGE
JOHN LOCKE (<i>Frontispiece.</i>)	
VISCOUNT KEPPEL - - - - -	- 105
SIR JOSEPH BANKS - - - - -	- 109
LUCIUS CAREY, VISCOUNT FALKLAND - - - - -	- 358
MAPS—	
POLYNESIA, OR ISLANDS IN THE PACIFIC - - - - -	- 1
VAN DIEMEN'S ISLAND, OR TASMANIA - - - - -	- <i>ib.</i>
NEW ZEALAND - - - - -	- 109
THE WORLD (<i>showing Captain Cook's Voyage round the World</i>) - - - - -	- 356
FALKLAND ISLANDS AND PATAGONIA - - - - -	- 357

TABULAR INDEX TO VOL. IV.—AFRICA AND THE WEST INDIES.

[CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO DIVISIONS OF THE WORK.]

Name.	Area and Position.	Discovery and Settlement.	History.	Topography.	Geology and Soil.	Climate and Diseases.	Population.	Revenue.	Commerce & Shipping.	Monies and Banks.	Products.	Government.	Tariff.	Live Stock & Agriculture.	Religion, Education, and Crime.
SOUTH AFRICA:—	Pp	Pages	Pages	Pages	Pp.	Pp.	Pages	Pp.	Pages	Pp.	Pp.	Pp.	Pp.	Pp.	Pages
Cape of Good Hope	118	1—6	6—116	118—132	134	133	137—141	143	145	144	146	141	143	147	148—152
Natal	167	154	155-'6	157-'8	159	160	160	162	162	—	163	160	—	—	162
WEST AFRICA:—															
Gambia	173	173-'4	165—172	174	174	174	175	175	175	—	176	175	175	—	175
Sierra Leone	178	177	177-'8	179	180	180	181-'2	184	184	184	185	182	—	185	183-'4
Gold Coast Settl.	186	186	186	192	196	196	200	197	198—200	198	—	196	—	198	200
St. Helena	206	206	207	207	207	208	208	208	208	—	—	208	—	—	208
Ascension	208	—	—	208	208	—	208	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
WEST INDIES:—															
W. India Possessions	183	4	1—17	—	—	—	182-'3	183	183	—	183	—	—	—	185
Jamaica	18	183	18—72	72—86	88	89	92—94	101	105	104	106	100	101	108	97
Barbadoes	111	112	113	115	117	117	118	120	120	120	120	119	—	—	120
St. Lucia	121	121	121	123	124	124	125	126	126	—	126	125	—	—	126
St. Vincen	127	127	127	128	129	129	129	129	129	—	130	129	—	—	129
Grenada	130	130	130	131	132	132	133	133	133	—	134	133	—	—	133
Tobago	134	134	134	134	135	135	135	136	136	—	—	135	—	—	136
Trinidad	136	136	136	139	140	141	141	142	142	142	142	142	—	142	142
Antigua	143	143	143	144	145	145	145	146	146	—	146	146	—	—	146
Dominica	146	146	147	148	149	149	149	149	149	—	—	149	—	—	149
Montserrat	149	149	149	150	150	150	150	150	150	—	—	150	—	—	150
Nevis	151	151	151	151	—	—	152	152	152	—	—	152	—	—	152
St. Kitt's	152	152	152	153	154	154	154	155	155	155	—	154	—	—	155
Virgin Islands	156	156	156	156	157	—	157	157	—	—	157	157	—	—	157
ATLANTIC OCEAN:—															
Bahamas	157	157	157	158	158	159	159	160	160	—	160	160	—	—	160
Bermudas	161	161	161	162	163	163	164	164	164	—	165	164	—	—	164
CENTRAL AMERICA:—															
Honduras	165	165	165	166	167	167	168	168	168	—	168	168	—	—	168
Bay Islands, &c.	169	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	169	—	—	—
SOUTH AMERICA:—															
British Guayana— Demerara, Esse- quibo, and Berbice	170	171	172	175	178	179	179	181	181	181	178	180	—	—	180

INDEX.

AFRICA, slave exportation from (1788—1847), 171.
 Albany Settlements, formation of, 58.
 Anguilla, or Snake Island, account of, 155.
 Antigua Island, history of, 144; geology, climate, and population of, 145.
 Ascension Island, account of, 208.
 Achantee, outbreak of war with (1823), 188; permanent peace made with (1826), 190; Governor Winniett's reception by the king of (1848), 191.
 Bahamas Islands, history of, 157; physical features and geology of, 158; climate and population of, 159; government, religion, and commerce of, 160.
 Barbadoes, discovery and history of, 112; physical aspect of, 115; topography of, 116; geology and climate of, 117; population of, 118; education, finance, and commerce of, 120.
 Barbuda Island, occupation and present condition of, 146.
 Bay Islands, account of, 169.
 Bermuda, or Somers' Isles, history of, 161; topography and climate of, 163; population, commerce, and vegetation of, 164.
 British Guayana, history of, 170; physical features of, 175; rivers of, 176; divisions and topography of, 177; natural productions and geology of, 178; population of, 179; government, education, and religion of, 180; finance of, 181; commerce of, 183.
 Bushmen, hostilities against the (1774), 21.
 Cape of Good Hope, discovery of (1486), 3; history of, 4; Dutch occupation of, 5; dissatisfaction of the natives of, 8; condition of (1658), 10; proceedings of the Dutch government of, 16; British take possession of (1795), 31; unsettled state of, 34; restored to the Dutch (1803), 38; establishment of a mission station at, 42; British fleet

arrives off, 43; military posts established along the frontier of, 53; emancipation of slaves in, 89; arrival of a convict ship at, 104; boundaries and area of, 118; coastline of, 119; mountain ranges of, 119; rivers and streams in, 120; division of, 121; climate of, 133; geology and mineralogy of, 134; zoology and vegetation of, 135; population of, 137; government and laws of, 141; finances of, 143; expenditure, banks, and public companies of, 144; commerce and shipping of, 145; agricultural produce of, 146; state of religion in, 148; Christian missions in, 150; political and commercial value of, 153.
 Cape Coast Castle, account of, 193.
 Cape Town, origin of, 6; surrender of, to the English (1806), 45; account of, 122.
 Caymans Islands, account of, 170.
 Christopher's, St., or St. Kitt's Island, physical features and topography of, 153; geology, population, and commerce of, 154.
 Columbus, Christopher, at the courts of Portugal and Spain, 2; first voyage of discovery (1492), 3; exploration of the Bahama or Lucayo islands by, 5; Cuba visited by, 6; constructs a fortress at Hayti, 8; discovery of Caribbee islands by, 9; discovery of Jamaica, Trinidad, and America by (1494), 12.
 Dominica, discovery and history of, 147; physical features and topography of, 148; geology, population, finance, and commerce of, 149.
 Dutch settlers, hardships endured by the, 7; condition of the (1773), 20; rebellion of, 30; victory gained by the English over the, 44; insurrection of, against the British, 54.
 Gaika, Lord Charles Somerset's interview with, 55; treacherous attempt to seize, 59; death of, 66.

- Gambia, British settlements at, 178; topography, climate, and diseases of, 174; government, population, and tariff of, 178; trade of the, 178.
- Gold Coast Settlements, history of, 186; physical features of the, 186; climate and government of, 186; religion, education, revenue, and expenditure of, 187; commerce of, 188.
- Graham's Town, Kaffir attack, 56; account of, 127.
- Grenada, history of, 130; physical features and topography of, 132; population, government, and commerce of, 133; present state of, 134.
- Hclena, St., discovery and history of, 207; physical aspect and geology of, 207; climate, population, and revenue of, 208; criminals sent to, as free colonists, 13.
- Hinta, proceedings of, 78; massacre of, 80.
- Honduras, history of, 165; topography, geology, and climate of, 167; population, government, religion, and commerce of, 168.
- Hottentots, hostilities against the (1659), 11; proceedings of, 61; partial defection of the (1851), 112.
- Iles de Loos, account of, 176.
- Jamaica, history of, 18; occupation of, by the Spaniards (1509), 19; character and fate of the aborigines of, 20; British conquest of, 21; formation of a civil government at, 22; number of slaves introduced into, 25; state of (1722), 26; slave insurrections in (1760), 27; slave laws of (1774), 28; miserable prospects of the planters of, 29; last Maroon war in, 32; establishment of Christian missions in, 34; slave insurrection in (1831-2), 41; cruelties inflicted on the slaves in, 46; ruined condition of the planters of, 52; flogging of women practised in (1836), 61; compensation received by the slaveholders of, 65; position of, at period of final emancipation, 69; present condition and difficulties of, 71; physical features of, 72; harbours, rivers, and mountains of, 73; chief towns of, 75; negro or free villages of, 85; geology of, 87; mineralogy and climate of, 88; health of the inhabitants of, 91; population of, 92; state of religion in, 97; education and crime in, 99; government of, 100; finances of, 102; commerce of, 105; defective agricultural system of, 109; wants and prospects of, 110.
- Kafirland, restored to the Kaffirs (1836), 90; British invasion of, 95; topography of, 130.
- Kaffir, origin of the, 25; genealogy of the principal chiefs of the, 26; early intercourse between Dutch and, 27; commencement of the war between Dutch and, 28; intermarriage of, with Europeans, 29; prospects of the (1789), 50; expulsion of, from the Zuurveld, 51; hostilities against (1834), 69; invasion of (1834), 74; hospitality of, 77; Fingoes plunder and abandon the, 79; overtures of peace made to (1835), 81; restitution of territory to the, 85; revenue derived from the (1848), 102; war between the British and (1851), 111; parliamentary evidence in favour of the, 115; estimated number of, 139; character, habits, and customs of, 140.
- Kat River Settlement, formation of, 68; unjust treatment of the burghers of, 100; breaking up of (1851), 113.
- Kingston City, Jamaica, account of, 77.
- Liberia, Republic of, 198.
- Lucia (St.) Islands, history of, 121; topography, geology, and climate of, 124; population and government of, 125; progress and condition of, 126.
- Macartney, Earl, appointed governor of the Cape of Good Hope, 31; boundaries fixed by, 33.
- Macomo, expulsion of, from the Kat River, 65; sues for peace, 97.
- McCarthy, Sir Charles, appointed to the command of Gold Coast Castle, 188; defeat and death of (1824), 189.
- Montserrat, physical features, population, and commerce of, 150.
- Mosquito Territory, account of, 169.
- Napier, Sir George, appointed governor of the Cape of Good Hope, 92.
- Natal, history of, 154; physical features of, 157; mountains, rivers, and divisions of, 158; climate, population, and government of, 160; revenue, expenditure, commerce, and religion of, 162; state and prospects of, 163.
- Nevis Island, history, aspect, and topography of, 151; population of, 152.
- Orange River, account of, 121.
- Port Royal destroyed by an earthquake (1692), 24; account of, 78.
- Redonda Island, account of, 151.
- Riebeeck, Jan van, disgraceful proposition of, 9; severity of, 14.
- Sandilli, deposition of (1850), 109; attempt to capture, 110.
- Sierra Leone, origin and history of, 177; topography of, 179; geology, soil, climate, and diseases of, 180; population of (1851), 181; government and religion of, 183; education, crime, revenue, and commerce of, 184; produce, live stock, and fisheries of, 185.
- Slave Trade, commencement of the African, 165; efforts of abolitionists against, 168; abolition of the British, 169; horrors of the, 170; expenditure for the suppression of the, 172.
- Smith, Sir Harry, appointed governor of the Cape of Good Hope, 100; interview of, with the Gaika chiefs, 101; assumption of the Orange River sovereignty by (1848), 105; visit of, to the Griquas, 106.
- South Africa, leading features of, 117; missionary labours in, 149.
- Stockenstrom, Landdrost, massacre of, by the Kaffirs, 52.
- Tobago, history of, 134; topography, geology, climate, and population of, 135; religion, education, and commerce of, 136.
- Trinidad, history of, 136; aspect, coast line, and topography of, 139; geology, climate, and population of, 141; government, education, and commerce of, 142.
- Uitenhage District, formation of, 41; account of, 128.
- Vincent, St., position and history of, 127; physical features and topography of, 128; geology, climate, and population of, 129; commerce of, 130.
- Virgin Islands, account of, 156.
- West India Islands, extermination of natives of, by the Spaniards, 14; history of, 15; rise and progress of British power in, 16; area, occupation, and possession of, 17; tabular view of the, 183; great increase of commerce with the, 184; Christian mission in, 185; requirements for the, 188.
- Western Africa, European possessions in, 164; population of, 199; rise and progress of church mission in, 200; commerce of, 203; production of, 204; prospects of (1852), 205.

ILLUSTRATIONS.

		PAGE
ADMIRAL LORD HAWKE (<i>Frontispiece.</i>)		
PRINCE RUPERT	(<i>West Indies.</i>)	113
GEORGE, LORD RODNEY	"	114
SAMUEL, FIRST VISCOUNT HOOD	"	122
SIR RALPH ABERCROMBY	"	138
ADMIRAL LORD NELSON	"	148
MAPS—		
AFRICA		1
CAPE COLONY		117
NATAL AND KAFFRARIA		154
WESTERN AFRICA		164
WEST INDIA ISLANDS		1
JAMAICA		19
SOUTH AMERICA		165
CENTRAL AMERICA		170
BRITISH GUAYANA		171
ISTHMUS OF PANAMA		18
ISLANDS IN THE ATLANTIC		206

